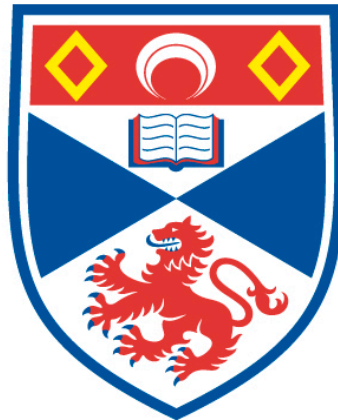


HUMILIATION:
UNDERSTANDING ITS NATURE, EXPERIENCE &
CONSEQUENCES

Yashpal Ashokrao Jogdand

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Understanding its Nature, Experience & Consequences

Yashpal Ashokrao Jogdand



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of St Andrews

05.09.2014

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Humiliation has been identified as a significant factor that can lead to war, genocide, and intergroup conflict. Strangely, humiliation remains a neglected topic. There is little scientific literature available on humiliation outside psychology and even less within. We believe that the research in this thesis can contribute to the understanding of this vital yet neglected phenomenon. Therefore, we request embargo on electronic copy for a period of 2 years so that we get time to write up the publications and submit to the journals.

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realises the feeling expressed in the following poem by the great Dalit writer, Baburao Bagul, and forgives my absence.

Those who leave for foreign lands,
embrace other tongues, dress in alien garb
And forget this country-
-them I salute.
And those who don't forget,
And don't even change even after being beaten up for centuries
-such hypocrites I ask:
What will you say if someone asked you-
What is untouchability?
Is it eternal like God?
What's an untouchable like? What does he look like?
Does he look like the very image of leprosy?
Or like the Prophet's enemy?
Does he look like a heretic, a sinner, a profligate, or an atheist?
Tell me,
What will your answer be?
Will you reply without hesitation:
'Untouchable- that's me?'
That's why I say-
You who have made the mistake of being born in this country
must now rectify it: either leave the country,
Or make war!

Yashpal Jogdand, September 2014.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the nature, experience and consequences of humiliation among Dalits (ex-Untouchables) in India (and also among UK students for comparative purposes). Social psychological research looks at humiliation as automatic, extreme and intense emotion which often leads to extreme and irrational behaviors (Lindner, 2002; Otten & Jonas, 2014; Elison & Harter, 2007). The research in this thesis contested this view and underlined the need to look at humiliation as 1) inherently relational or dynamic in nature, 2) a distinguishably group level phenomenon and 3) a mobilised phenomenon.

Study 1 analysed the experiences of humiliation among Dalits and conceptualised humiliation as a complex social encounter in which one party attempts to diminish identity of another party. Study 1 also identified important dimensions of humiliating encounters that were examined in subsequent studies.

Studies 2 - 3 manipulated perspective (victim or witness) and target of devaluation (personal identity or social identity) in a humiliating encounter and showed that the nature of humiliation and how it is experienced depends upon the way in which identities are defined in a humiliating encounter. Both UK students (Study 2) and Dalit participants (Study 3) confirmed the collective experience of humiliation i.e. one can feel humiliated simply by witnessing humiliation of another group member.

Studies- 4 - 7 manipulated victim's response (resistance vs. compliance) during a humiliating encounter. These studies showed that humiliation is an encounter within power relations and victims of humiliation possess choice and agency to change the outcome of humiliating encounters.

Study 8 analysed the humiliation rhetoric in the speeches of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the most important of Dalits leaders, and showed that the way in which humiliating encounter is resolved depends upon the mobilisation processes which can even change the nature of identities and, therefore, the nature of experience of the encounter.

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PROLOGUE

“One did not have to be abnormally sensitive to be worn down to a cutting edge by the incessant and gratuitous humiliation ... The humiliation did not apply to merely to working days, or workers. I was thirteen and crossing Fifth Avenue on my way to Forty-second Street Library, and a cop in the middle of the street muttered as I passed him, ‘Why don’t you niggers stay uptown where you belong?’ When I was ten, and didn’t look certainly, any older, two policemen amused themselves with me by frisking me, making comic (and terrifying) speculations concerning my ancestry and probable sexual prowess, and for good measure, leaving me flat on my back in one of Harlem’s empty lots.”

James Baldwin (The Fire Next Time, 1963)

“If we ever went out wearing neat and clean clothes, we had to hear their taunts that pierced deep inside, like poisoned arrows. If we went to school in neat and clean clothes, our classmates said, “Abey¹, Chuhre ka², he has come dressed in new clothes.” If we went wearing old and shabby clothes, then they said, “Abey, Chuhre ke, get away from me, you stink.” This was our no-win situation. We were humiliated whichever way we dressed.”

Omprakash Valmiki (Joothan: A Dalit’s Life, 2003)

Consider the two quotes above by two talented authors from Black/ African American context in US and Dalit (ex-untouchable) context in India- James Baldwin and Omprakash Valmiki. Both these authors belong to what we call historically oppressed groups in society and talking about the things they experienced while growing up. What is common in both the quotes is the heartless rejection and devaluation of the protagonists by the people around them, not because they have done something to deserve such treatment, but because they belonged to social groups deemed inferior by the society. Baldwin and Valmiki refer to this experience of being demeaned, rejected and

¹ ‘Abey’ is a disrespectful way of calling out a person which generally means - Hey you!

² Chuhra (now widely known in India as Valmiki or Balmiki) is one of the untouchable castes from northern India. Calling somebody “Chuhra” is tantamount to calling somebody “nigger”.

devalued by others as humiliation. Such humiliation by society simply because of one's membership in a particular social group was not accidental but an everyday experience.

Omprakash Valmiki, with the very word he uses to title his autobiography, *Joothan*, communicates the stunning banality of humiliation in Dalit life. The Hindi word *Joothan* literally means left over food. *Joothan* designates slops given to Dalits by upper castes in exchange of their labour. The title *Joothan* encapsulates the humiliation of collecting, preserving, and eating *Joothan* thrown by upper castes. Not only such life was humiliating at the moment but, as Valmiki notes in his autobiography, even the memories of being assigned to guard the drying *Joothan* from crows and chickens and his relishing of the dried and reprocessed *Joothan* are humiliating many years later. James Baldwin, on the other hand, comments that the people who are advantageously placed in the society will find 'the psychology and the view of human nature sketched above dismal and shocking in extreme' but such humiliations were part and parcel of Harlem life (Baldwin 1963, p. 28). Baldwin and Valmiki both relate how humiliation injures one psychologically and causes moral hurt and pain. They powerfully describe the deleterious consequences of humiliation not only in their personal life but also among the fellow Dalits and Blacks. Interestingly, these experiences of humiliation, although painful in nature and at times crippling, also influenced Baldwin and Valmiki's self-understanding and motivated their social, political and literary activism. It is this group based experience of humiliation and its consequences that this thesis attempts to understand.

Humiliation is not only present in the lives of oppressed groups, but it is pervasive enough to affect all kinds of human relations. This overwhelming presence of humiliation as a crucial factor in individual and group life is clearly reflected in numerous stories, novels, poems, history, films, music, etc. all over the world. One can find humiliation as a key theme in Shakespeare's play 'Merchant of Venice' (Shakespeare, 1600). The Jewish money lender- Shylock hates the businessman Antonio and seeks revenge because Antonio has humiliated Shylock for being a Jew:

“He hath disgraced me and hindered me half a million, laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies—and what’s his reason? I am a Jew....”

One can find presence of humiliation in historical analysis which shows how public humiliation was once a common way of penance to violation of social norms in Europe until 18th century (Mansfield, 1995) and how this system of public humiliation as a penance gradually changed and finally eliminated in modern society (Foucault, 2012). One can also find many brilliant novelists e.g. J.M. Coetzee, Dostoevsky, Charles Dickens, etc. depicting humiliation as a powerful force shaping individual life, as well as interpersonal relations, (See, Nashef, 2013). The mythological works like Ramayana, Mahabharata from India and Homer’s Iliad from Greece can be read as classic accounts of humiliation leading to war and destruction. These and other numerous anecdotal accounts of humiliation scattered in literature and history not only suggest the importance of humiliation but also show how humiliation is endemic to issues of status, identity, morality, and emotion. Perhaps, this is why, humiliation has been found to be linked with a wide range of individual and group level phenomena.

On the individual level, humiliation is known to cause numerous psychological disorders like anxiety, social phobias (Beck, Emery & Greenberg, 1985), and depression (Brown, Harris & Hepworth, 1995). On interpersonal level, humiliation has been identified as an important factor that can lead to marital discord (Vogle & Lazare, 1990), domestic violence (Browne, 1993), violent responses to school bullying (Elison & Harter, 2007) as well as unrequited love (Baumeister, Wotman & Stillwell, 1993) and interpersonal rejection (Leary, Twenge & Quinlivan, 2006). Importantly, humiliation has also been associated with serious group level phenomena such as war, genocide, intergroup violence and oppression, international conflict and terrorism. Perhaps, the most famous example of group level consequence of humiliation might be the history of Germany during the first half of the 20th century.

The German humiliation of Versailles accords after defeat in World War I has often been stressed as a crucial factor which led to Hitler's rise and ultimately World War II (Lindner, 2002; Muenster & Lotto, 2010). Apart from World War II, holocaust- a systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews, has been an important consequence of German humiliation. Jewish people were blamed for 'stabbing in the back' which resulted in defeat of Germany in World War I and consequent humiliation in Versailles accord. Nazis later avenged this German humiliation by putting Jews in concentration camps and systematically killing them. These concentration camps were not only the places for exterminating Jews in order to achieve so-called 'Final Solution', but also places where they can be systematically humiliated and broken down as a group (Kellezi & Reicher, 2011). Various practices in the concentration camp were primarily designed to humiliate Jews (See, Sofsky, 1997). For example, Jewish people were forced to carry anti-Jewish signs, Jewish women were paraded naked in front of SS men and other Jewish men. Jewish men publicly made to shave one's beard (since beard was religiously meaningful for Jews) or forced shave beard of other Jew men.

In the context of extreme conditions like Nazi concentration camps, humiliation has also been referred as an important weapon in the hands of powerful for the practice of social control and subjugation (Silver, Conte, Miceli, & Pogi, 1986). Primo Levi, the famous writer and a survivor of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Nazi-occupied Poland, recounts how they were never given any spoons in the camp. This was a very subtle yet powerful Nazi strategy of using humiliation for social control and subjugation. He describes how without a spoon the daily soup had to be consumed by lapping it like dogs and other animals. Although, enough stock of spoons was present in the camp (as a large stock of new, unused spoons was found when Auschwitz was liberated), this subtle deprivation was a deliberate strategy of humiliating Jews by diminishing them to the level of animals (Levi 1988, p. 91). Use of humiliation for social control and subjugation is not limited to extreme situations like Nazi concentration camps but form a regular practice adopted against oppressed groups in society. For example, in the context of the caste system in India, Untouchables (or Dalits)

have often been forbidden to touch water at public places whereas other people and even animals like dogs, cows, and buffalos were free to touch and drink water without fear. The humiliating message of this custom was that despite being human Untouchables are worse than four legged animals. Through numerous such customs, humiliation was systematically imposed on Untouchables.

Humiliation also forms an important aspect of acts of violence against members of oppressed groups. Similar to the Nazi strategy against Jews, the violent acts against oppressed group members are not only designed to exterminate the target but also to humiliate them and make an example of them. The atrocities against Dalits in India and lynching of Blacks in the US are not only acts of violence but, in fact, are carefully designed as acts of public humiliation in order to exercise and demonstrate one's power and position (Teltumbde, 2008). The act of lynching a Black person in US or a Dalit person in India is never complete unless the tortured, maimed, killed and already dead Black or Dalit body is kept on display by hanging to a tree. This display makes it possible to humiliate the victims even after they are dead by denying the dignity that is generally accorded to dead human body. Importantly, this public act of torturing, killing and humiliating an oppressed group member, in life as well as after death, sends a powerful message of dominant group's power and position to the related family, community and rest of the society.

On the international level, humiliation has been emphasized as a potent factor that has caused international conflicts such as Cuban missile crisis (Steinberg, 1991) and various occurrences of international terrorism (Strozier, Terman, Jones & Boyd, 2010; Fattah & Fierke, 2009). Humiliation has been a major cause of Israeli / Palestinian conflict in Gaza - one of the most enduring and explosive of all the world's conflicts (Lacey, 2011). The primacy of humiliation is clearly reflected in the Osama Bin Laden's speech (2001) aftermath of 9/11 attacks:

“What America is tasting now is something insignificant compared to what we have tasted for scores of years. Our nation (the Islamic world) has been tasting this humiliation and this degradation for more than 80 years.”

Here one can also see how humiliation has begot more humiliation as victims of humiliation often grew into perpetrators of humiliation. This is also further corroborated by what happened in Rwandan genocide. The feeling of humiliation among Hutus was a major factor that led to the systematic genocide and humiliation of Tutsis (Lindner, 2000). Thus, humiliation of Hutus has begot humiliation of Tutsis. This dynamics of humiliation and counter-humiliation has been considered to have a powerful influence on international relations and global politics (Saurette, 2006), as well as intergroup and intra-group relations (Lindner, 2006; Miller, 1993).

What is most interesting is the fact that, although humiliation is seen as critical for action, it is not only used to mobilise groups and instigate them for action (Germany in World War I or Al Qaeda Terrorism), but also used to demobilise groups and disempower them (Nazi concentration camps or caste system in India). The disempowering and demobilising role of humiliation is empirically confirmed by Ginges & Atran (2008) who examined the role of humiliation in political violence in Israeli / Palestinian conflict in Gaza. They show that humiliation is coupled with powerlessness and therefore leads to inertia rather than violent action.

It is clear that humiliation is an important factor in human life which can have pernicious consequences for both individual and society. Surprisingly, despite this overwhelming presence of humiliation and its relation with such wide range of phenomena, humiliation remains a neglected topic. There is little scientific literature available on humiliation outside psychology and even less within. What is more surprising is the stark absence of social psychology. Despite the concern of social psychology to the issues of group based prejudice and discrimination, few social psychologists studied humiliation and there are few empirical studies on humiliation (For exceptions, See, Combs, Campbell, Jackson & Smith, 2010; Leidner, Sheikh & Ginges, 2012). A PsycINFO search with keywords humiliation + social psychology + empirical study returns only 37 odd entries from the year 1934 to the present! This near absence of social psychological inquiry into humiliation is again more strange

from the standpoint of an epistemological position. Several philosophers note the limitations of sociological and anthropological approaches to the study of humiliation and assert that only normative philosophy or social psychology are epistemologically well placed to provide deeper (and more practical) insights into humiliation (Bird, 2008; G. Guru, personal communication, 14 April, 2010).

Humiliation is a poorly defined construct in social psychological literature. Although social psychological research has investigated phenomena encompassing humiliation such as hurt feelings as a result of social rejection (Leary et al, 1998), responses to perceived insults to one's honor (Rodriguez Mosquera et al, 2008; Cohen et al, 1996), disrespect (Blincoe & Harris, 2011; Okimoto, 2009), there was no clear definition or focus on humiliation. Few cross-cultural studies have examined emotional and behavioral consequences of face loss- defined as the deterioration in one's social image, but without conceptualising it as humiliation and focusing primarily on shame and anger (Hui & Bond, 2009; Liao & Bond, 2011).

Humiliation is linked with action as well as inaction. Despite such oppositional consequences, the critical relationship of humiliation with issues of power and group action is ignored. In fact, the role of humiliation on the group level and especially in the life of oppressed or minority groups in the society remains largely unexamined. As a result, there is an obvious lack of empirical studies conceptualising and measuring group based humiliation and examining its experience and consequences. Present thesis seeks to contribute to the study of this vital yet neglected social psychological phenomenon by addressing the issues of conceptualisation, experience and consequences of humiliation in the context of Dalits in India (and also in UK context for comparative purposes).

We live in an unequal world torn up by various divisions of nation, culture, race, caste, colour, gender and so on. Humiliation of oppressed and minority groups such as Blacks and Dalits represents the brutal reality of this unequal world which we have created with our unquenchable thirst for

power, status and recognition. The necessity and urgency of understanding the humiliation experienced by oppressed and minority groups is, perhaps, best summarised in the Turkish Novelist Orhan Pamuk's (2001) following appeal to the Western world,

"The Western world is scarcely aware of this overwhelming feeling of humiliation that is experienced by most of the world's population; it is a feeling that people have to try to overcome without losing their common sense, and without being seduced by terrorists, extreme nationalists, or fundamentalists... The problem facing the West is not only to discover which terrorist is preparing a bomb in which tent, which cave, or which street of which city, but also to understand the poor and scorned and "wrongful" majority that does not belong to the Western world."

CHAPTER I. HUMILIATION: CONCEPTUALISATION AND CONSEQUENCES

The aim of this chapter is to review the available psychological literature on humiliation in terms of its conceptualisation and consequences. We will start with etymological meaning and consider various normative and psychological conceptualisations of humiliation. Next, we will consider the debate regarding consequences of humiliation. This chapter will conclude by discussing several unresolved issues and questions in the existing literature.

1.1 What is Humiliation?

Existing conceptualizations of humiliation can be divided into two broad categories – first, normative or what we call philosophical conceptualizations of humiliation and second, psychological conceptualizations of humiliation (See Margalit, 1996; Nauhauser, 2011; Guru ed., 2009a).

Philosophical conceptualisations develop understanding of humiliation based on normative concepts such as self-respect, recognition and dignity whereas psychological conceptualisations generally refer to the dimension of emotions. Before we go into the details of so-called normative and psychological conceptualizations of humiliation, let us start with the etymology of the word 'humiliation.'

1.1.1 Etymology

The word humiliation comes from 'humus' in Latin, which means earth and conveys a sense of being put down with your face into the dust (Lindner, 2000; 2001c). The Urdu word for humiliation is '*bezzat*', the Hindi word for humiliation is '*avmanana*' and the Marathi word for humiliation '*maan khanadana*' or '*maan hani*.' If we deconstruct these words, we find '*maan*' or '*izzat*' i.e. dignity,

honor, self-respect, status, esteem as the common denominator of every word and a certain downward push to them. The similar connotation of humiliation as being lowered in dignity, honor, self-respect, status, esteem can be found in Hebrew, Polish, German and Chinese languages as well (Ginges & Atran, 2008). Etymological deconstruction tells us that humiliation involves a downward push (by causing damage, denial or threat) to one's dignity, honor, self-respect, status, esteem, etc. The Oxford English Dictionary (*OED online*, 2014) also defines "humiliation" as the "the action of humiliating or condition of being humiliated" and defines "humiliate" as "to lower or depress the dignity or self-respect." Thus, the etymological emphasis on a downward push to one's dignity and self-respect is consistent with the OED definition as well. Humiliation can, thus, be construed as a phenomenon quite opposite of constructs like dignity, self-respect, honor and status. Since the concepts of dignity, honor, self-respect, status and esteem are fundamental to understanding of human relations as well as social and political institutions, humiliation has been an important concern for philosophers.

1.1.2 Normative Conceptualizations of Humiliation

Although one can find discussion of humiliation among major philosophical figures such as Kant (Seidler, 1986), Hegel (Westphal, 1984), Adam Smith (Smith, 2010) and Karl Marx (Marx & Engels, 1975), it is in the field of political and moral philosophy especially what is roughly called literature on politics of recognition that humiliation has been clearly conceptualized. Although one can find a small body of philosophers discussing humiliation and related issues in this context, the thinking by Avishai Margalit, Axel Honneth and Prof. Gopal Guru and his collaborators has been pioneering and therefore deserve our attention.

1.1.2.1 Humiliation as damage to Self-Respect and Misrecognition

Avishai Margalit (1996) developed a conceptualization of humiliation in his book *'The Decent society.'* His basic argument in the book is that the notion of just society as found in the conceptions of Immanuel Kant and John Rawls has certain limitations since a just society cannot guarantee protection of self-respect to its members. Margalit, alternatively, proposes the concept of decent society. According to Margalit, decent society is one whose institutions do not humiliate its members. Margalit defines humiliation in the following way, "Humiliation is any sort of behavior or condition that constitutes a sound reason for a person to consider his/her self-respect injured" (Margalit 1996, p. 9). Margalit's definition of humiliation makes it clear that behavior and condition that damages or injures self-respect is humiliating. To put simply, humiliation is 'damage to self-respect.'

Although initially this definition of humiliation seems quite appealing, it, however, loses charm when we see how Margalit defines self-respect: "self-respect is the honor a person grants herself solely on the basis of the awareness that she is human" (Margalit 1996, p. 24). For Margalit, self-respect is an honor granted to the self by the self on the basis of common membership of humanity. If self-respect is one's awareness of being human, humiliation simply signifies a process of dehumanization. Of course, in some extreme cases humiliation involves dehumanized treatment to others, for example, humiliation of Jews in Nazi concentration camps or practice of untouchability in Indian context. However, this way of defining humiliation is rather abstract and excludes the humiliation people face on the basis of personal characteristics or social group memberships. Somewhat similar complaint can be made regarding Axel Honneth's conceptualisation of humiliation.

Following the thinking of George Herbert Mead and G.W.F. Hegel, Axel Honneth (1996) developed the understanding of 'struggle for recognition' in social relations which, according to him, lies at the heart of social conflicts. For Honneth, since one's self-image or identity depends upon continuous support from others, human beings, in this sense, are psychologically interdependent upon each

other and also vulnerable to each other. The phenomenon of humiliation encapsulates misrecognition or denial of recognition by others. He says that 'the experience of being socially denigrated or humiliated endangers the identity of human beings, just as infection with a disease endangers their physical life' (Honneth 1996, p.135). Honneth, thus, emphasizes the misrecognition or non- recognition of identity as humiliating. This emphasis on threat to one's identity as an important aspect of humiliation is, no doubt, psychologically very meaningful. However, Honneth foregrounds his understanding of humiliation on the misrecognition or disrespect of personal identity and completely excludes the analysis related to group identity. Overall, an important limitation of this philosophical thinking on humiliation by the likes of Margalit and Honneth is that this discussion of humiliation has remained highly abstract and somewhat artificial without the clear link to the empirical or so-called real world phenomena. Gopal Guru's work (See Guru ed., 2009a) moves beyond this limitation and provides a rich description of humiliation both as a lived experience and as a structural process in different social, political and cultural contexts such as racial humiliation in the context of colonisation, the humiliation of working classes in the Bombay textile mill strike of 1982, caste based humiliation through practice of untouchability, and various forms of gender humiliation.

1.1.2.2 Humiliation as a Claim and a Reciprocal Relationship

Gopal Guru's work on humiliation is a recent and very commendable attempt to theorise humiliation. This work originated mainly within the discipline of political philosophy has not only set up the grounds for interdisciplinary humiliation studies in India but also made an important contribution to existing understanding of humiliation. One distinguishing feature of Guru's work is that although the study of humiliation was pioneered by Guru himself, he motivated other able political thinkers to consider the issues of humiliation and contribute to its theorisation. This collective effort of theorising humiliation has, therefore, yielded a rich discussion on different

meanings, forms and contexts of humiliation. Importantly, these efforts of conceptualisation are not purely abstract but are carefully developed within the context of a socio-cultural event which also shows to the reader how meaning and form of humiliation is dependent upon socio-cultural context in which it occurs. Several of these contributions have defined humiliation, somewhat following Margalit and Honneth, on the basis of normative concepts of self-respect, honor, dignity, etc. For example, humiliation has been defined as disrespecting and demeaning others, damaging their self-respect and causing them moral hurt and pain (Guru ed. 2009a, p. 6) or as an unwelcome assault on one's human dignity (Guru ed. 2009a, p. 7). Most of these conceptualisations of humiliation, as Guru emphasizes, are developed not by providing a direct definition but by juxtaposing it with other related concepts such as shame, disgust, discrimination, exploitation, alienation, degradation and segregation. A detailed discussion on each of these contributions will be beyond the scope of this thesis, but there are two major conceptualisations in this work that can surely enrich our understanding of humiliation.

A very interesting and novel conceptualisation that emerges from Guru's work is that humiliation is, in fact, a claim of some sort. According to Guru, the very act of appraising something as humiliating and communicating this appraisal to one's humiliator (or even to oneself or one's group members) constitutes making a claim about one's value and rights. Therefore, Guru further argues; humiliation does not get defined unless it is claimed and in this sense resistance is internal to humiliation. Guru further explains that humiliation demands assessment on the part of the victim. It is the assessment, and not the intensity or characteristic of the event that defines humiliation. Therefore, humiliation involves two acts - the epistemological i.e. knowing that one is humiliated and the political i.e. communicating one's sense of displeasure to the humiliator. To claim humiliation one requires reflective capacity generated through social comparison so that humiliation can be appraised and also the emergence and articulation of language of rights so that a sense of humiliation can be communicated.

One important question Guru deals with is: who can be humiliated? He suggests that individuals or groups with no sense of self-respect, capacity of protest, who have no insight in their servility also, cannot be humiliated. This assertion by Guru makes sense from a psychological perspective as well. If, as we have seen in terms of etymology, humiliation involves 'downward push' to one's normative understanding of oneself in terms of dignity or self-respect then it also means the minimum possession of self-respect and dignity is a pre-requisite for humiliation to occur (Chapter 4 of this thesis will further elaborate on this point from a social psychological perspective). Overall, this conceptualisation of humiliation as a claim takes a victim's perspective on humiliation and emphasizes the agency and discursive power of the victim to define humiliation. This power and agency of the victim is also emphasized by another conceptualisation found in Guru's work especially by his collaborator, Ashis Nandy.

According to Ashis Nandy (2009) 'humiliation is a form of human relations that can never be a one-way exchange. Unless humiliated collaborate, by feeling humiliated, you cannot humiliate them, however hard you try. No humiliation is complete unless humiliated oblige their tormentors by validating their desire to humiliate' (p. 42). Along with the reciprocity of victim and perpetrator relationship, Ashis Nandy, quite strongly, emphasizes the decisive role of the victim in making humiliation possible. Nandy further corroborates his point by showing various evidences of how humiliation cannot survive without some degree of consensual validation by the parties involved. Nandy's argument regarding decisive power of the victim over defining humiliation invariably reminds one of stoic³ viewpoint which emphasizes the personal responsibility and personal control over retaining one's self-worth.

Interestingly, this emphasis on victim's agency and power over defining humiliation in Guru and his collaborators' work is in stark contrast with the view of humiliation developed by people like Avishai

³ This refers to Stoicism - a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium in the early 3rd century BC. Stoicism teaches the development of self-control and fortitude as a means of overcoming destructive emotions.

Margalit and Axel Honneth who point out the fragility of human beings to humiliation due to reliance on other people for retaining sense of respect and recognition. I think both of these contributions have greatly facilitated our understanding of humiliation as a conceptually complex and multifaceted phenomena. Also, it is obvious that the question of to what extent one can retain agency and power over maintaining one's self-respect and to what extent one's self-respect is vulnerable to violation by other people is not a normative but an empirical question which needs to be answered by empirical investigation rather than by philosophical deliberation (See, for further discussion on this question, Bird, 2008). Therefore, disciplines which attend to the empirical questions e.g. psychology are well placed to deal with such empirical questions. Importantly, a fundamental difficulty with normative conceptualisations of humiliation is that because of the reliance on normative terms such as dignity, self-respect, recognition, etc. the application of such conceptualisations in practical domains e.g. law, health care, minority group rights, etc. becomes problematic (See, Shultziner & Rabinovici, 2012). Psychological conceptualisations of humiliation move beyond the normative conceptualisations in practical aspects and attend to the experiential or empirical dimensions of humiliation.

1.1.3. Psychological Conceptualisations of Humiliation

Various psychological conceptualizations that we are going to discuss below contribute to the understanding of humiliation in three ways. Firstly, they emphasize the nature humiliation as an emotion and attempt to distinguish it from other similar emotions. Secondly, they clarify what conditions people come to feel as humiliating. Thirdly, they clarify what people actually feel during humiliating experiences. The psychological approach of looking at humiliation as an emotion certainly offers epistemological advantage over normative conceptualisations of humiliation. Sartre has pointed out while introducing his theory of emotions, "In every human attitude --for example in emotion... --we shall find the whole of human reality, since emotion is the human reality which

assumes itself and which, “aroused,” “directs” itself toward the world. [...] There is, in effect, a world of emotion” (Sartre 1948; Also, quoted in Leach & Tiedens 2004, p.1). According to Sartre, we make our social world meaningful through emotions and, therefore, the emotions we experience can tell us what social conditions we are living in and what we consider as valuable and meaningful in life. Therefore, conceptualising humiliation as an emotion eliminates the psychological vagueness of normative concepts such as self-respect, dignity, etc. and provides a clear understanding of what it means to experience humiliation and what exactly is humiliating for people.

1.1.3.1 Humiliation as a Self-Conscious Emotion

Humiliation is viewed as a member of a family that includes other emotions such as shame, guilt and embarrassment (Elison & Harter, 2007). This family of guilt, shame, embarrassment, etc. is called as ‘self-conscious emotions’ (Tangney et al. ed., 2007). Self-conscious emotions are considered as different from basic emotions like anger, fear, disgust, sadness, happiness, and surprise (Tracy & Robins, 2004). They are characterized by a sense of self-awareness and self-evaluation. They emerge later in childhood and lack any specific facial expression. Self-conscious emotions are more cognitively complex than basic emotions, and they are important for the attainment of complex social goals (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Since humiliation seems to meet these criteria, several researchers have identified humiliation as a self-conscious emotion and attempted to understand it in relations with other closely related emotions namely shame, anger and embarrassment (Elison & Harter, 2007; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Ginges & Atran, 2008). Although most researchers emphasise that humiliation is a complex self-conscious emotion, there is no clear consensus regarding whether humiliation is completely separate from shame, anger and embarrassment or is composed of shame and anger.

Early psychological research on humiliation either attempted to associate (and sometimes equate) humiliation with feelings of shame or treated humiliation as an intense version of anger (Elison &

Harter 2007, p. 311). Several researchers treated humiliation and shame synonymously (for example, Tomkins, 1963) or considered it as high-intensity embarrassment or a high-intensity variation of shame (For example, Miller, 1993; Lewis, 1971), several others, however, have also emphasized its distinctiveness. They have pointed out various phenomenological, semantic and conceptual bases that show the distinctiveness of humiliation as an emotion despite its apparent overlapping with shame, embarrassment and anger (See, Gilbert, 1997). For example, Klein (1991) asserted that although humiliation seems similar to shame due to common presence of a sense of being inferior from one's normative expectations, they fundamentally differ from each other in terms of responsibility and focus: "*People believe they deserve their shame; they do not believe they deserve their humiliation*" (Klein 1991, p. 117; italics original).

Elison & Harter (2007) classified self-conscious emotion of humiliation as a member of 'shame family.' However, they clarify that shame and shame family are not synonymous. The 'shame family' of emotion used to denote all emotion terms related to perceived devaluation and believed to be an evolutionary adaptation to the threat of social exclusion or loss of status (p. 313). They discuss two related criteria adapted from Shaver et al. (1992) to understand the distinction between various self-conscious emotions across cultures. Their criteria are intensity and context. Elison & Harter (2007) has used this criterion of intensity and context to differentiate between humiliation and other related emotions. According to them, shame denotes high-intensity emotional reaction and context of a moral reflection whereas guilt denotes moderate to high-intensity emotional reaction and context of the rule or moral violation. Embarrassment denotes low-intensity emotional reaction and a public context whereas humiliation denotes high-intensity emotional reaction and the context of enforced lowering. They also emphasize a cultural variation in intensity and context of a particular emotion.

There is another line of thinking which looks at humiliation primarily as a shame-based anger. These researchers have attempted to conceptualise humiliation as a mix of shame and anger. The concept

of 'humiliated fury' (Lewis, 1971; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) captures this mixed emotional reaction comprising shame and anger felt during humiliating experiences. The experience of humiliation is characterised by mixed emotional reactions such as feeling wiped out, helpless, confused, paralyzed, filled with rage, excluded, invaded, attacked, made to feel small and insignificant, experiencing a loss of face, and wanting to hide (Klein, 1991; Held, 2004). One can point out presence of different oppositional elements in the experience of humiliation viz. illegitimacy, anger, shame, powerlessness, etc. Indeed, being treated in an inferior way can lead to shame since it involves transgression of one's normative expectations of social treatment. Furthermore, it can also involve anger due a sense of unfairness regarding having been subjected to such treatment. As we shall see shortly, the presence of such self-directed and other-directed emotions i.e. shame and anger respectively in the experience of humiliation is further reflected in oppositional behavioral consequences.

1.1.3.2 Humiliation as extreme and intense emotion

Several researchers agree that humiliation is a particularly intense and extreme emotion compared with other emotions (Lindner, 2002; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Klein, 1991; Elison & Harter, 2007, Miller, 1993; Jonas, 2013). Some recent neuro-cognitive studies provided empirical electrophysiological evidence that humiliation is an intrinsically intense experience that mobilizes far more attention and cognitive resources than emotions such as shame, anger and happiness (Otten & Jonas, 2014).

In two separate studies, Otten and Jonas (2014) asked participants to read scenarios involving different emotions and imagine how they'd feel in the described scenarios. The first study compared humiliation (e.g. your internet date takes one look at you and walks out), anger (e.g. your roommate has a party and wrecks the room while you're away) and happiness (e.g. you find out a person you fancy likes you). The second study compared humiliation with anger and shame (e.g. you said some

harsh words to your mother and she cried). Participants had an EEG strapped to their scalps which read their brain activity. The brain activity was measured by two measures: a larger positive spike (known as the “late positive potential” or LPP); and evidence of “event-related desynchronization,” a marker of reduced activity in the alpha range- a brainwave which represents a relaxed but aware state. Both these measures are signs of greater cognitive processing and cortical activation.

Imagining being humiliated resulted in higher LPPs and more event-related desynchronizations than any other emotion. On the basis of these results Otten and Jonas (2014) concluded that, “humiliation is a particularly intense and cognitively demanding negative emotional experience that has far-reaching consequences for individuals and groups alike” (p. 11).

The intensity of humiliating experiences is often used to explain the antecedent role of humiliation in extreme human behavior. Scholars like Lindner (2002) often refer to humiliation as ‘a nuclear bomb of emotions.’ Although, it is understandable that humiliation involves an intense emotional experience, it is not clear why this intensity should necessarily lead humiliated people to undertake extreme actions. Indeed, there is a need of a more critical understanding of the relationship between people’s experience of humiliation and their responses to it. We will be coming back to this issue of intensity and extremity of humiliation at different places in the thesis.

1.1.3.3 ‘Being Humiliated’ and ‘Feeling Humiliated’

Along with conceptualizing humiliation as self-conscious emotion, several researchers have also attempted to identify the factors or situations that can lead to the experience of humiliation. For example, Evelin Lindner (2000) has defined humiliation in the following way:

“To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will (or in some cases also with your consent) and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations” (p. 6).

In this definition, Lindner clarifies the 'downward push' involved in humiliation as treating people badly and placing them in hurtful or demeaning situations. This sort of bad treatment as a factor leading to humiliation is also emphasized by Donald Klein who pointed out that, "Humiliation involves the experience of some form of ridicule, scorn, contempt, or other treatment at the hands of others" (Klein 1991, p. 94).

Elison & Harter (2007) empirically investigated the conditions that people generally feel as humiliating. They asked participants to consider the kinds of events that might cause them to feel humiliated. Participants mostly reported the events like being taunted or teased by a bully in front of a laughing or mocking audience. Some scholars emphasize that humiliation involves more than a dyad. There is not just perpetrator and victim but also the audience in humiliation (Klein, 1991; Lindner, 2001). Although the presence of an audience is not necessary for humiliation to occur, most researchers agree that the public exposure intensifies the feeling of humiliation (Elison & Harter, 2007; Combs, Campbell, Jackson & Smith., 2010; Klein, 1991). Importantly, Silver et al. (1986) assert that being put in a powerless position can be humiliating and also emphasize powerlessness as an important element present in humiliating experiences. Several other researchers have also endorsed demeaning or degrading treatment as a cause of humiliation (Gilbert, 1997; Miller, 1993; Statman, 2000). Overall, what is basically suggested in such conceptualizations is that the behavior or condition that devalues or degrades people is humiliating.

Hartling & Luchetta (1999) move beyond the mere description of different acts or conditions that can lead to experience of humiliation and conceptualise humiliation in terms of the internal emotional state. This approach to look at the victim's internal experience of humiliation also correspond to the crucial distinction made by several researchers in 'being humiliated' and 'feeling humiliated' which emphasize that the attempt to humiliate is not equivalent with psychological experience of feeling humiliated (Elison & Harter, 2007; Sliver et al, 1986; Ginges & Atran, 2008;

Guru, 2009; Nandy, 2009). Hartling & Luchetta (1999) developed Humiliation Inventory, a measure to assess past experience and current fear of humiliation, which was based on following definition,

“The internal experience of humiliation is a deep dysphoric feeling associated with being, or perceiving oneself as being, unjustly degraded, ridiculed, or put down- in particular, one’s identity has been demeaned or devalued” (p.264).

What is important in this conceptualization of humiliation is the explicit reference to the relationship of internal experience and the devaluation of identity. This conceptualization suggests that humiliation involves experiencing a dysphoric emotional state when there is unfair devaluation or demeaning of one’s identity. Rather than pointing to the outward conditions or acts, Hartling & Luchetta (1999) suggest devaluation or demeaning of victim’s identity as a defining condition of humiliation. In fact, outward conditions such as social rejection (Leary et al., 2006), powerlessness (Silver et al., 1986), public condemnation (Combs et al., 2010), etc. that can lead to humiliation actually signify the damage, devaluation or threat to one’s identity. Hartling & Luchetta’s (1999) conceptualization of humiliation seem social psychologically more meaningful due to the emphasis on the element of identity in humiliating experiences.

Let us summarize the broader aspects noted by psychological conceptualizations of humiliation we have discussed so far. Humiliation is a complex self-conscious emotion. The self-conscious emotion of humiliation is somewhat similar to shame and associated with anger but is different from both (although more work is needed to clarify the relation of humiliation with other emotions).

Humiliation generally involves unfair devaluation or demeaning of one’s identity. People experience a mix of shame and anger in humiliating situations. Humiliation also entails an element of powerlessness (Silver et al, 1986).

1.2. Consequences of Humiliation

As pointed out in the prologue, humiliation is associated with a diverse range of deleterious consequences in individual and group life. Of particular interest to this thesis are the action consequences of humiliation. As we have discussed above, the experience of humiliation is characterised by presence of elements like powerlessness, illegitimacy, shame and anger. Shame is an inward looking, self-directed emotion which is commonly associated with avoidant response whereas anger is outward looking, other-directed emotion which motivates approach response (Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992). Perhaps due to the presence of such oppositional elements, humiliation has been linked to diametrically opposite consequences.

1.2.1 Violent and Vengeful Action

There is an overwhelming emphasis on violent retaliation, aggression and vengefulness as behavioral consequences of humiliation. Researchers have produced range of anecdotal (e.g. Lindner, 2006; Klein, 1991), theoretical (e.g. Miller, 1993; Walker & Knauer, 2011; Scheff, 1994; Held, 2004) and, in some cases, empirical evidence (e.g. Elison & Harter, 2007; Combs et al, 2010) for drawing out links between humiliation and aggression/violence.

Gilligan (1996) and Lindner (2000) interviewed over hundred participants involved in violent situations (for Lindner's participants it was genocide and intergroup conflict in Germany, Rwanda/Burundi and Somalia whereas for Gilligan's participants it was their personal crimes for which they were serving sentence). Both Lindner (2000) and Gilligan's (1996) report that for the majority of participants being humiliated was as an important motive for engaging in aggressive and violent behavior. Furthermore, Elison and Harter (2007) proposed humiliation as a necessary mediator between acts such as bullying, mocking, teasing, etc. (or other attempts of degradation) and violent ideation and tested this relationship in consecutive empirical studies. One important point their research emphasize is that humiliation is not only associated with homicidal and violent ideation which comprises a desire for revenge and willingness to harm others, but it was also

associated with suicidal or violent ideation towards self (p. 326). This also corroborates Klein's (1991) assertion that the anger and aggression resulting from humiliation can be both-self-directed as well as other-directed, and can lead to violence directed towards oneself or directed towards others. The experimental research by Combs et al. (2010) also showed anger, hostility and vengeful urges as consequences of humiliation. Overall, action (or more correctly, violent and vengeful action) has been emphasized as the main consequences of humiliation. On the basis of these consequences of humiliation, researchers have emphasized humiliation as an intense and extreme emotion. As mentioned earlier, humiliation entails an element of powerlessness (Silver et al, 1986). Few researchers emphasize this element of powerlessness in humiliating experiences. They argue that due to powerlessness humiliation can suppress action rather than instigating it (Ginges & Atran, 2008).

1.2.2 Suppression of Action

Ginges and Atran (2008) examined the relationship between humiliation and political violence in the context of Palestinians living under the Israeli occupation in West Bank and Gaza. A sample of over 1200 participants indicated that the most humiliating aspect of Israeli occupation was the being forced to stand in line at checkpoints. In studies that either measured or manipulated humiliating experiences of Palestinians in the context of Israeli occupation, Ginges and Atran (2008) asked participants to report the emotion that first comes to the mind while thinking about having to stand in line at checkpoints. Most of the participants reported humiliation over other alternatives such as, oppression, sadness, fear, anger, revenge, frustration, etc. Next, Ginges and Atran asked participants to report the emotion that first comes to mind while hearing about suicide attacks against Israeli occupation. Most of the participants reported joy over other emotions fear, anger and sadness. If humiliation is indeed linked with aggression, violent retaliation or vengefulness as has been claimed by most of the researchers then this relationship between feeling humiliation due to standing in line

at Israeli checkpoints and felt joy while hearing about suicide bombings against Israeli occupation should be positive. On the contrary, Ginges and Atran (2008) found a *significant* ($p = .002$) *negative relationship*. This means participants who felt humiliated reported less joy.

On the basis of these empirical findings, Ginges and Atran argued that humiliation does not necessarily lead to aggression. In fact, humiliation involves loss of power in a public context and therefore more likely to lead to an inertia effect - a tendency towards inaction rather than the rebellious or violent action. Ginges & Atran, in this way, highlight the inertia effect of humiliation and its influence in intergroup conflict. Kellezi and Reicher (2011) also corroborate this suppressive aspect of humiliation. They show that in the extreme intergroup situations such as Nazi Holocaust and 1999 Kosovo war, people were humiliated by being forced to violate their shared standards and beliefs, and this resulted in a corrosive shame that affected overall wellbeing and integrity of the people. To summarise, it is clear that the link between humiliation and action is complex. Humiliation not only instigates action, but it also suppresses action.

1.3 Unresolved Issues and Questions

Several critical issues regarding the nature, experience and consequences of humiliation remain unresolved in the existing literature. In this section, we will discuss those issues and questions.

1.3.1 Need to Understand Relational or Dynamic Nature

The question what exactly is humiliation remains unresolved in the psychological literature. The emotion of humiliation has been considered as something intra-psychic, automatic and static in nature. However, emotions are not inherently intra-psychic entities but they are deeply social and relational in nature (Parkinson, 1996; Parkinson, Fisher & Manstead, 2005). Also, as pointed out by Gopal Guru and his collaborators, humiliation involves interaction between the perpetrators and the

victims and it is, therefore, deeply relational and dynamic in nature. Yet the psychological conceptualizations do not pay much attention to this dynamic or relational nature of humiliation.

Donald Klein (1991) asserted the notion of 'humiliation dynamic' almost two decades ago which conceptualises humiliation not as an experience or an emotion but as a relationship. Hartling & Luchetta (1999) also emphasized the importance of a relational or interpersonal paradigms to study humiliation. The empirical investigations of humiliation are rare, but whatever few empirical investigations were conducted in the past two decades, they did not empirically examine and conceptually refine the relational nature of humiliation emphasized by researchers like Klein and Hartling & Luchetta. Somewhat related issue to the dynamic or relational nature of humiliation is the role of victims in the context of humiliation

1.3.2 Need to Understand Victim's Agency

In most of the psychological conceptualizations, victims of humiliation are passive, voiceless, and almost servile. This is surprising since, as noted previously, several researchers emphasize the distinction between 'being humiliated' and 'feeling humiliated.' Such a distinction could only be made if victims of humiliation are not automatons, who retain their agency over to feel or not to feel humiliated, who can nullify an attempt of humiliation by protesting against it or by denying any acknowledgement of it.

Although humiliation can make victims feel powerless and hopeless, it cannot make their resistance impossible. There is much evidence to suggest that even under the most extreme conditions, people do not passively accept their devaluation, but actively strive to protect, maintain and enhance their sense of self-worth (See Haslam & Reicher, 2012; Scott, 2008). In fact, powerless and stigmatised individuals and groups often possess adequate resources to deal with societal devaluation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Crocker & Major, 1989). Therefore, a truly dynamic perspective of humiliation need to attend to the role of victim's agency in the context of humiliation.

1.3.3 Need of a Group level Conceptualisation of Humiliation

The literature reviewed so far unambiguously suggests that humiliation takes place in interpersonal as well as intergroup interaction. People not only humiliate or get humiliated as individuals but also as group members. Although few researchers have acknowledged the difference between individual and group based humiliation (e.g. Lindner, 2001a, 2001b) and few researchers have even attempted to conceptualise 'collective humiliation' (e.g. Nauhauser, 2011; Klein, 1991), the dominant conceptualisation of humiliation has been mostly individual (e.g. Otten & Jonas, 2013, 2014; Gilbert, 1997) and interpersonal (e.g. Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Elison & Harter, 2007; Combs et al, 2010) in nature. Can such individual or interpersonal conceptualisations help understand humiliation people experience as group members?

The adherence to individual and intra-individual conceptualisations to study group level humiliation can be problematic. The tendency among psychologists to reduce the explanation of collective and historical phenomenon to individual and intra-individual processes has been widely criticized (Gergen, 1973; Israel & Tajfel, 1972; Reicher, 2004; Turner, 2004). Particularly, social identity approach (SIA, Reicher, Spears & Haslam, 2010) has shown that there is a distinctive social or collective level of psychological processes which cannot be reduced to the individual level. People not only act as individuals but also as group members with a common perception, identity and goals. Therefore, humiliation needs to be conceptualized distinctively at group level.

1.3.4 Need to resolve the debate regarding Consequences of Humiliation

Humiliation has been linked to diametrically opposite consequences in the existing literature. de Rivera (2013) recently reported a debate among clinical and social psychologists at a conference in US regarding these diametrically opposite consequences of humiliation. He tried to conceptually resolve this debate by highlighting the difference between humiliation felt due to loss of rights and humiliation felt due to loss of status. He suggests that the humiliation experienced as a consequence

of loss of rights is more likely to lead to loss of power and hence result in inaction or inertia whereas the humiliation experienced due to loss of status is more likely to lead to experience of shame (somewhat akin to the concept of humiliated fury) which can result in violence. Although J. de Rivera's attempt to resolve this debate is interesting, it further complicates the matter. This distinction of humiliation on the basis of loss of rights and loss of status might not be psychologically meaningful as people can experience humiliation e.g. a rape, which can involve both- loss of rights and loss of status.

This debate over consequences of humiliation is very important for the social sciences as a whole since humiliation has been an important theorising element in international relations, global politics, genocide, war, oppression, etc. Indeed, social psychology has the potential to resolve this debate by explaining the conditions under which humiliation can lead to action vis-a-vis inaction. From a social psychological perspective, the issues of power and efficacy seem to be at the core of how humiliation is responded. In fact, even those who say that humiliation leads to disempowerment argue that when people are re-empowered by leadership and mobilisations, humiliation leads to the action (Ginges & Atran, 2008, p. 292). This means humiliation is very much bound up with the people's sense and ability to act either individually or collectively which might be at the core of this debate. Importantly, people's sense and ability to act either individually or collectively against humiliation is not static but can be influenced by leaders and their efforts of mobilisation. The leadership and mobilisation processes can feed into people's sense of efficacy and impact upon their ability to challenge the existing relations of power and domination (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Therefore, we need to examine the role of power, efficacy and mobilisation in the context of humiliation in order to resolve this debate.

The empirical work in the thesis attends to these issues we raised. In the next chapter, we will discuss the theoretical and methodological perspective which guides the empirical research in the thesis.

CHAPTER II. PERSPECTIVE OF THE THESIS

This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological perspective of the thesis. The chapter will first discuss the theoretical position of this thesis which treats humiliation as 1) inherently relational or dynamic in nature, 2) a distinguishably group level phenomenon and 3) a mobilised phenomenon. The chapter will then clarify the methodological perspective of the thesis and discuss various qualitative and quantitative methods adopted in the empirical research.

2.1 Theoretical Perspective

2.1.1 Humiliation as a Relational Phenomenon

This thesis treats humiliation as inherently relational or dynamic phenomenon. Drawing on the work of Gopal Guru (ed., 2009) and his collaborators, humiliation is understood as a reciprocal social relationship in which both perpetrators and victims interact with each other in order to accomplish the act of humiliation. Humiliation is treated as a social and relational entity even as an emotion (Parkinson, 1996; Parkinson, Fisher & Manstead, 2005). This relational perspective of humiliation allows us to consider the choice and agency victims of humiliation possess. The necessary details of Gopal Guru and his collaborator's theoretical position have been already discussed, therefore, unnecessary here.

Gopal Guru (2009b) have pointed out that the context determines the nature, intensity and form of humiliation (p.10). However, there is no specific attention to the distinction between individual and collective context in his work. The perspective of humiliation as a relationship only makes sense if its context is clear. It is the context which shapes the nature, experience and response to humiliation. For example, humiliation involving two persons as individuals is distinct from humiliation involving two persons as group members. Therefore, the experience and response to humiliation involving

two persons should be different from the humiliation involving two group members. This thesis, adopts the distinction between individual and group level humiliation.

2.1.2 Humiliation as a Group Level Phenomenon

In social psychology, humiliation (as far as I know) has not been integrated with theory of intergroup relations and it has not been the focus of systematic empirical research (See, for a notable exception, Leidner, Sheikh & Ginges, 2012). Consequently, the experience and consequences of group level humiliation remain poorly understood. In this section, we will discuss theoretical frameworks that can provide insights into humiliation at group level. Social identity approach (Reicher, Spears & Haslam, 2010) which comprises social identity theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorisation theory (SCT, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) is almost indispensable for any student of social psychology who wants to study a group-mediated phenomenon. However, not the main body of the social identity approach but its empirical extensions in the context of group emotions and intra-group relations that are particularly relevant for the research in this thesis. We will begin by discussing main premises in SIT and SCT and then consider the intergroup emotion theory (IET, Smith, 1993; Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007) and self-category construction (Reicher and Hopkins, 1996a; 2001).

2.1.2.1 Social Identity Theory

SIT provides insights into when and how people's emotions, perceptions and behavior will be influenced by their group membership. SIT postulates that people can define their self in terms of the groups to which they belong. This definition of self in terms of group membership i.e. social identity is a fundamental concept in SIT which is seen at the root of group behavior. On the basis of general experience and observation, SIT assumes that people are generally motivated to evaluate themselves positively. This positive evaluation of self is not restricted to individuals but can be done in the context

of groups as well. When group membership becomes psychologically meaningful to people, they are motivated to evaluate their groups positively. In other words, people generally seek a positive social identity. On the basis of this assumption, SIT develops a general hypothesis regarding the basis of intergroup behaviour that when individuals internalise their membership of a social group, and define themselves in terms of this membership (i. e., in terms of a meaningful social identity), they will seek to positively differentiate their own group (ingroup) from other comparison groups (outgroups) on valued dimensions of comparison.

Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979), authors of SIT, then applied this theoretical formulation to the psychology and resistance of devalued or disadvantaged groups in the society. Devalued groups members have to live with contemptuous view of oneself and one's group and face serious psychological problems of self-respect and human dignity (Tajfel 1981, p. 316). SIT proposes that devalued group members, under such conditions, will engage in at least three different social identity processes. First is *social mobility* or "exit". When group boundaries are permeable, devalued group members will disidentify with the erstwhile ingroup and attempt to move into a high-status group. Second, when prospects of changing one's condition are minimal, devalued group members will attempt "redefining or altering elements of comparative situation" (p.43) e.g. changing the out group, comparing the ingroup to outgroup on some new dimension or changing the meaning of group identity (e.g. Black is beautiful) etc. Third, when devalued group members see the intergroup status relations as illegitimate and unstable, they will challenge the outgroup directly by engaging in collective action.

2.1.2.2 Self-Categorisation Theory

Self-categorization theory (SCT, Turner, Hogg, Oaks, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) extends the ideas proposed in SIT. SCT mainly focuses on the social psychological dynamics of self and develops a forensic analysis of categorisation process. The categorisation process reflects 'the cognitive grouping

of the self as identical to some class of stimuli contrast to some other class of stimuli' (Oakes, Haslam and Turner 1994, p. 95). SCT argues that self is always defined in terms of social relations i.e. in comparison with the other, but this definition can occur on a number of levels of inclusiveness (e.g., me as an individual; me as a group member; me as a human being). Self-categorisation is seen as a dynamic and context dependent process influenced by comparative relations in a particular context. Self-categorisation in terms of one's group (social identity) entails a process of depersonalisation i.e. when a category (or identity) becomes salient, people come to see themselves and other category members less as individuals and more as interchangeable exemplars of the group. Generally people have access to large constellation of self-categories / social identities (e.g. an academic, a citizen, a football club fan etc.), the salience of these self-categories provides basis for one's behaviour. The salience of social categories is determined by an interaction of perceiver's readiness and fit. Perceiver's readiness refers to the tendency to use categories as a function of past experience and also current expectations, goals and values. Fit has two aspects- comparative and normative fit. The principle of comparative fit depends upon the calculation of the metacontrast ratio, such that the social category that tends to become salient in a given context is the one that simultaneously maximises intra-category similarity and maximises inter-category differences whereas principle of normative fit indicates that category will be salient if it matches stereotypical expectations concerning intergroup differences with objective reality of such differences. SCT, thus, elaborates the concept of social identity proposed in SIT and explicates the processes that underlie social identification that provide the basis for a group member's attitudes, emotions and behaviours in a given context.

2.1.2.3 Intergroup Emotion Theory

Intergroup Emotions Theory (IET: Smith, 1993; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007) can provide insights into the experience of humiliation on the group level. IET was developed out of a marriage between self-categorization theory (Turner et al, 1987) and appraisal theories of emotion (Frijda, 1986;

Keltner, Ellsworth, & Edwards, 1993). IET proposes that intergroup behaviour is driven by emotions people experience on behalf of their group membership i.e. intergroup emotions. These emotions are generated by belonging to and by deriving identity from a social group. To put differently, IET holds that when social identity is salient, group based appraisals of events or situations leads to different emotions and these emotions further lead individuals to act toward or against the outgroup (Mackie, Davos and Smith, 2000).

The empirical research generated by deriving predictions from IET in the context of intergroup relations has successfully shown that when group membership is salient, people can experience emotions on the behalf of groups' position or treatment, even if they had little or no actual experience of intergroup situations themselves. For example, Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead (1998, study 2) presented Dutch participants with various accounts of colonial treatment of Indonesia. Although participants were not personally involved (in fact, most of them were not even born during those events), they not only reported feeling guilty for their nation's past wrongdoing but were willing to undertake compensatory action due to it.

The IET research has provided valuable insights in understanding intergroup relations in the last decade. The focus on intergroup emotions has helped move beyond the long dominated generic notions of prejudice or group bias and provided a more nuanced and detailed interpretation of the group experience (See, for a review, Iyer and Leach, 2008). IET has provided the basis for theorizing and research into different emotions in intergroup relations viz. Guilt (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead, 1998; Iyer, Leach and Crosby, 2003), shame (Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi & Cehajic, 2008; Brown & Cehajic, 2008), anger (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer & Leach, 2004) Schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe and Doosje, 2003), contempt (Tausch et al., 2011), etc. However, despite important implications of humiliation for intergroup relations, IET research has not paid any attention towards humiliation. Importantly, IET research is skewed in terms of its focus. There is much focus on emotions from perpetrator's side (e.g. guilt and shame experienced due to

past wrongdoing of ingroup) but less attention has been paid to emotions from victim's side.

Humiliation is indeed a crucial emotion from a victim's perspective.

2.1.3 Humiliation as a Mobilised Phenomenon

This thesis looks at humiliation as something which can be invoked or mobilised and not simply experienced. Several researchers have pointed out the viability of such a perspective. To begin with, Ashis Nandy (2009) has pointed out the possibility of instrumental use of humiliation rhetoric for political mobilisation and consolidation. He even asserts that in order to use humiliation rhetoric for political mobilisation it is not necessary to have a genuine record of humiliation as "humiliation can be imagined and cultivated, in response to contemporary political needs" (p. 51). To support his assertion, he points out that the violent nationalism such as Nazism has always carefully nurtured the feeling of humiliation. Evelin Lindner (2002) also corroborates Nandy's assertion and notes the use of such 'imagined humiliation' for mobilising action by Hitler in Germany and by Hutu elite during the Rwandan genocide (p. 128).

Several researchers have pointed out presence of humiliation rhetoric in the context suicide terrorism. For example, Mohammad M. Hafez (2007) studied the dominant narratives in insurgent videos, audio recordings, online magazines, and biographies used to mobilise martyrdom in Iraq. One of the important narratives deployed to mobilise the suicide attacks was humiliation: "At the heart of the mobilizing narratives of insurgents is the theme of humiliation at the hands of callous and arrogant powers" (p. 99). Hafez's analysis clearly points out that organisations such as Al Qaeda in Iraq strategically use emotional arguments such as humiliation along with numerous other instrumental, ideological and religious arguments. Fattah and Fierke (2009) have also noted such use of humiliation in the narratives by militant Islamists in the Middle East to instigate support for

restoring a transnational Muslim *Ummah* (nation/community) damaged in the past by Western 'crusaders'⁴.

Perhaps, this explosive use of humiliation by powers like Islamic extremists, Hitler and Hutu Elite have prompted Lindner (2002) to term humiliation as a 'nuclear bomb of emotions' (p. 127). She emphasizes the mobilising power of humiliation and observes that the explosive feelings of humiliation are often appropriated by leaders. She calls such appropriation of feelings of humiliation by leaders as "Humiliation Entrepreneurship"- the deliberate activation and manipulation of feelings of humiliation in others for the purpose of achieving personal, social, or political objective (p.129). The powers like Islamic terrorists, Hitler and Hutu elites are not the only one to use humiliation rhetoric for mobilisation; Chinese rhetoric of 'Century of Humiliation' in domestic and international politics is well known. Interestingly, Callahan's (2004) analysis of Chinese rhetoric of 'Century of Humiliation' contradicts Lindner's (2002) emphasis on negative implications of 'Humiliation Entrepreneurship' and argues that understanding humiliation is more complex than a simple calculation of links between defeat, humiliation, and revenge as humiliation can be used to mobilise different ends other than revenge and retaliation.

'Century of Humiliation' or 'hundred years of national humiliation' (1839 to 1949) refers to the indignities suffered by Chinese nation state during opium wars at the hands of Japan and western powers. Callahan (2004) examines the use of rhetoric of 'century of humiliation' in Chinese public culture. He notes that the discourse of Chinese national humiliation is spread in public histories, mass movements, romance novels, textbooks, museums, prose poems, feature films, popular songs, national holidays, and even atlases. His analysis suggests that the national humiliation is a common and recurring theme in Chinese public culture, and it plays an important part in the construction of Chinese nationalism. This rhetoric of national humiliation continually informs Chinese foreign policy in both elite and popular discussions. Importantly, it is emphasized that the rhetoric of national

⁴ Crusaders here refers to the Christian military campaigns during the Middle Ages against the Muslim world.

humiliation is 'not deployed just in a predictably xenophobic way but also in a self-critical examination of Chineseness' (p. 200). Callahan's (2004) analysis suggest that humiliation needs to be looked not only as an emotion but also as a discursive practice in a specific political and historical context. There is certainly a need to explore humiliation as a mobilised phenomenon. Self-category construction can help us make sense of mobilisation of humiliation from a social psychological perspective.

2.1.3.1 *Self-Category Construction*

While SIT and SCT treated social identity as an internal psychological construct, Reicher and Hopkins (1996a) integrated SCT with elements of discursive and rhetorical psychologies and treated social identity as a discursive and rhetorical action. Reicher and Hopkins (1996a) argue that the self-categorisation is not cognitively determined but is open to contestation in most of the cases. Category definitions (i.e. who are 'we'? & who are 'they'?) are not self-evident, but they are almost always actively constructed and contested through arguments. Reicher and Hopkins, therefore, stress the importance of the rhetorical construction of self-categories which, according to them, can have powerful social-cognitive consequences.

Reicher and Hopkins (1996a; 2001b) have shown that the way self-categories are defined e.g. in terms of inclusiveness, their context and prototypicality will shape the breadth, direction and leadership of the collective mobilisations. In other words, they show that category definitions create and shape collective action. Reicher and Hopkins see the collective mobilisation attempts by leaders as rooted in their construal of self-categories. According to Reicher and Hopkins (2001b), the people who lead and shape collective mobilisations are in fact the '*entrepreneurs of identity*' as they construe the self-categories in such a way that is most useful for their political projects. Category construction provides an important framework for studying the use of humiliation in collective mobilisation. Such an examination will provide an opportunity to see whether leaders can be

'entrepreneurs of emotion' as well and help us extend the study of humiliation in the context of mobilisation.

2.2 Methodological Perspective

Serge Moscovici (1972) argues that a healthy discipline must prioritise the way it asks questions over the way in which they are investigated. A healthy methodological perspective, therefore, would be the one which flows from the research questions rather than the other way round. To be able to examine the issues we raised earlier, we not only need to explore the experience of group level humiliation and its use in collective mobilisation but also examine specific predictions regarding the relationship of humiliation with other variables. This dual task of exploration and examination makes this thesis a project in both hypothesis-generation and hypothesis-confirmation and requires employment of qualitative as well as quantitative research methods.

2.2.1 Qualitative Methods

Our exploratory inquiry regarding the nature of humiliation in general and the nature of group based experiences of humiliation in particular requires us to approach people and interview them about their experiences of humiliation. These interviews then need to be analysed with an aim to explore the role of identity, relational nature and victim's agency in the experiences of humiliation. Such an analysis of interviews can be appropriately facilitated by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a flexible method in the sense that it can allow an accurate representation of participant experiences without imposing a priori categories upon their responses and, at the same time; it can also allow one to approach the interview data in terms of specific research questions. Therefore, thematic analysis can help us explore the nature of humiliation without having burdened

by prior conceptualisations of humiliation and it can also help us in developing specific predictions that can be systematically tested in laboratory settings.

The examination of the role of humiliation in collective mobilisation requires us to take a qualitative approach guided by discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and rhetorical psychology (Billig, 1987). Traditionally, these approaches view categorisation and identity as situated accomplishments guided by how people use language in their formal and informal talk (e.g., Edwards, 1991). Although the discursive / rhetorical approaches are typically posited as antagonistic to somewhat experimental approach implied in SIT and SCT, Reicher & Hopkins (1996b, 2001b) have successfully applied the discursive / rhetorical approaches to the study of core constructs in SIT and SCT, specifically the construction of self-categories and identities in political mobilisation

Reicher and Hopkins (1996a) suggest that study of the speeches is better suited (than experimental method) for analysing arguments in political mobilisation. Ordinarily, speeches by political leaders are qualitatively analysed to examine different arguments used for mobilising masses (e.g. Augustinos & De Garis, 2012). However, mere qualitative analysis of speeches will not be enough for our purpose since we also need to see how humiliation (if used as an argument for mobilisation) is related to other constructs in the speeches (e.g. proposed actions or injunctions). Therefore, again, we need to adopt a flexible method which not only facilitates the exploration of arguments regarding mobilisations, but also systematically examines the relations between these arguments. In other words, we need something that allows us to qualitatively analyse the speeches so that use of humiliation, if present, can be studied, but we also need something that can help us draw firm conclusions regarding the relationship between these arguments. SAGA (Structural Analysis of Group Arguments) developed by Reicher and Sani (1998) seems to fit our purpose. SAGA allows qualitative analysis of arguments in the speeches and also facilitates the quantitative summarising of these arguments so that specific predictions regarding the relationship between arguments can be tested.

2.2.2 Quantitative Methods

Apart from qualitative exploration of humiliating experiences, we are also interested in supplementing this qualitative exploration by deriving and testing specific predictions regarding experience and consequences of humiliation. These specific predictions can be better tested by using experimental method. Experimental method would require us to systematically manipulate independent variable and examine its consequences on dependent variable. Thus, experimental method will allow us to draw firm and causal conclusions regarding experience and consequences of humiliation.

Before we go into the empirical part of the thesis a brief introduction regarding Dalits in India is warranted.

CHAPTER III. DALITS IN INDIA: SOCIAL POSITION, LIVED EXPERIENCE AND RESISTANCE

The aim of the present chapter is to briefly introduce Dalits in India. Although empirical research in this thesis has been conducted with U.K. students as well, this brief introduction of Dalits is intended to provide a background against which responses of Dalit participants in the empirical chapters could be understood. The chapter will focus on three aspects of Dalits- first, their social position in the caste system, second, their lived experience in the caste system and third, their resistance to the caste system. We will begin with discussing the basics of the caste system and clarify the position of Dalits in it. Next, we will discuss the past and present experience of humiliation among Dalits in the caste system. Finally, we will conclude by outlining the historical, as well as contemporary resistance of Dalits to their humiliation and oppression in the caste system.

The caste system in India is one of the most complex and oppressive social systems that exists today. Several social science disciplines e.g. Sociology, History, Anthropology, Political Science, etc. have been studying the caste system and its implications at least from two centuries. Consequently, there is a vast literature available today on caste, untouchability, anti-caste movements, etc. which is marked by various debates regarding the nature, function and dynamics of the caste system. Along with the debates regarding the nature, function and dynamics, the literature on caste and related issues has also been complicated because of its efforts to keep up with changes and adaptations of the caste system in modern times. For example, Karl Marx predicted that the castes in India will dissolve with rapid industrialisation (Marx & Engels, 1979). Many scholars also harboured this somewhat naïve optimism. However, this prediction by Marx has proved false. Caste not only remained resilient during the process of industrialisation and modernisation but also became an indispensable part of the democratic process in India today (Gupta, 2005; Rudolph, 1965). Similarly,

the practice of untouchability was banned and made a criminal offence in the Indian constitution itself during 1950s. It was also thought that with the rapid modernisation inhuman practices like untouchability will vanish. However, untouchability is still practiced in India today (Shah et al., 2010).

Our aim here is not to engage with the debates regarding caste, untouchability, anti-caste movements, etc. but to discuss the salient points regarding the caste system and the experience and struggle of Dalits so as to understand the broader context of social relations in Indian society.

Following is a general account based on major works from various social science disciplines (Roderiguez, 2002; Dirks, 2011; Dumont, 1980; Ghurye, 1969; Gupta, 2000; Jaffrelot, 2005; Keer, 1995; Omvedt, 2006; Patil, 1990). As we will see later, Dalits have been called by various names in Indian context. This presents a difficulty while presenting social and historical sketch of Dalits in the caste system. Therefore, the term 'Dalits' will be used to refer to the politicised Untouchables in the modern India whereas the term 'Untouchables' will be used while discussing their pre-British existence.

3.1 Caste in Indian Society

Many confusions exist regarding the nature and function of the caste system. It is often thought that caste system consists of four major castes i.e. Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, but then it becomes confusing how can there be thousands of castes in Indian society? Where do Dalits fit in these four major castes? Many of such confusions can be resolved by understanding the difference between two major concepts used to denote caste i.e. Varna and Jati.

3.1.1 Varna & Jati

The term caste is widely used now-a-days to refer to both Varna and Jati which, unfortunately, obscures many nuances of the caste system. The term caste is derived from a Portuguese term

'casta'. 'Casta' literally means race. The Portuguese when they came to India observed that there was a social ban on inter-caste marriages. They believed that it was to maintain the purity of blood that intermarriages were prohibited. So castes were believed to be the Indian variant of races in Europe. When the British came to India and studied the caste system, they soon established that castes are not races (Ghurye, 1969). The equivalent of the term caste in Sanskrit is Varna. Varna literally means colour but it has nothing to do with the colour of the skin and has no racial meaning as in the Western context. The Hindu scriptures mention Varnas and the British scholars who wanted to study caste turned to Hindu scriptures to understand it. They adopted the Varna model of caste found in Hindu scriptures.

What is this Varna model of caste? *Rigveda*, one of the oldest scriptures in India, describes the origin myth of Varnas, which uses the metaphor of the human body to explain the social stratification. It says that all four Varnas emerged from the body of the Brahma - the creator. The *Brahmins* (the priestly class) were born from the mouth, the *Kshatriyas* (the warrior class) were born from the hands, *Vaishyas* (the commerce class) from the thighs and *Shudras* (the labouring class) from the feet. The Untouchables do not have a place on the body of Brahma. They are, in fact, excluded part of the four *Varna* system and sometimes referred as the fifth *Varna*. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are often designated as "twice-born," in reference to the ritual initiation called as *Upanayana Sanskar* in which investiture with the Hindu sacred thread constitutes a kind of ritual rebirth. Shudras and Untouchables do not have the right of *Upanayana Sanskar* and therefore remain once born.

The organs of the body (mouth, hands, thighs, and feet) are unequal and perform different and unequal functions. They are unique and cannot be replaced by one another, and they do not mix with one another. Similarly, Varnas, which originated from the body of the Brahma too, are not only different, but unequal, not to be mixed, and have their own specific function to perform in society. This origin myth propounded in *Rigveda* almost three thousand years ago metaphorically explained

the endogamy, difference, hierarchy, and division of labour in Indian society. In addition, the theory of *Karma* - a belief that one's Varna is determined by one's deeds in previous lifetimes - legitimised the existing hierarchy among Varnas and closed all the doors of social mobility.

Although the Varna model explained social stratification in Indian society to a great extent, British scholars soon realised that it is far from the reality on the ground. They observed that each Varna consisted of an internal hierarchy of smaller groups. The Varna structure was uniform across India, but the different internal groups were not uniform (Dirks, 2011). So it was impossible to fit the social reality of these smaller groups in a single ladder that spanned across India. So they concluded that it was not the Varnas that mattered, because that is not how it is on the ground, but Jati, the smaller groups. The Varna hierarchy was fixed with the Brahman on top and Shudra or the Untouchable at the bottom. However, the local Jatis were more flexible and much more complex. The Varna model is, thus, a 'book view of caste' whereas Jati model is a 'field-view' or the actual reality of caste (Shrinivas, 1962).

3.1.2 Castes, Sub-castes and Official Categories

The local Jatis (castes) are thousands in numbers. Not only that, these local Jatis are further divided into numerous up-Jatis i.e. sub-castes. For example, Mahar is an untouchable caste in Maharashtra but there are further sixteen sub-castes of Mahars i.e. Somvanshi Mahars, Ladvan Mahars, Aandvan Mahars etc and until recently, these sub-castes of Mahars were unwilling to intermarry and inter-dine among themselves. Similarly, Brahmin is a caste (also designated as Varna), and there are numerous sub-castes of Brahmins across India. They differ from region to region. In Maharashtra, there are Saraswata Brahmins, Karhade Brahmins, Chitpavan Brahmins, Deshastha Brahmins, etc. In South India, there are Iyengar, Iyer, Namboodari Brahmins whereas in north India, there are Kanya Kubja, Bhumihar, Kashmiri Pandits, etc. Often, there is little inter-marriage across these various Brahmin sub-castes. Importantly, these sub-castes are not horizontal but vertically placed

representing a hierarchy within a hierarchy. Arguably, there are more than 3,000 castes and more than 25,000 sub-castes in India at present.

British rulers carried out censuses based on castes and organised them systematically. These censuses carried out by British rulers later provided a framework for official groupings of castes in modern republic India roughly resembling the Varna hierarchy (Dirks, 2011). Subsequently, the Indian constitution grouped Castes (Jatis) into four major categories. First, the General category which comprises the so called twice born castes i.e. all the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya castes. Muslims and few other minority groups in India are also included in the general category. Second, the OBC (Other Backward Castes) category. This category came into existence in the 1990s due to the influence of mobilisation among the lower castes in India (Patil, 1990). Mostly Shudra castes (Some Muslim⁵ and other minority castes) are included in the OBC category. Third, the SC (Scheduled Castes) category which comprises all erstwhile untouchable castes. Here 'Schedule' means a schedule to the Constitution of India which contains detail list of untouchable castes. Fourth, ST (Scheduled Tribes) category which includes all tribal castes in India. These official groupings now works as a major criteria for caste based reservations (an affirmative action programme by Indian government) in jobs and education.

3.1.3 Caste - A Social Group with Unique Features

Castes or Jatis are nothing but small social groups believing in the Hindu religion and bound by certain regulation as to marriage, food, settlement, jurisdiction and occupation. Castes are often tied

⁵ Muslims and Christians in India also have castes among them. Only difference is that the caste hierarchy among Muslims and Christians is not legitimised by the religion as is the case with Hinduism. The equality among Muslims and Christians in India exist only at surface as it is found only at the places of worship and not in other crucial spheres such as marriage. The untouchable who have converted to Islam and Christianity to escape caste system remained as untouchable Muslims and untouchable Christians due to practice of endogamy (See, Michael Ed., 2007).

to a specific geographic location in India. Caste is a highly endogamous and communal unit of Indian society. It is also highly organized and involuntary social grouping (Rodriguez, 2002).

Castes as social groups are marked by six basic features (Patil, 1993; Ghurye, 1969). They are as follows-

1. Inheritance/membership by birth
2. Hereditary occupation
3. Intra-dining
4. Endogamy
5. Caste hierarchy- caste-wise settlements and division of village into *Savarna*⁶ Hindus residing in village and *Avarna* Untouchables and tribals residing outside village.
6. Control and Regulation by the Caste Panchayat (council)

Every caste in Indian society more or less bears these six features. Again, an example of the Mahar caste would be helpful to illustrate the six features of a caste. One becomes Mahar by being born in the Mahar caste and one follows the hereditary occupation of a village servant. This hereditary village service included dragging dead animals out of villages, collecting the fuel to the burning ground⁷, carrying messages to nearby villages, etc. Mahars who inherited village duty would receive *Baluta* (gifts in kind). They could claim shrouds of the dead, the hides of carcasses, and the privilege of begging food in upper caste houses in the village. Mahars only intermarry and inter-dine among themselves and live on the outskirts of a village. They had a caste council composed of prominent and elder Mahars to resolve their internal disputes. In fact, the example of six basic features of Mahars would be a bit non-conventional since Mahars had no specific hereditary occupation but a

⁶ This refers to another parallel division in Hindu scriptures according to whether the social group has a place in the Varna hierarchy i.e. on the body of Brahma. The social groups which have place in the Varna hierarchy are called as Savarna which literally means 'with Varnas' and the Avarnas which literally means 'without a Varna'. Untouchables are also called as Avarna.

⁷ Burning ground- a place where corpses are burnt in connection with funeral rites.

traditional village duty. Other Shudra castes, however, such as Kumbhar (potters), Dhobis (Washermen), Kunbi (peasant) etc. were tied to their specific occupations, and they were important to the whole village economy. They would inter-dine and inter-marry among themselves and had their separate settlements in the village and separate caste councils.

How social groups like caste/Jatis are different from other social groups? The question is, of course, important since potters, washermen, intellectuals as social groups exist everywhere in the world but they have not been organised into different castes. There seem to be three main reasons for this. First, in other countries the social groups like potters, washermen, and intellectuals have remained unorganized and voluntary groups while in India they have become castes because of practice of endogamy i.e. marriage within ingroup. Second, in other countries they were not given a name while in India they were. It is the name which caste bears which gives it fixity and continuity since naming of caste helps in maintaining jurisdiction by the caste council (Ambedkar 2002, p. 102). Third, in other parts of the world such occupational groups were not legitimized by the religion but in India they were.

As is evident from basic features of caste, the relation of caste with birth, occupation, marriage, hierarchy, jurisdiction, and geographic settlement links it to the social, economic, political, geographic, cultural and also psychological aspects of Individual and group life. Hence, caste is sometimes called a primordial or central feature of Indian society (Gupta, 2000). Has there been any change in these basic features of caste over the time? One cannot deny the effects of modernity on these features. However, the effect is mixed and somewhat superficial. For example, in modern times the relationship of caste with occupation has weakened. Also, caste wise settlements are rare in the cities but they still exist in villages and towns. Not many people seem to practice intra-caste dining. However, a look at matrimonials in the Indian newspapers would be enough to prove that endogamy is still vigorously practiced among all castes. Caste councils are still functioning in formal and non-formal ways in many parts of India. Many scholars point out that despite the advent of

modernity and some apparent changes in the basic features, the caste system is still intact and thriving in a democratic environment (Guru, 2009d; Michael ed., 2007; Dirks, 2011; Gupta, 2000; Gupta, 2005).

3.1.4 Who are Dalits?

Having discussed the basic features of the caste system, we are now in a position to understand who are Dalits or Untouchables in Indian society. From above discussion, it is clear that Untouchables in Indian society are very low and partially excluded people. Untouchables are members of a discrete set of low castes excluded on account of their so called collective impurity. Untouchables constitute 16% i.e. one-sixth of Indian population, and they number about 150 million (Michael, 2007, Shah et al., 2006). Untouchables are called by various names such as Harijans as popularized by Mahatma Gandhi, Exterior castes - a term used by J.H. Hutton, depressed classes - as termed by British officials, Mleccha, Chandala, Panchama, Avarna, Antyaja, Atishudras, etc. The widely used official name, scheduled castes, were first used by British Government in Government of India (scheduled caste) order, 1936 (Michael ed., 2007). The name Dalit, however, come to acquire prominence in recent times.

The term Dalit was first used by Dr. Ambedkar in his journalistic writings (Jaffrelot, 2005). The word "Dalit" comes from the Marathi language, and means "ground", "suppressed", "crushed", or "broken to pieces". It became popular and gained assertive meaning during 1970s in Dalit Panther movement in Maharashtra, a radical movement among Dalit youth inspired by Black panthers in US. The term Dalit implies an underprivileged condition, deprivation of the basic rights and referred to the people who are suppressed on the account of their birth in a low caste. Dalit Panther manifesto defined Dalit in terms of a superordinate category which comprises all oppressed people:

Who are Dalits?

Members of scheduled castes and tribes, neo-Buddhists⁸, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are exploited politically, economically and in the name of the religion (quoted by Omvedt 2006, p. 72).

However, the meaning of Dalit has shifted from simply describing a condition to identifying a process and a set of social relations. Now, the term Dalit does not merely express identity but it also conveys their aspirations and struggle for change and revolution (Guru, 2001). It shows a unified and conscious class, a movement towards equality and dignity and a vision of casteless society. In social psychological terms, Dalits has become a politicised collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). To understand the transition of Untouchables to Dalits, we will have to look at their lived experience and resistance. However, before we discuss the lived experience and resistance of Dalits, it is important to understand how caste system affects social relations in Indian society.

3.2 Caste System and Social Relations in Indian Society

Castes are fundamental to social relations in India. Due to association with aspects such as marriage, occupation, jurisdiction etc., the caste system can affect social relations in Indian society in several important ways. Here, we will consider three important ways the caste system shapes social relations in Indian society. First, ritual status of a caste gains prominence over the political and economic power in the society and renders the Brahmins superior to all. Second, the caste system gives rise to the practice of untouchability and specifies the rules and regulations in order to avoid being polluted. Third, the caste system is structured as a graded hierarchy or graded inequality of castes which systematically impedes any possibility of solidarity among castes.

⁸ Neo-Buddhists refers to the erstwhile Untouchables converted to Buddhism under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

3.2.1 The Ritual Status and Brahmin Superiority:

A basic aspect of the caste system is the importance of ritual status. Caste hierarchy bases itself on the principle of ritual status. The ritual status signifies how much a social group is distanced from the ritual act. The more closer a social group to the ritual act, the more pure and the more superior it is. Therefore, the Brahman who performs the ritual is the purest and the most superior, the Kshatriya who organizes the ritual comes next, and so on.

Western anthropologist Louis Dumont's (1980) influential theory of caste was mainly based on this principle of ritual purity. Dumont perceived the caste system as 'reducible to a single true principle, namely opposition of the pure and the impure' (Dumont 1991, p. 477). For Dumont, caste represented institutionalization of hierarchical values. He conceived the caste system as a relational system in which the 'impurity of the untouchable is conceptually inseparable from the purity of the Brahman' (Dumont 1991, p. 478). In the caste hierarchy as defined by one's ritual status, Brahmin is at the top signifying the most pure whereas untouchable is at the bottom signifying the most impure.

Dumont distinguished between status and power while explaining superiority of the Brahmins in the caste system. He argued that status is considered higher than the power in the caste system. The ritual purity is more important than political and economic power. A Brahmin even though very poor and powerless is still superior to a rich Vaishya or a powerful Kshatriya king because of his ritual status. In fact, Hindu scriptures reveal the rules regarding the sitting arrangement in a Kings court which specify that the highest sitting position be given to a Brahmin because he is the most pure being in the court (Rodriguez, 2002). Brahmins are sometimes referred as 'Bhudev'- Gods on the earth due to their ritual purity. Even today Brahmins maintain a cultural and religious superiority in India which supersedes economic and political power (Guru, 2009d).

3.2.2 Untouchability

One of the most pernicious impacts of ritual status is the practice of untouchability, as one could lose one's ritual status (i.e. one's caste) by coming in contact with different sources of pollution such as a menstruating women, a dead body, an untouchable, a foreign country etc. There is a system by which one can regain one's ritual status what is called as *Prayachitas*. The *Prayachitas* are actually the penances which a man expelled from caste must perform before he can be admitted to the caste fellowship. These *Prayachitas*, or penances, are different for different transgressions. For example, if you happen to dine with a non-Hindu or a person from another caste the penance is lighter whereas if you happen to dine with a low caste person penance is more severe. Hypergamy i.e. *Anuloma* is the case when a woman from low caste marries to a man above her caste. This is not ideal but still allowed with little penance. However, *Pratiloma* i.e. hypogamy, is an upper caste woman marrying a low caste man. Progeny from such marriage would be considered '*Chandala*' or untouchable. This is the most serious transgression. There are no penances for such a transgression and you (and your subsequent generations to come) lose your caste permanently and become Untouchables (Rodriguez, 2002).

Hindu scriptures especially the *Manu-Smiriti* (the laws of Manu), the ancient law book of India by Manu- the ancestor of human race (equivalent of Adam in the Abrahamic religions), systematised the practice of untouchability and gave it a religious status. *Manu-Smiriti* laid down rules and regulations to keep away different sources of pollution which included all women and Untouchables and envisioned an unequal society in which Brahmins are super-men. In fact, Nietzsche, the great German philosopher, saw the reflection of his *Übermensch* (Superman/Overman) in the ideal laid down by Manu-Smiriti! (Nietzsche, 1954). Although the untouchability of a menstruating Brahmin woman is temporary, it becomes a permanent stigma for an untouchable as the birth in an untouchable caste itself is considered as a source of pollution. The Untouchables were a permanent threat to the purity of other castes. Therefore, the restriction and regulation of Untouchables was one's religious duty.

Untouchability can be notional as well as physical. It is not necessary to come in contact with an untouchable person to get polluted, but the sight of an untouchable person in the morning or even thinking or talking about an untouchable person can be a source of pollution. In this sense, the practice of untouchability not only constituted the regulation of human touch but also regulation of human sight and human thought. Untouchability, thus, does not represent a separate system in itself but a corollary of the caste system. It is a behavioral consequence of general belief in notions of purity and pollution and, as we will see later, it is at the root of the humiliation of Untouchables.

3.2.3 Graded Inequality

Along with ritual status, Brahmin superiority and untouchability, the graded inequality of caste system underlies social relations in Indian society. What is graded inequality? How does it affect social relations in Indian society? We discussed how the caste system represents a vertical hierarchy of castes. This vertical hierarchy of castes is not plain but graded in structure. The social hierarchy or social inequality can be differentiated into two main types - plain inequality and graded inequality (Rodriguez, 2002). In a plain system of inequality e.g. the class system in Britain, society consists of clear high and low social groups whereas in a system of graded inequality, there are no clear high and low social groups but multiple graded social groups like highest (Brahmin), higher (Kshatriya), high (Vaishya), low (Shudra) and lower (Untouchables), and so on.

Although the distribution of privilege and power is unequal in both the systems of inequality, the power and privilege is distributed according to grades in a graded system of inequality. This renders a graded system of inequality better in self-preservation. In a plain system of inequality, low social groups can combine to challenge and overthrow high social groups but in a graded system of inequality no such combination and mobilisation is possible. This is because every group from highest to lowest has a privilege accorded to them. Therefore, even if all social groups have

grievances against those highest or higher, every group has a vested interest in maintaining the system except the one at the very bottom of hierarchy.

Historically, one of the most debilitating effects of graded inequality was on the solidarity among untouchable castes. The power and privilege of the Untouchables was negligible compared to other castes, but still they rarely came together to overthrow the caste system (Zelliot, 2001). This was due to the presence of an internal graded hierarchy among untouchable castes which hinders the formation of a common grievance and common identity among them. It gives rise to attitudes of contempt towards untouchable castes which are lower and attitudes of jealousy and hatred towards untouchable castes which are higher (Ambedkar, 1989). Consequently, Untouchables are not a homogeneous group in nature, and little solidarity exists amongst them. Sadly, Untouchables also practice untouchability among themselves and take pride in their caste position. For example, Mahars of Maharashtra consider themselves superior to Matangs- another untouchable caste from Maharashtra and refuse to intermarry with Matangs. Chambhars (Cobblers) of Maharashtra consider themselves superior to Mahars and Matangs and do not intermarry with Mahars and Matangs. To make matters worse, various sub-castes within these untouchable castes also contest among themselves for superiority and consider other sub-castes inferior to them. For example, Somvanshi Mahars consider themselves superior to Ladvan Mahars and refuse to intermarry on this basis.

3.3 Lived Experience in the Caste System

In pre-British times, the condition of Untouchables was utterly powerless and they had little chance of escaping the inequities of caste system. The British colonial regime recognized most Hindu laws and practices and it was not, in many ways, a social revolutionary enterprise (Marx and Engels, 1979; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2006). It, however, helped the situation of Untouchables immensely. For the first time in two thousand years, Manu-Smriti was replaced by British law which looked at all Indians having same rights and obligations. Under British rule, at least in principle, an Untouchable had same

worth that of a Hindu. Importantly, when the British came to India, they started employing Untouchables in their armies and this changed the fate of Dalits. An untouchable whose shadow was even polluting in the village had to be saluted and respected by an upper caste in the British army. Traditional Hindu society, thus, underwent a profound social change under British rule. On the other hand, untouchable soldiers also helped British to establish their rule in India (Ambedkar, 2003). Despite such socio-political changes, there was little change in the lived experience of Untouchables. Neither pre-British protests by Untouchables against the caste system nor the socio-political change under British rule was successful in eradicating untouchability. Untouchability was continuously practiced and shaped the lived experience of Untouchables for over two thousand years.

3.3.1 Humiliations of Untouchability

We noted the crucial importance of notions of purity and pollution in the caste system which culminates in the practice of untouchability. Since Untouchables represented a major source of pollution for upper castes, the common social attitude towards them was that of contempt and disgust. Consequently, various social restrictions were put on Untouchables. Untouchables were forbidden to draw water from the common well, they were forbidden from entering into temples and other public places, and their access to use common roads, and common burial grounds was restricted. Untouchables could not obtain education because Manu-Smiriti prohibited education of Untouchables and prescribed the severest punishment for any attempt to gain knowledge. Interestingly, along with spaces, even the access to certain times were restricted to Untouchables. They could not walk into the village during morning and evening hours as their shadow would be long due to slanted sun-rays and would cause pollution to many people. Cattle and dogs could freely enter in the villages but not the Untouchables. Untouchables were required to carry a broom, strung from their waist, to sweep away the dust behind them lest a Hindu walking on the same dust should

be polluted. Untouchables had to hang a pot around their neck lest their spit fall on the ground and pollute some Hindu (See, Rodriguez, 2002; Ambedkar, 2003).

All the polluting (or disgusting/contemptible to human senses) occupations were allocated to Untouchables such as dealing with carcasses and animal hides, delivering messages of death, cleaning and carrying human faeces, etc. Due to this relation with the dirt and filth, Untouchables themselves became identified with dirt and filth. Brahmins would cover their nose while encountering Untouchables so as to communicate that Untouchables are repulsive and polluting (Phule & Deshpande, 2002). The social condition of Untouchables, in this sense, exemplified the *Entfremdung* (alienation) described by Karl Marx (Marx, 2012). Under destitute conditions, Untouchables were reduced to eating carrion for their survival that also became an additional factor for society's contempt and disgust towards them.

Many terms and concepts have been used to describe this lived experience of Untouchables by Indian and western scholars such as oppression, exclusion, marginalisation, rejection, discrimination, dehumanisation etc. However, the term which really captures the lived experience of Untouchables is humiliation⁹ (See, for juxtaposition of humiliation with other concepts, Guru ed., 2009a). V. Geetha, an Indian Scholar, refers to philosopher Cornel West's description of Black experience as 'an ontological wounding' while describing the experience of untouchability. According to her, "the experience of untouchability is essentially an experience of wounding, of wilful hurt, through which the outcaste body becomes a stranger to itself" (Geetha 2009, p. 97). The very body of an untouchable becomes a permanent ontological wound which signifies worthlessness and inferiority of one's being. The practice of untouchability, in this sense, is inextricably linked to the experience of humiliation. It constitutes denial of human identity and violates the sense of value and rights one

⁹ This claim is also supported by the literary writings of Dalits themselves regarding their experiences in the caste system (See, Dangle, 1992).

naturally expects on the basis of being human. Untouchables, thus, led a life of humiliation for over two thousand years. Many things, however, began to change in post-independence India.

3.3.2 Present Lived Experience

After independence from British rule in 1947, India became a federal parliamentary democratic republic. The Indian constitution recognised the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and old institutions of caste and untouchability were officially delegitimised. Democratic politics, law and economics released new forces in the Indian context which challenged traditional power relations. These new changes were powerful enough to make upper castes in India feel in threat of losing their traditional grip over Indian society whereas the powerless and oppressed communities like Untouchables started feeling empowered due to democratization and the spread of education. These new conditions also enabled Untouchables first time in two thousand years to mobilise among themselves and collectively fight for their rights.

Undoubtedly, the situation of Untouchables (who started calling themselves Dalits) in this new democratic age was relatively better than what it was in the first decade of the twentieth century. However, there was no fundamental change in the social treatment accorded to Untouchables. Caste and untouchability, as mentioned earlier, continued exerting its influence on social relations in India. A Human Rights Watch report published in the year 1999 described the condition of Untouchables in modern India,

Despite the fact that "untouchability" was abolished under India's constitution in 1950, the practice of "untouchability"- the imposition of social disabilities on persons by reason of their birth in certain castes - remains very much a part of rural India. "Untouchables" may not cross the line dividing their part of the village from that occupied by higher castes. They may not use the same wells, visit the same temples, drink from the same cups in tea stalls, or lay claim to land that is legally theirs. Dalit children are frequently made to sit in the back of classrooms, and communities as a whole are made to perform degrading rituals in the

name of caste. Most Dalits continue to live in extreme poverty, without land or opportunities for better employment or education. With the exception of a minority who have benefited from India's policy of quotas in education and government jobs, Dalits are relegated to the most menial of tasks, as manual scavengers, removers of human waste and dead animals, leather workers, street sweepers, and cobblers (Narula 1999; p. 4).

Reservations in jobs and education have certainly helped Untouchables to forsake traditional caste occupations and move to urban centers where caste distinctions are relatively less. Consequently, a new middle class started emerging among them. This reservation policy, however, has helped very few Untouchables because of lack of proper implementation (Michael ed., 2007). Although untouchability is considered as a distinguishing feature of rural India as the above quote suggests, the urban parts of the country have not completely got rid of it. Untouchability in the rural areas is visible because in the rural context it is easy to keep a physical distance from an untouchable person. However, in urban parts maintaining such physical distance is not possible. Due to several pieces of protective legislation, mobilizations and modern conditions, nobody will object to presence of an untouchable person in a metro train in Delhi or local restaurant in Mumbai. However, Untouchables still witness several subtle humiliations due to their so called impurity in urban parts (See, Jogdand, 2013). For example, an untouchable person can freely use the public areas in a city but his/her entry into private spheres, such as an upper caste colony or an upper caste friend's *Devghar* (i.e. part of the house where a small temple of God is present) will be still prohibited. It will be almost impossible even for an educated and well-to-do untouchable person to find an accommodation in an upper caste locality of a city. Untouchability, in this sense, is kept alive in urban parts through numerous micro-efforts to keep a psychological distance from Untouchables.

It is clear that the social condition of Untouchables is still not free from humiliation even after 50 years of Indian independence. However, Untouchables now live in a complex and somewhat contradictory environment. They are empowered by mobilisations among them as well as by the

changing political and economic conditions but at the same time they are still powerless in the caste structure which continues to shape their everyday life. Untouchables began to articulate their lived experience in the Indian society through autobiographies, poems and short stories in the 1960s (See, Dangle, 1992). These literary works show that not only does the presence of humiliation in untouchable life remains unchanged but also despite education and economic empowerment, it is still difficult to challenge humiliation in everyday life. Modern conditions enable Untouchables to gain education, earn money and power, enter into new fields and explore new avenues but modern conditions do not guarantee equal recognition and respect (Guru, 2000). Even the most educated and empowered untouchable is subjected to humiliation and there is nothing he/she could do to escape from it. Perhaps, this relative sense of powerlessness has made humiliation in untouchable life more pronounced than ever before.

The Indian Government passed a legislation known as 'The Prevention of Atrocities Act' in 1989. This act specifically made it illegal and punishable to parade Untouchables naked through the streets, force them to eat faeces, take away their land, foul their water, interfere with their right to vote, and burn down their homes, etc. The act has recently completed 25 years without making much change in the occurrence of caste atrocities and social boycotts. On the contrary, there has been a steady increase in the occurrence of caste atrocities due to increased assertion and resistance from Untouchables (Teltumbde, 2011). How do Untouchables survive through such living conditions? What helps them in their resistance to humiliation and oppression? In the next section, we will look at the resistance by Untouchables.

3.4 Resistance against Caste and Untouchability

The resistance of the Untouchables to their oppression and humiliation in the caste system has been ideological as well as practical. Untouchables survived (and still survive) under inhuman conditions in

Indian society not only because of their day to day tenacity but also because of their constant efforts to build a positive ideology and assertive identity (Khare, 1984). Untouchables differentiated between mere survival and survival with meaning and social dignity. Because Untouchables had no access to traditional mainstream knowledge structures, they always relied on the knowledge sources that are antithetical or foreign to the mainstream Indian society (Guru, 2011). Indian spiritual idealism and Western democratic and liberal discourse provided ideological and social support for Untouchables in their mobilisation efforts. Importantly, Untouchable resistance always remained a solidarity based collective action. Many of the profound expressions of untouchable resistance have come from religious figures and thinkers who were not strictly 'untouchable' themselves and the resistance led by Untouchables, and lower castes has always been supported by many upper caste followers.

3.4.1 Pre-British Resistance

3.4.1.1 Buddhism vs. Brahmanism

The earliest challenge to caste, untouchability and Brahmanism (Hindu ideology supporting spiritual and social superiority of Brahmins) came from Gautama Buddha, 6th Century B.C. religious founder of Buddhism. Buddha rejected the inequality among human beings on the basis of caste (i.e. Varna) and allowed women and Untouchables to be admitted in his Sangha (community of spiritual practitioners). Buddha challenged the superiority of the Brahmins and proclaimed that one's actions rather than one's birth should determine one's worth (Omvedt, 2009). Buddhism was not the only religion or religious teaching that challenged caste and untouchability but there were others as well such as Jainism, Lokayat materialism etc. However, Buddhism was the most prominent force among these and shaped early part of Indian civilisation.

Buddhism, however, was uprooted from the Indian soil owing to triumph of Brahmanism under the patronage of royalty. The conflict between Buddhism and Brahmanism, thus, shaped ancient Indian

history (Rodriguez, 2002). The opposition to Brahmanism and caste, during the early centuries of the first millennium, came from Muslim invasions. Although Islam bore a message of equality of human beings, the Muslims rulers in the medieval period of Indian history often collaborated with the Brahmins to enforce the caste rule (Omvedt, 2011). However, the egalitarian and (spiritual) emancipatory visions of Sufism began to spread among lower strata of Indian society and provided foundation for a new revolt against the caste system in the form of Bhakti (devotion) movements.

3.4.1.2 Bhakti Movements

From the twelfth century onwards, many Bhakti movements arose in various parts of India. In South India, the Lingayat movement started by Basavanna in Karnataka challenged caste distinctions. The Varkari movement in Maharashtra founded by Saint Dyaneshwar and Saint Namdeo made important contributions. In north India, Bhakti movements led by Saint Kabir and Saint Ravidas as well as Sikhism founded by Guru Nanak challenged Brahmins and rejected caste and untouchability.

These Bhakti movements were spiritual as well as social in nature. They taught self-emancipation as well as social equality. Founders of these movements criticised the idolatry and ritualism practiced by Brahmins and enlightened the masses against Brahmin exploitation. Many women also played a significant part (and sometimes led) these Bhakti movements. One important aspects of these movements is that many of its founders (often called Sants i.e. Saints) were ordinary low caste and untouchable householders who lived with their wife and children and worked as artisans, farmers and even common labourers. Some of the major Saints in Bhakti movements also belonged to the so-called upper castes in India. Saint Eknath of Maharashtra, who was a Brahmin, describe various caste based occupations of various low caste and Untouchables Saints and, thus, notes their contribution to the Bhakti movement in powerful words -

God baked pots with Gora, drove cattle with Chokha,
Cut grass with Savata Mali, wove garments with Kabir,

Colored hide with Ravidas, sold meat with butcher Sajana,
Melted gold with Narhari, carried cow-dung with Janabai
And even became the Mahar messenger of Damaji. (Quoted in Zelliott 2001, p. 22).

3.4.2 Resistance in British India

Although Bhakti movements challenged caste and paved the way for spiritual salvation, they did not provide any systematic analysis of the Brahmanical exploitation. Brahmanised Hinduism slowly co-opted these Saints by emphasizing their spiritual teachings over their social. These Saints were then looked at as exceptional human beings who could break caste themselves because of their spiritual salvation, but a common man is seen as incapable of doing it. Therefore, the masses worshipped these Saints but did not follow their social message of breaking caste (Rodriguez, 2002). Brahmins also found political support among regionally based kingdoms and came to rule certain states. The Peshwai (the rule of Peshavas) in Maharashtra was a Brahmin ruled state and it is known in Indian history for its orthodoxy and exploitation.

Under British rule, there was some awakening among Hindus as well due to movements for social reform in Hinduism. The consolidation of Hindu society torn up by the outdated traditions and customs was one of the main agendas of major political organisations like Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) and the Hindu Mahasabha as well as social organisations like Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj etc. The issue empowerment of Untouchables received very little attention in these efforts of social reform in Hinduism since the focus of these reform movements remained mainly on the reform in the Hindu family by taking steps regarding re-marriage of widows, women's right to property, education of women, child marriages, etc., but not on the reconstruction of the Hindu society by abolishing caste and untouchability (Keer, 1995).

During 18th and early 19th century, efforts were made to develop an analysis of Brahmin exploitation and the caste system. The interaction with the western discourse of democracy and human rights

helped in this regard. It was Mahatma Phule who first developed a systematic analysis of issues like exploitation by Brahmanical priesthood, caste system, untouchability, treatment of women in Indian society.

3.4.2.1 Mahatma Phule

Jotiba Phule (1826-1890; also known as 'Mahatma Phule'), a Shudra and a gardener by traditional occupation, first provided analysis of exploitation and tyranny of Brahmanism. Phule started the first ever school for women and Untouchables in India, wrote books to enlighten the Shudra and Untouchable masses and established the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth Seeker's Society) which later grew into a non-Brahmin Satyashodhak movement against caste and untouchability. Mahatma Phule was one of the first Indians to introduce the values of freedom, equality and fraternity, as proclaimed by the French Revolution, into the Indian way of thinking. Along with egalitarian Indian spiritual thought, Phule's ideas of social justice were inspired by American Philosopher Thomas Paine's book 'Rights of Man'.

On ideological level, Phule tried to unite Shudras and Untouchables. He argued that Brahmins are Aryans. They are not the original inhabitants of India but are the outsiders who came here and subjugated the original inhabitants. Shudras and Untouchables represent this exploited and oppressed mass conquered by Brahmins. Phule compared the subordination of Shudras and Untouchables with that of Blacks and native Indians of America. Phule not only rejected the authority of Vedas, the holiest of Hindu scriptures, but also developed a keen analysis which challenged scriptural justification for the emergence of the caste system and Brahmin superiority on the basis of rationality and egalitarianism. Long before Foucault, Phule analyzed the nexus between knowledge and power that made possible the hegemony of Brahmins (Phule & Deshpande, 2002). Phule pointed out the immense economic exploitation of Shudras, Untouchables, Farmers and laborers in the name of religion by Brahmins. Phule emphasized, contrary to other Hindu social

reformers, the complete reconstruction of Indian society by eradicating caste, untouchability and patriarchy. Importantly, Phule's analysis emphasized the adoption of social as well as economic measures for the emancipation of Untouchables.

After Mahatma Phule, several leaders from various parts of India such as Mangoo Ram and Achchutanand from North India, Kisan Bansode from Maharashtra, Bhagyareddy Varma from South India etc. led fight against caste and untouchability for the early two decades of the nineteenth century. In Maharashtra, Mahatma Phule's work was later on carried forward by Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj, the prince of Kolhapur state in India. Shahu Maharaj, inspired by egalitarian philosophy and Phule's Satyashodhak movement, supported and took active part in the efforts to challenge caste and untouchability. Shahu Maharaj was also an important leader of non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra led by Keshavrao Jedhe and Dinkarrao Jawalkar. The Non-Brahmin movement challenged the supremacy of Brahmins in society and rejected caste and untouchability. However, its leadership mainly came from the Maratha caste (a Kshatriya level caste) and most of the followers were Shudra level castes.

After Shahu Maharaj, Dr. Ambedkar arose as the most charismatic leader of Untouchables on the background of Satyashodhak and non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. During this period, there were other leaders of Untouchables from various parts of India who made important contributions such as Pandit Iyothee Thass, E.V. Ramaswami 'Periyar' etc but Dr. Ambedkar emerged as the first pan-Indian leader of Untouchables.

3.4.2.2 Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956; also known as 'Babasaheb') was born in a Mahar family of a retired British soldier in Maharashtra. Ambedkar received a scholarship to study in America and England from Sayajirao Maharaj of the Baroda state. He acquired an M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University, New York and a D.Sc. from London School of Economics. He also studied law at Grays inn,

London University and became a barrister. During his studies in America and England, Ambedkar studied with many eminent scholars of his time and acquired proficiency in economics, political science, philosophy, anthropology, law and history. This academic training in the west not only helped Ambedkar to develop his analysis of caste, untouchability and patriarchy in Indian society but also prepared him to lead Untouchables and subsequently play a decisive role as a national leader of India.

Ambedkar was an able scholar as well as a man of action. Ambedkar formed several political parties such as the Bahishkrit Hitkarani Sabha (Outcaste welfare Conference), the Scheduled Caste Federation, the Independent Labor Party, and the Republican Party of India. He established several colleges for the education of untouchable students in various parts of Maharashtra. He represented Untouchables at various levels and led their demonstrations. Ambedkar started several journals such as Mooknayak, Bahishkrit Bharat and Janata to enlighten Untouchables. Ambedkar wrote several books on various social, political, historical, economic and religious issues.

Ambedkar urged the Untouchables to 'educate, organize and agitate'. Ambedkar criticized the dependency of Untouchables on the patronage of Hindu social reformers and emphasized the value of self-help. It was under Ambedkar's leadership that caste and untouchability received their greatest challenge from Untouchables. Untouchables, first time in two thousand years, began to articulate their position in the language of rights and publicly burned Manu-Smriti which justified their humiliation and oppression of Untouchables for two thousand years. They chose the way of collective protest over individual salvation and proclaimed their resolve to reconstruct the Hindu society on an egalitarian basis.

Ambedkar also played a key role as a national leader. His main contribution to the making of modern India was his role as the chief architect of Indian constitution. He was the chairman of drafting committee of the Indian Constitution. Ambedkar's alma mater Columbia University conferred on him an honorary L.L.D. for his contribution to the making of Indian constitution and the fight for human

rights of Untouchables. In independent India's first cabinet led by Jawaharlal Nehru, Ambedkar became the first law minister of India. Ambedkar proposed the Hindu code Bill which gave equal rights to Hindu women. He resigned from the cabinet when, due to strong opposition from orthodox Hindus, Jawaharlal Nehru backed out from passing the Hindu Code Bill in the parliament. After 1950 Ambedkar shifted his focus towards religion from law and politics. In a final blow to the caste system, Dr. Ambedkar converted to Buddhism with his million followers in 1956 shortly before his death.

On an ideological level, Ambedkar identified Brahmanism and capitalism as the main exploiters of Untouchable masses. He differed from the non-Brahmin movement over the involvement of Brahmins in the untouchable movement. Ambedkar argued that every Brahmin does not represent Brahmanism. The opposition should be to the Brahmanical ideology not the Brahmin people. Many of Ambedkar's key activists were Brahmins. Ambedkar developed a powerful critique of Hindu social order and Hindu scriptures. He developed theories to explain the origin of caste and untouchability and analyzed the economic exploitation of the masses due to caste and untouchability. Regarding caste, Ambedkar argued that it is not just a division of labor but also divisions of laborers. He pointed out the crucial importance of endogamy and grade inequality (see above) in the caste system and emphasized how caste is antithetical to producing a common identity and common purpose among Indian masses. He proposed inter-caste marriages as well as the rejection of Hindu scriptures as important ways to annihilate caste.

Ambedkar never became part of freedom struggle in India. He criticized the Indian National Congress and had major differences with Mahatma Gandhi in terms of social, political and religious philosophies as well as practical-political strategies. Ambedkar's differences with Gandhi were based on two main reasons. First, Gandhi did not, ideologically as well as practically, seek any fundamental change in the caste system. He believed in the merits of the Varna system and traditional caste occupations. Gandhi's effort was towards making the Untouchables a fifth Varna in the Hindu

society by eradicating untouchability (See, Roy, 2014; Keer, 1995). Second, Gandhi was in favour of separate political rights of Muslims, Sikhs and other minorities but declined the same for Untouchables on the ground that separation of Untouchables from Hindus would make Hindus weak against the Muslims. Although Ambedkar acknowledged Gandhi's moral integrity and his sincere efforts to the cause of eradicating untouchability, he criticised Gandhi for his ideological limitations, paternalistic ways, capitalistic affiliations and harbouring mainly Hindu bourgeois interests (Baxi, 1995; Palshikar, 1996). Both Gandhi and Ambedkar shared a deep commitment to the eradication of untouchability. They contributed to emancipation of Untouchables in different ways. Gandhi's emphasis on Hindu's duty to eradicate untouchability was complementary to the Ambedkar's emancipatory approach to gain human rights for Untouchables (Pantham, 2009).

Several of Ambedkar's mobilizations seem contradictory to each other. In the realm of religion, he first asked Untouchables to join the Hindu religious festivals, to perform marriages with Vedic rituals and to enter temples to assert their identity as equal Hindus. However, later asked Untouchables to leave the fold of Hinduism and convert to another religion. In the realm of politics, Ambedkar formed various political parties and vacillated between attempts to consolidate the Untouchable masses either on the basis of caste or class. He opposed Gandhi and Indian National Congress but also worked with them on some occasions for national interests. He did not join the freedom struggle led by congress and instead sought help from British rulers but he also criticized British rulers for their economic exploitation of India and neglect of untouchable interests. These seeming contradictory mobilizations can be understood if we take into account the changing socio-political context of India as well as the powerless and fragmented condition of Untouchables in the caste system. These contradictory actions are, in fact, different pragmatic strategies developed to fight caste and untouchability (Jaffrelot, 2005). Ambedkar's contribution to the emancipation of Untouchables is, perhaps, best captured by V.S. Naipaul in an interview with the late Dalit poet Namdeo Dhasal -

“What does Ambedkar mean to Dalits?

There was a time when we were treated like animals. Now we live like human beings. It's all because of Ambedkar!” (Naipaul, 1991)

3.4.3 Post-British Resistance

We have already discussed the post-British i.e. post 1947 condition of Untouchables. In this section, we will take a brief look at the efforts of post-Ambedkar mobilisation among Untouchables who now began to call themselves as ‘Dalits’ and rejected Gandhi’s paternalistic ‘Harijan’ identity.

Post-British resistance by Dalits has been mainly in terms of attempts of consolidating all lower and Untouchables castes to acquire political power in the democratic politics of the country. It is, however, a woeful tale of marginalisation, co-option, factionalism and crisis of leadership. After Dr. Ambedkar’s death in 1956, the political party founded by him R.P.I. (RPI, Republican Party of India) whose aim was to unite all the oppressed people in India received moderate success in its early years, but soon several factions began to emerge within the party. The RPI also failed to broaden its base beyond Maharashtra and attract non-Dalit voters. Several of RPI leaders were co-opted by Indian National Congress. In fact, these Dalit leaders also ran after the patronage of big parties like Congress, and the Congress, on the other hand, also encouraged the factions in RPI. RPI now is only a regional political party in Maharashtra and it is mainly supported by Mahars (the caste in which Ambedkar was born).

Another major attempt at political mobilisation among Dalits was made in the form of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) established by Kanshiram who was born to a Chamar (untouchable tanners) family from the Punjab (a north Indian state). Disgusted by the factionalism and internal casteism in the RPI, Kanshiram’s attempt, like Ambedkar, was to consolidate all the minority and oppressed groups in India under one banner. Kanshiram made several early efforts at mobilisation targeting mainly emerging the Dalit middle class but later formed the Bahujan (literally meaning majority people) Samaj Party to represent all the minority and oppressed population (which he called the Bahujan).

Under the leadership of Kanshiram, the BSP consolidated different lower and untouchable castes and became an influential national level political party. Kanshiram displayed remarkable pragmatism in his political strategies and brokered several political alliances with other parties. He never allowed himself to be co-opted by other powerful parties like leaders of the RPI and never compromised on the ideological vision of Dr. Ambedkar. Although Kanshiram lacked Ambedkar's intellectual sophistication and scholarship, he carefully studied Ambedkar's interpretation of caste and untouchability in Indian society. Kanshiram's efforts as a leader were mainly pragmatic i.e. to gain access to political power so that socio-economic development of lower castes is possible.

The BSP was the first Dalit party to come to rule the largest state in India - the state of Uttar Pradesh. This was a phenomenal success. Mayawati, a Dalit woman who was leading BSP in Uttar Pradesh, became chief minister. She is the first Dalit woman in Indian history to be in such a powerful position. The BSP is an important political force in contemporary India. Kanshiram's efforts, thus transformed the OBC (Other Backward Class), SC (Scheduled Castes), ST (Scheduled Tribes) minorities in India into a political force. Importantly, this success was achieved by following Ambedkar's strategy of consolidating all victim groups in India rather than following the Marxist discourse of class struggle.

After Kanshiram's death, Mayawati is now the main leader of BSP and represents the hope of lower castes in India. Under the leadership of Mayawati, the BSP began to drift from its ideological commitment to Ambedkar's vision and often compromised its ideological position for electoral support. The BSP suffers from many organizational weaknesses such as authoritarianism, personalization of power, etc (Jaffrelot, 2005). Despite such shortcomings, the BSP still is a promising force for Dalits today.

Due to such promise, Dalits are empowered enough to assert their rights and object to their humiliation in everyday life but, at the same time, the overall structural condition of the society remains unchanged. Caste still persists in a renewed nexus with globalizing forces, untouchability is

still practiced, inter-caste marriages are still rare and only a handful of Dalits gain access to higher education and make a decent living. Even these handful of Dalits making a decent living cannot escape the fate of being humiliated on the basis of their caste. This ambivalence of being empowered and powerless at the same time provide the broader context in which Dalit participants in the subsequent chapters of this thesis make sense of their humiliation in Indian society.

3.5 Empirical Chapters Overview

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with experiences of humiliation whereas chapters 6 and chapter 6 deal with action consequences of humiliation. Chapter 8, the final empirical chapter of the thesis, examines the use of humiliation rhetoric in collective mobilisation.

Chapter 4 will present Study 1 of the thesis which explores the experience of humiliation among Dalits in India. The thematic analysis of interviews with Dalit participants result in four inter-connected themes which highlight how humiliation is experienced and how it is managed/challenged in everyday life. Importantly, this analysis will help conceptualise humiliation as a social encounter in which one party attempts to diminish the identity of another party and emphasize that the issues of identity and power are central to the humiliating encounters. The analysis will also facilitate the generation of hypotheses for subsequent studies.

Chapter 5 (Study 2 & Study 3) will report experimental examination of the hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation i.e. whether it is possible to feel humiliated simply by witnessing humiliation of another group member. The experimental examination will be based on a 'classroom humiliation' paradigm in which perspective (victim vs. witness) and target of devaluation (personal identity vs. social identity) was manipulated. Study 2 will examine this hypothesis with group of UK students whereas Study 3 will examine this hypothesis with group of Dalits in India. The manipulation identity devaluation will result in feeling of humiliation. Both the studies will confirm

that when social identity is devalued, simply witnessing humiliation of another group member leads one to experience humiliation.

Chapter 6 (Study 4 & Study 5) manipulates victim's response (resistance vs. compliance) during humiliating encounters and examine its consequences for willingness to undertake action against the perpetrator. Study 4 will be conducted with UK students whereas Study 5 will be conducted with Dalits in India. It will become clear that when victims of humiliation resists the humiliation attempt by the perpetrator during the encounter, they feel more self-assured and are more willing to undertake action against the perpetrator. However, it will also be observed that although Dalit participants in India feel empowered after resisting humiliation attempt, they do not show any increase in willingness to undertake action like their UK counterparts. Therefore, in order to explicate lack of action among Dalit participants, follow up studies will be proposed.

Chapter 7 (Study 6 and Study 7) will report the follow up studies regarding lack of action among Dalit participants. These studies will explicate the possible mediating or moderating mechanisms that help explain the lack of action among Dalit participants. Accordingly, a conditional indirect effects model will be proposed in which the indirect effect of resisting a humiliation attempt on action tendencies (through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support) depend on the level of institutional support for action against humiliation. In other words, it will be expected that the lack of action among Dalit participants is explained by structural conditions in Indian society. The analysis will confirm that although there is a significant indirect effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on action against the humiliation through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support, it is not affected by the level of institutional support among UK students. However, in the context of Dalits, the level of institutional support moderates the indirect effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on action tendencies through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 will, thus, provide insights into the relational nature and victim's agency in the context of humiliation.

The empirical work will be concluded by chapter 8 (Study 8) which will examine the use of humiliation rhetoric for collective mobilisation in the speeches of Dr. Ambedkar. The speeches of Dr. Ambedkar during two important mobilisations (1927 & 1936) will be comparatively analysed to confirm the presence of humiliation rhetoric and its possible use. The analysis of speeches will show that the way Dr. Ambedkar defined the social relations of humiliation (who is humiliating who) affected the nature, scope and proposed actions against humiliation.

CHAPTER IV: EXPERIENCES OF HUMILIATION AMONG DALITS IN INDIA: EXPLORATION AND HYPOTHESIS GENERATION

We will begin the empirical part of the thesis by exploring the experience of humiliation. Current chapter will present a qualitative study which explores the experience of humiliation among Dalits in India. It is also hoped that this qualitative study will help generate hypotheses for further research.

4.1 Introduction

In the preface, we briefly noted that the experience of humiliation although painful and devastating in nature also influenced James Baldwin and Omprakash Valmiki's self-understanding and motivated their social and political activism. Such a transformational and motivational impact of humiliating experiences is no exception. Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography (1927) shows how experience of racial humiliation suffered on a train journey to Pretoria in South Africa fundamentally shaped Gandhi's self-understanding and inspired his social and political activism. The accounts of self-transformation and motivation after humiliating experiences can also be found in the lives of numerous other leaders and activists such as Malcolm X (Malcolm X, 1992), Martin Luther King (LaMothe, 2010), Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Keer, 1995), Mahatma Phule (O'Hanlon, 2002; Keer, 1974), Benjamin Franklin (Brands, 2000) etc. This self-transformational role of humiliation raises many interesting questions regarding the experience and consequences of humiliation. Importantly, these accounts illustrate what Indian scholar V. Geetha points out about the experience of humiliation, "Fundamentally, humiliation is an experience that interrogates and recasts one's relationship to oneself" (V. Geetha 2009, p. 95). Why should the experience of humiliation 'interrogate' and 'recast' one's relationship with oneself? In other words, we need to understand what is so powerful in these experiences that it affects one's self-understanding. Unfortunately, there has been little attention

towards the study of experience of humiliation in the existing literature. In fact, claims concerning the impact of humiliating experiences on one's self-understanding and subsequent motivation to engage in social and political activism has been rejected as a case of inaccurate self-attribution (Ginges & Atran 2008, p. 292).

As discussed in chapter 1, humiliation has been conceptualised as an intense and extreme emotion. In the same vein, the experience humiliation has been looked at as a negative, enraging experience (Elison & Harter, 2007; Gilbert, 1997) or a hostile and vengeful experience (Combs et al, 2010) that often results in extreme responses e.g. violent retaliation (Lindner, 2006; Elison & Harter, 2007); psychopathology (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Klein, 1991) etc. The enraging or vengeful nature of humiliation experience and likely inclination to engage in extreme actions might seem plausible in some instances. However, the existing literature treats the humiliation experience as if it is an experience of emotion explosion which renders one incapable of any reasoned and constructive responses (See Lindner, 2006; Otten & Jonas, 2014). The danger of stressing this 'explosive' or 'extreme' account of humiliation experience is that it ultimately feeds into Cartesian reason-emotion dichotomy (See, Damasio, 1996). The emotions and action stemming from them are seen as automatic, uninhibited and somewhat antagonistic to rational thinking and behavior.

Importantly, such an account of humiliating experiences pathologises the victims by rendering their actions irrational and ignores the numerous ways people manage or challenge their humiliation in everyday life. It may sound a bit strange, but it is a fact that Gandhi developed his methodology of '*Satyagraha*' i.e. non-violent protest while fighting against racial humiliation in South Africa (See Gandhi, 1927). The response to humiliation in Gandhi's case (and in the case of the most of the leaders and activists mentioned above) was neither extreme and nor explosive.

The point is that there might be several other ways people employ to manage/challenge humiliation rather than responding in extreme fashion. A systematic study of humiliation experience, therefore, is needed in order to understand how people experience their humiliation and how they

manage/challenge it. There have been numerous studies on how people experience shame and how they manage it in everyday life (See e.g., Leeming and Boyle, 2013; Ahmad and Brainwaite, 2004). To my knowledge, the experience of humiliation has never been systematically studied in social psychology. This chapter will present a qualitative study which explores the experience of humiliation and the different ways it can be managed/challenged.

4.2 The Present Study (Study 1)

The present study investigated the experience of humiliation among Dalits in India. The Dalit context in India as discussed in chapter 3 provides an outstanding example of everyday humiliation. The study was designed to be exploratory in nature. I was interested in developing a theoretically meaningful social psychological account of humiliating experiences and responses. My aim, therefore, was twofold. First, to explore how participants experience their humiliation and second, to understand how they respond to it. In terms of the experience, I wanted to explore what exactly participants find humiliating across different situations and how they perceive the humiliation of other people. In terms of responses to humiliation, I aimed at exploring how participants responded to humiliation immediately during the situation as well as subsequently.

4.3 Method¹⁰

4.3.1 Sample:

Nineteen Dalit (ex-Untouchables or scheduled caste members) participants took part in the semi-structured interviews which lasted for 40-50 minutes. They were recruited using a snow-ball or referral chain technique (Browne, 2005). I started with interviewing an elderly Dalit participant from a Dalit locality. After finishing the interview he was asked to refer to other potential Dalit

¹⁰ The study received ethical approval from the UTREC (See, Appendix - 1a).

participants who would be above 18 years of age, did not have any history of mental illness and would share their experiences and also consent to tape-record them in an interview. Sometimes participants were also requested to refer to potential participants living in different Dalit localities, belonging to different untouchable castes or women participants, etc. The interviews were mostly conducted at public places such as parks, road side tea stalls, community halls, etc. I did not seek a representative sample of Dalit population but wanted to have as much diversity as possible among participants. My intention was to tap into a diverse range of humiliating experiences in Dalit context. The use of snow-ball or referral chain technique helped in reaching out to participants from different age groups, occupations and castes. In addition, it was important to have a reference from a trusted source to recruit a new participant as talking to a stranger about humiliating experiences is uncommon and monetary compensations for participation in interviews might be viewed with suspicion.

The sample consisted of participants from 18 to 76 years of age, engaged in different occupations from deputy collector (high-level government official) to teacher, ambulance driver, peon, carpenter, photographer, etc. and belonged to various untouchable castes¹¹ like Mahar, Matanga, Dhor, Chambhar, etc. The sample comprised of mostly male participants. Only three female participants were recruited. This is because the interviewer was male, and it was difficult to talk privately to female participants in public places or their homes due to social restrictions. The interviewer was himself a member of Dalit community. He, therefore, shared his social identity with participants. This sharing of identity proved to be a delicate issue. It facilitated as well as affected the interview process. As we will see later, this sharing of identity with respondents adversely affected their willingness to elaborate upon certain experiences. However, sharing of identity had benefits as well. The insider status of the interviewer also helped establish trust and rapport with participants.

¹¹ As discussed in chapter 3, the caste system is a heterogeneous collection of discrete caste groups. There are thousands of hierarchically placed castes in the caste system. Each caste has its unique place along the social ladder with a distinct name, origin myth and history. There are total 59 untouchable castes in Maharashtra and each caste has its unique name. Mahar, Matanga, Dhor etc are some of them.

Participants did not hesitate in referring to other potential participants. Importantly, the common knowledge of everyday occurrence of humiliation between interviewer and interviewee facilitated more open talk about various nuances in the experience and response to humiliation.

4.3.2 Interviews

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured schedule (See Appendix - 1_b). The interviewer asked questions in Marathi. Most of the participants either spoke Marathi or Hindi and occasionally some English. The questions that probed humiliation experiences helped in confirming the role of various elements involved in humiliation. However, my motive was not only limited to obtaining certain objective facts about these elements of humiliating experiences, but also to understand how participants made sense of these experiences. The inclusion of humiliating experiences witnessed by participants among people personally related to them as well as among strangers covered range of different experiences and also gave a comparative sense of what exactly participants perceived as humiliating among this diverse range of experiences.

The interviews explored three types of humiliating experiences in the lives of the participants- 1) participant's personal experiences of humiliation, 2) the humiliating experiences of people personally related to the participant, 3) the humiliating experiences of strangers. I started off by inviting participants to first share their personal experiences of humiliation-

“We are interested in studying the experience of humiliation amongst Dalits in India. I want you to tell me about various experiences of humiliation you have had. Tell me up to three experiences.”

After listening to each experience, participants were probed for three crucial aspects of the experience- 1) Context- e.g. who was the audience? 2) Feelings- e.g. what did you feel during the humiliating event? 3) Response- e.g. How did you respond? After talking about their personal experiences of humiliation, participants were then asked to share the experiences of humiliation

among people personally related to them. These experiences were also probed by asking the same questions as referred to above about context, feeling and response. Finally, participants were asked about the humiliating experiences of strangers. Again, these experiences were probed with the same questions.

Participants were generally elaborate in their storytelling and often referred to their emotions and thoughts during the experience. Although participants were given the chance to talk about all kinds of humiliation, most of them chose to talk about humiliation based on their group membership i.e. their caste. The humiliation based on the caste membership might be more salient in this case. The fact that the interviewer was a Dalit might have contributed to this salience as well. The emphasis on caste based humiliation in participant's narratives along with the inclusion of experiences personally suffered as well as socially witnessed might have made these interviews what can be called as accounts of collective humiliation.

4.3.3 Analytic Strategy

The aim of the analysis was to explore and capture theoretically significant aspects of humiliating experiences so as to derive some testable hypothesis for future research. I found thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) suitable for my purpose. Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) from within data" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.79). It is a flexible method suitable for theory-driven i.e. deductive as well as data-driven i.e. inductive approaches of research. I used a primarily inductive form of thematic analysis in which codes and themes are developed from the data. In addition, I followed the six-phase process outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87) for conducting thematic analysis. Phase 1) the interviews were transcribed and translated from Marathi/Hindi into English, which was helpful in *familiarising with data*. Phase 2) following several close readings of the interview transcripts; *initial codes were generated* inductively keeping the aims of research in mind. The codes were applied to shorter sentences as

well as to longer paragraphs. These codes were further refined through constant engagement with the data. Phase 3) the process of collating initial codes under broader themes that captured their content facilitated *searching for themes*. Phase 4) process of refinement by checking whether themes work with coded extracts and also with the entire dataset was involved in *reviewing themes*. The refinement of themes also helped in ensuring the coherence within and discreteness between the themes. Phase 5) the individual story of each theme as well as the overall story held together by all themes was identified. This was helpful in *defining and naming themes*. Phase 6) finally, the extract examples of themes were selected for *producing the report*. This sixth and final phase of the analysis is presented in the next section. In the quotes provided below, participants are identified by their gender, age and occupation.

4.4 Analysis

The thematic analysis revealed four overarching themes which illuminate different aspects of the phenomenon of humiliation: *The centrality of valued identity*, *Collective experience of humiliation*, *Powerlessness during humiliating events* and *Active management of humiliating experiences*. These four themes appeared strongly linked to one another. The first two themes: *'The centrality of valued sense of self'* and *'Collective experience of humiliation'* illuminate what exactly humiliation is about and help clarify its experience on a collective level. The next two themes: *'Powerlessness during humiliating encounters'* and *'Active management of humiliating experiences'* deal with responses to humiliation and attempt to capture the various ways in which people manage/cope during and after humiliating events. We will now discuss each theme in detail.

4.4.1 Theme 1: *The Centrality of Valued Identity*

The first theme captures the way in which having an identity with value and rights is central to the phenomenon of humiliation. This theme will be presented in four sections. I will first show that humiliation constitutes devaluation of valued identity. I will then show the three implications of valued identity on the appraisal of humiliation. First implication is that, different people will appraise the same event in different ways as a function of whether they have valued identities or not. Second implication is that, when a person shifts in terms of valued identity (i.e. when one acquires a valued identity), the past mistreatment can be retrospectively reappraised as humiliating. The third implication is that one can't be humiliated if one lacks a valued identity.

4.4.1.1 Humiliation as the Devaluation or Denial of a Valued Identity:

We wanted to understand what exactly participants find humiliating across different situations.

Consider the following three extracts about three different experiences of humiliation.

Extract 1 (M, 48, government officer):

I went to the house of my fellow classmate with other students. He invited everybody in the house and made them sit in the hall. However, he asked me to stay outside in the veranda saying that Mahars are not allowed in his house.

Extract 2 (M, 29, student):

There was a great scarcity of water in the village. There was only one *Chalama* (water tank) for us. All Mahar-Maangs¹² had to use water from that tank. After that tank had dried up in the summer, we had to go to the water well of *Patil*¹³. When we go to that water well, we had to keep our utensils at a distance and wait until they pour water into our utensils... we could see even animals drinking water there without fear, but we could get water only if they pour otherwise we had to wait.

Extract 3 (F, 28, police):

¹² Maang is the local corruption of original caste name Matanga

¹³ Patil refers to Village Headman who often belongs to upper castes.

I haven't lived much in villages. Maybe, that is why I felt such intense humiliation in villages...the life there, as I saw, is below the level of humans...it is irritating and resentful...and it is also shameful...Even the rural existence itself is humiliating where you are made to live in segregated areas outside villages...as if you don't belong to humanity... these areas are identified by caste names such as Maharwada, Maangwada, etc.

First thing to notice in the extracts is that what participants refer as humiliating experiences are, in fact, social encounters or interactions. Second, what is common in all these encounters is the process of putting down or lowering down such that one is made to feel inferior and worthless. Importantly, what is being lowered down in the context of these encounters is one's sense of who one is i.e. one's identity. In the first extract, the participant considered himself as a fellow student and expected to have similar value or worth like other students that were denied when he was asked to stay outside because of his caste identity. Humiliation, in this instance, thus, constituted devaluation or denial of the valued identity of the student. Similarly, in the second and third extract, it is the value, and worth one expects simply on the basis of being human that was denied due to the practice of untouchability¹⁴. Humiliation, here, constituted a denial of one's human identity. Most of the humiliating experiences reported by participants necessarily involved some form of devaluation or denial of one's valued identity.

From a slightly different angle, these humiliating experiences also constituted enforcing of stigmatised or devalued identity. For example, the participant reporting feeling humiliation in the context of segregated housing in the third extract was asked to explain why she feels the segregated housing of Dalits is humiliating in nature. She said,

Extract 4 (F, 28, police):

“Instead of feeling pride about one's caste, the deliberate effort is made to make you ashamed of it. I mean, they emphasise how negligible and lowly you are because of your caste!”

¹⁴ As discussed in chapter 3, the restrictions to touch water at public places and living in segregated areas outside villages constitute practice of untouchability and generally seen as paradigmatic experiences of humiliation in Dalit life.

Here the participant expected that she should be able to feel pride for her caste. However, the inferior status and resulting shame was contrary to participant's normative expectation of being proud of one's caste. Segregated housing confirms the inferior status of Dalits in the society and forces them to be ashamed of their caste identity. The value or rights one expects on the basis of one's identity are rejected due to devaluation of that identity. Humiliation, therefore, resulted from the perception that segregated housing enforces a stigmatised or devalued version of one's caste identity. Furthermore, the importance of valued identity to the phenomenon of humiliation can also be seen from the implications it has on appraisal of humiliation.

4.4.1.2 Valued Identity as a Basis of Between Person Variability in Appraising Humiliation:

Participants were quite eloquent about the difficulty in appraising humiliation in everyday occurrences. It is important to add that despite being a common Dalit experience not all participants perceived segregated housing as humiliating. There was a considerable ambiguity among participants regarding what events are humiliating and what events are not. Some participants reported the same event as a normal occurrence while some others found it extremely humiliating. For example, one participant recounted a regular experience of humiliation she witnessed while helping poor, jobless sanitation worker women in the city to find some cleaning work in the middle-class households. She would take these jobless women with her to these middle-class households and try convincing house owners to give them some cleaning work. In the next extract, she describes what would happen if she took a Dalit sanitation worker woman to an upper caste house.

Extract 5a (F, age not disclosed, teacher):

“I could sense their disgust toward this woman in their gestures and words. It was as if an animal instead of a human being has entered into their house. They would instruct her not to touch certain things in their house or not to enter into certain areas. It was a clear practice of untouchability! I used to feel humiliated for both of us. I could see that the treatment given in that house was a result of our being Dalit and nothing else. The poor woman with me could not see this. She used to feel that this is the way the people behave with them. She would say that they are higher caste people, they are rich, and they normally behave in this way.”

The sanitation worker Dalit woman could not see her treatment in the upper caste household as humiliating whereas the participant perceived it as very humiliating. According to the participant, this variability in appraisal is due to the absence of valued identity¹⁵.

Extract 5b (F, age not disclosed, Teacher):

Why do you think that Dalit woman failed to detect humiliation there?

Perhaps, she had no sense of being a Dalit like I had through my participation in the movement.

Participants, thus, differed in their appraisal of humiliation depending upon whether they have a valued identity or not.

4.4.1.3 Valued Identity as a Basis of Within-Person Variability in Appraising Humiliation:

There was a within-person variability in the perception of events as well. Interestingly, when one shifts in terms of whether one have a valued identity or not, the same person can reappraise the past mistreatment as humiliation. In other words, an event once perceived as a normal occurrence can be perceived as humiliating in retrospect by the same person if that person acquires valued identity. For example, one participant recounted a school experience of untouchability in which all

¹⁵ Dalit is indeed a valued identity for ex-Untouchables in India (See chapter 3).

Dalit students were made to sit separately during school lunch and were given food avoiding their slightest touch and sometimes even their shadow.

Extract 6 (M, 29, Student):

This incident is from 1993-1994. They used to sit above and made us sit below during school lunch.

“Us” means only Mahar and Maang students?

Yes. All those people above and all Mahar-Maanga children below. They used to touch freely amongst themselves. They did not mind our touch in the classroom. However, while having food they did not even tolerate our shadow. When they would throw something like pickle into our dish from a distance, I didn't like it. But I couldn't understand it then that this is humiliating or what. Everybody used to accept it, so I never thought about it.

Now when you remember it how do you feel?

When I remember it now, I feel really bad.

How is it humiliating for you now?

Humiliating means they refused to touch us and threw food from above. Are we not human beings? Of course, I couldn't understand this at that time because untouchability was normal in the village.

The practice of untouchability during school lunch was a normal occurrence for the participant when it happened, but he came to appraise it as humiliating only while reflecting back years later. What could have made possible this retrospective appraisal of humiliation? The counter-question by the participant - “Are we not human beings?” suggests a normative expectation of dignified treatment on the basis of one's human identity. The awareness of value and rights as equal human being that the participant acquired over the course of years made it possible to retrospectively appraise humiliation.

This awareness regarding one's value and rights is not acquired naturally but by having new experiences and living in new contexts which emphasise that everyone is a subject of rights. A participant described his experience of visiting a metropolitan city for the first time,

Extract 7 (M, 72, Carpenter):

“We lived in our village and rarely anyone had a chance to visit cities. Fortunately, one of our relatives got a job in Mumbai and once took me with him. Of course, being a village boy I was baffled to see great buildings and big roads and so many people...but one thing that struck me most was nobody cared about my caste there. All I needed was some money, and I could go anywhere and eat whatever I want. Nobody bothered about my touch. I was same as everybody else... then I realised all the *bezzat*¹⁶ (humiliation) in the village. when I returned, it became difficult to tolerate village condition.”

In the case of this participant simply visiting a metropolitan city where, unlike Indian villages, untouchability is virtually non-existent, and everyone is being treated equally made him aware of his value and rights. This newly acquired awareness of value and rights then served as a basis on which humiliation, both past and present, could be appraised.

4.4.1.4 Valued Identity as a Prerequisite of Humiliation

Not only was a sense of valued identity important to the variability in appraisal of humiliation as shown above, it was also an absolute prerequisite for humiliation to occur. Several participants highlighted that it is not possible to feel humiliated unless one has a valued identity. A participant shared the experience of his village friends who joined military service,

Extract 8 (M, 23, Marketing):

...after serving for few years when my military-men friends used to visit our village, they used to feel so humiliated...they would never feel such humiliation before joining the military service.

Why is that?

You know how things are in military...you are given your due respect and dignity...due to this when my military-men friend would visit their village they would have undergone tremendous change within themselves... they would be very sensitive about their honor and

¹⁶ *Bezzat* is a Urdu/Persian word which in English literally means disrespect. This word is commonly used to communicate sense of humiliation in the context of Marathwada part of Maharashtra in India.

respect and of course, they had pride of serving the country...but village is the same and for villagers they are nothing but few boys from *Maharwada* and *Maangwada*.

Here experience of military service created awareness regarding one's value and rights which served as a basis for appraising humiliation in village life. Such appraisal of humiliation was not possible before joining the military. Another participant emphasized this prerequisite of valued identity and also summarised its centrality in the context of humiliation quite succinctly in following words, "Humiliation is loss of self-respect. If I do not have any respect about myself, how can I feel humiliated?"

4.4.2 Theme 2: Collective Experience of Humiliation

The second theme points out collective experience of humiliation and shows its implications for perpetrator acts of humiliation. This theme will be presented in three sections. In the first section, I will show that humiliation can be experienced collectively and shared social identity is the basis on which such collective experience can be possible. Second section will show the implication of collective experience of humiliation in terms of the collective nature of perpetrator acts. Third section will show that the public acts of humiliation serve to communicate perpetrator's power and position to the society.

4.4.2.1 Collective Experience

Participants were asked to report experiences of humiliation involving people personally related to them as well as people who were complete strangers. They recounted several experiences in which they felt humiliated although they were a witness and not personally affected in any way. Consider the following extract about witnessing humiliation of a stranger.

Extract 9 (M, 29, Research Scholar):

Once I was travelling to my college in the bus, and there was a boy who didn't pay for his ticket. Actually, upper caste students would never pay for a ticket while travelling to college, and the bus conductor would not bother about that. I guess that boy also wanted to pass without ticket like those upper caste boys..... However, the upper caste boys pointed him out to the bus conductor. The conductor was furious. He grabbed the boy and started abusing him - "You mother fucker *Chamars!* You lower caste bastards!"... Listening to those caste based abuses... and those abuses were not directed at me, and I hardly knew that boy... and still I felt so humiliated.

Participant witnessed humiliation of a stranger on a bus and felt humiliated even though he was a witness and personally unaffected in the situation. Importantly, the participant was unaware of the caste identity of the victim. The caste identity became apparent when the bus conductor started abusing the boy using caste name. Although the caste based abuses were not directed against the participant, but they were directed against the Chamar/lower caste identity which the participant shared.

Several participants emphasized the importance of shared group identity for collective experience of humiliation. For example, a participant shared her experience of humiliation in which she witnessed a young boy being teased and called caste names in an upper caste marriage procession. When asked why she felt humiliated due to the humiliation of a person who is a complete stranger to her, she made it clear that the group membership of the victim is crucial for such a collective experience.

Extract 10 (F, 28, Police):

When you see others around you subjected to humiliation; you also feel it... as that person is related to you in some way. He is also part of the community you live in. You share your identity with that person.

The participant was explicit about shared group identity as a basis of collective experience of humiliation. The shared group identity made it possible for the participant to experience humiliation

due to mistreatment of another group member although she was in no way affected in that situation. This shows that humiliation can be collectively experienced. It is not essential to personally experience humiliating treatment, but one can feel humiliated just by witnessing humiliation of other group members. This collective experience of humiliation had important implications for the perception of perpetrator intentions.

4.4.2.2 Collective Nature of Perpetrator Acts of Humiliation

Participants not only emphasized the collective nature of their humiliating experiences but also emphasized the collective nature of perpetrator acts of humiliation. In other words, they perceived that humiliation is intended collectively by perpetrators. Participants pointed out two important strategies employed by the perpetrators of humiliation. First, perpetrators use derogatory language regarding social identity to humiliate the victim. Participants reported many instances regarding humiliation of strangers. Such instances, however, turned out to be personal humiliations simply because that stranger was humiliated by being called caste names e.g. “you useless Mahars!” (as exemplified by the experience reported in the extract 9). Participants also reported feeling humiliated simply because they overheard a conversation among upper castes in which a person is reprimanded by saying, “*Hey, what Mahar-Kalwa is going on!*” or “*Hey, what Maang-Machala is being done!*” Here the composite words like *Mahar-Kalwa* and *Maang-Machala* are used to denote an inferior, unorganised and degraded activity by attaching them with lower and untouchable castes such as Mahar and Maang. Such use of language which targets social identity rather than personal identity to emphasize the sense of inferiority and worthlessness not only humiliates the persons directly involved in the event, but also extends the humiliation to the groups they belong to.

Second strategy used by perpetrators is that they usually prefer public humiliation over private humiliation. Participants emphasized that perpetrators intentionally seek an audience to carry out the acts of humiliation. This audience can include the ingroup, the outgroup as well as a third party.

One participant, for example, shared an account of public humiliation he witnessed. During a classroom fight, a Dalit boy beat up another boy from the *Thakurs* - an upper caste and powerful community in the village. In response to this, the *Thakurs* of the village responded by publically humiliating the boy and his father.

Extract 11 (M, 30, Research Scholar):

They beat up the boy and also his father in front of whole bazaar. They were called names, “you mother fucker Chamars! How dare you touch a Thakur boy?” Do you understand what it means? This means it is not only humiliation of the boy and his father but also their caste. This is a very serious incident. Thakurs chose a place like the bazaar where not only Thakur caste people, but also Chamar people were present. Many police were also present, but they didn’t intervene.

Why did the *Thakurs* seek an audience to humiliate the Dalit boy and his father? The perpetrators prefer public humiliation over the private one because having an audience for humiliation makes it harder for a victim to re-interpret or forget the humiliation (Silver et al., 1986). Importantly, what is it that perpetrator wants victims (and co-present others) to remember through their experience of humiliation? Participants were surprisingly clear when asked about the perpetrator intentions behind public humiliation.

4.4.2.3 Public Humiliation as a Communication of Perpetrator’s Power and Position

For most of the participants, the acts of humiliation were generally designed to communicate the power and the position of the perpetrator. For example, a participant refused to distinguish between extreme events of humiliation which involve physical violence and micro-aggressions experienced in everyday life on the basis that the message behind both types of events is same - *the unchallengeable power and position of the perpetrator*.

Extract 12 (F, age not disclosed, activist):

My understanding is that humiliation does not involve only extreme acts like rape and killings... I mean all sorts of physical attacks... but in everyday life it is done through simply talking and staring... it is done through body language, gestures and other expressions. For example, a Dalit wears some good clothes, and a Brahmin makes this type of face (makes a frowning face)... this is also a humiliation.

Hmmm. Ok.

A Dalit cannot wear good clothes... that is; Dalits are inferior. They tell this by making face or through other body language or through caste atrocities or through other ways.

So you mean that all acts of humiliation are basically about conveying a message?

Yes. Yes. It's all about telling you that you are lower, and you can't do anything about it.

If humiliation is all about conveying one's power and position, as the participant emphasizes, it makes sense to think of public humiliation as a collective communication of perpetrator's power and position. By publicly humiliating someone in terms of their group membership, perpetrators can convey their power and position to the intended audience (which might include ingroup/outgroup/third party or all the three). It is clear that humiliation is not only about what happens to you but also about what happens to your group as a whole. In other words, humiliation can be collective in nature. Perpetrators of humiliation seem to know intuitively that and able to use collective nature of humiliation to their advantage by publically humiliating their victims.

4.4.3 Theme 3: Powerlessness during Humiliating Events

While first two themes were about the nature and experience of humiliation, the remaining themes focus on responses to humiliation. The current theme, particularly, deals with the responses at the time humiliation is taking place. This theme will be presented in three sections. In the first section, I will show that the powerlessness during humiliating events is relative and not absolute in nature. It is possible to choose to either comply or resist the humiliation attempt by the perpetrator during the event. Second and third section show the implications of such compliance and resistance during humiliating events.

4.4.3.1 Relative Nature of Powerlessness

How did participants respond during a humiliating event? Surprisingly, all (except one) participants reported that they were unable to respond back to the perpetrator while the event was in progress. Participants emphasized that responding back to the perpetrator was out of the question because they were too powerless to undertake any action at the time. Take, for example, this incident in which one participant was humiliated at his workplace. He was humiliated almost every day by his co-workers and still was unable to respond back to them due to powerlessness.

Extract 13a (M, 29, lecturer):

Hmmm. OK. What is your response during such conversations? Particularly when somebody says that you people (Dalits) are free riders and have no sense of shame?

Sometimes you really want to argue back or respond in a rude manner. However, the problem is that you are powerless. The other person is in a prominent position or has links with an influential person in the institution. They have control over the job contract I get every year... I am not in a permanent position... Ultimately they have influence over my performance report which is crucial for getting my job contract renewed.

The powerlessness referred in most of these accounts apparently looks absolute in nature, and participants emphasize there was nothing they could do at the moment. However, even under the most extreme conditions, it seems that there is always a choice and agency available. The same participant also emphasized that although his condition was utterly powerless, certain choice and agency was still available to him.

Extract 13b (M, 29, lecturer):

OK. So there was nothing you could do? Your hands were utterly tied? I mean you were absolutely powerless before them?

Yes, I am... yeah, utterly powerless. They make me feel it. They also make it a point that I would never forget it... but are my hands completely tied? Actually, it's just my situation.. This family *majburi* (dependent condition) ... otherwise I can respond back to them very well if I really decide... as I said it's just my situation otherwise...

Of course, there would be serious consequences of responding back during humiliating events, as the participant here points out, like losing one's precious job, but one could still have chosen to challenge the humiliation rather than accepting it. The powerlessness, in this sense, is relative rather than absolute. The victims of humiliation, thus, confront this moral choice of whether to challenge one's humiliation or stomach it. This choice, as shown below, can have several emotional and action consequences.

4.4.3.2 Compliance during Humiliating Events

Several of the participants' accounts justify their inaction during humiliating events by invoking powerlessness. However, several participants also acknowledged that the inaction during humiliating events, although seemingly justified, also led to a sense that one is somehow compliant to humiliation. A participant was publically ridiculed by the upper caste people in his village. He was dependent on the villagers for his livelihood and couldn't resist his mistreatment in any way.

Extract 14 (M, 24, driver):

I should have said something in return or at least urged them to shut up. Damn it! It looked like I was okay with whatever is going on.

One very important emotional consequence of failure to act during humiliating events and thinking that one somehow accepted one's humiliation was the feeling of shame. This shame was so profound that some participants even denied feeling angry during humiliating events. A participant reported a past experience of humiliation in which he was humiliated by his teacher in the classroom and could not respond back. He explained why he did not feel angry at moment.

Extract 15 (M, 26, insurance agent):

I wanted you to talk about emotions you have experienced during those moments. I mean whether you felt angry or ashamed at the moment or not.... that sort of thing.... You got it?

Mmmmm yeah...Ok... Anger? Ummmm No...not anger...since the situation is such that what will you do by getting angry. See, I am a student. Even if I get angry, what can I actually do? You are scared of the teacher in the school. What can you actually do by getting angry at the teacher? Nothing! There is no use of that anger!

The participant denied feeling any anger since there was no way he could act on it. Does this mean that the participants did not experience any anger at all? In fact, the denial of anger suggests an effort to manage the sense of shame felt for accepting one's humiliation. Although several of the participants verbally denied feeling angry, they confirmed that they were, in fact, feeling boiling inside. This added to their sense of powerlessness and led them to feel shame. For example, a participant expressed his shame due to failure to act and express his anger.

Extract 16 (M, 29, library assistant):

"I was called caste names in front of so many people and it was not even possible to get angry....Cause, it's too dangerous. That made me feel ashamed."

As the extract shows, the participant felt ashamed about not being able to get angry or do anything about it during humiliating events. This suggests that the boundaries between shame and anger in humiliation experience are somewhat fuzzy. Several participants also reported experiencing a mix of shame and anger during humiliating events.

4.4.3.3 Resistance during Humiliating Events

As pointed out earlier, there was an exception to these accounts of the response during a humiliating event. There was a report of the experience in which humiliation was actually challenged

at the moment it occurred. Although it was only a singular and odd event, I think it is worth the attention and might give us some glimpse of what can happen if one successfully challenges a perpetrator during a humiliating event. A participant reported being humiliated by an upper caste student in the classroom.

Extract 17 (F, age not disclosed, teacher):

I was restless and asked her straightaway why she is not talking to me. She said, “Stay away from me. You are a lower caste!”

Ok. What did you do then?

I was outraged and retorted in front of the class, “We are not lower you are lower for thinking such things.”

Hmm...

Then, I went to the class teacher and complained. When other Dalit students in the class found out I am also a Buddhist like them, they stood by me. But other upper caste students learning about my caste opposed me.

How did it feel?

(Laughs) better... somewhat confident.

The participant took immediate action against the upper caste student by making a formal complaint when she was able to challenge her humiliation at the moment. She also felt more confident.

Interestingly, this incident resulted in polarisation of classroom along the groups of upper castes and Dalits. If nothing else, this incident suggests that responding back during the humiliating events has interesting possibilities in terms self-empowerment and action consequences.

4.4.4 Theme 4: Active Management of Humiliating Experiences

The fourth and final theme deals with responses to humiliation after humiliating events. This theme will be reported in four sections. Each of these sections which will show a strategy used by participants to manage their experience of humiliation.

One particularly remarkable thing emerged from the interviews was that participants did not report any overt vengeance towards the perpetrators because of their humiliation. When asked about what these experiences mean to them, the participants talked mostly about themselves and their ingroup. Their focus was not on the 'what the others did to us' but on 'what can we do about it.' It was clear that participants did not passively accept their experiences of humiliation but actively tried to manage them. There were at least four main strategies of managing humiliating experiences among participants.

4.4.4.1 Adapting one's Self-understanding

The first strategy among participants was to adapt one's self-understanding. For some participants, these experiences were a sort of a wake-up call. The humiliating experiences led them to questions regarding who they are and where do they stand in the world. Some of the humiliating experiences participants shared entailed what scholars like Fanon (1967) and Sartre (1948) refer as a 'shock of discovering stigmatised identity.'¹ A participant, mostly raised in a metropolitan city, shared his experience of shock after finding out the meaning and significance of his caste identity. The participant and his friends never bothered about caste during school years. It suddenly mattered during university admissions. Due to caste based reservations, the participant got admitted into the university despite somewhat low scores while his upper caste friends were rejected.

Extract 18 (M, 32, photographer):

"Suddenly every one of my upper caste friends started avoiding me. I was utterly shocked not because I discovered that I was an SC¹⁷, but I could never imagine it would matter so much that even my girlfriend could dump me just because of it. My world was turned upside down. It was as if everything I knew about myself until that moment was a lie. It was then that I started questioning myself and my place in the society."

¹⁷ SC (Scheduled Castes) refers to the official label given to the collection of untouchable castes.

The self-interrogation in the aftermath of humiliation often resulted in the realisation that no matter what one does, no matter what one becomes or how much money one earns, one's fate is ultimately tied with one's group. Another participant shared his experience of humiliation while trying to get accepted in an upper caste students' group during college years. It happened that the participant was with the upper caste group when a fist fight took place between some Dalit students in the college campus. One girl from the upper caste group made a stereotypical caste comment upon witnessing this incident.

Extract 19 (M, 29, library assistant):

'Mahar-Maangs are like this only' She said it clearly. I heard it clearly, but I turned a deaf ear to it. Then somebody from our group hinted her to shut up...

Ok...what did you do then?

This was all consistently happening behind my back but now it has happened in front of me....I felt terrified.... that these people talk like thisit means I have no value among them...Finally, I decided to leave their company and started to make friends within my people. I thought it is better to live in the company of our people even if they are not very good.

Umm...

I think it was a time when I realised that I cannot just 'switch off' my caste.

What the participant is describing here might be seen as a failure of social mobility strategy- i.e. an attempt to join the high-status group, as outlined by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this sense, experiences of humiliation serve as reminders of the inevitability of one's group membership which makes one re-evaluate the place of ingroup in one's life. A participant conveyed his realisation of the inevitability of caste membership using an interesting Marathi phrase, "*ji kahi kelya jaat nahi ti jaat!* (that which you can never cast is caste!)". Participants, thus, managed humiliating experiences by re-evaluating the place of ingroup in their life and adapting their self-

understanding accordingly. This change in self-understanding that one is not only an individual but also a member of a group also helped in reframing the humiliating experiences in a positive light.

4.4.4.2 Positive Reframing

Several participants reframed their humiliating experiences by emphasizing the positive outcomes. For example, in the context of failure to respond back during humiliating events, one participant said,

Extract 20 (M, 24, teacher)

“Although I couldn’t respond at the moment, that incident surely increased my conviction for social change... otherwise my eyes would not have opened to the reality of caste.”

Participants emphasized the positive outcomes of humiliating experiences especially in terms of realising the importance of group identity and collective action. A participant shared how humiliating experiences showed him the importance of his group membership and the necessity of social change.

Extract 21 (M, 31, student/activist):

I was very ashamed of my caste and used to hide it...but these experiences made me realise the meaning of being Dalit in Indian society and the necessity of annihilating caste system...I am now no longer ashamed of who I am... In fact, I am proud that I belong to the anti-caste movement inspired by the vision¹⁸ of Buddha, Kabir, Phule and Ambedkar!

¹⁸Here participant is referring to alternative non-Brahmin/anti-caste vision in Indian society which challenges the Brahmanical supremacy and the distinction based on caste and gender. Buddha, Kabir, Mahatma Phule and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar are often referred as representatives of this tradition who emphasized the democratic values of freedom, equality and fraternity (See, Omvedt, 2006).

Participants, thus, equated experiences of humiliation with their realisation of being a Dalit in Indian society and often reported these experiences as a motivation for engaging in social and political movements aimed at challenging caste and untouchability. Importantly, this shows that the humiliation experienced due to caste membership was responded not by dis-identifying with caste identity but by showing satisfaction about it and asserting one's solidarity with social and political movements. Although several participants reframed the humiliating experiences positively, several others clearly acknowledged the shame they feel due to such experiences of humiliation.

4.4.4.3 Acknowledgement of Shame

Several participants, as shown in the earlier theme, denied feeling angry and reported feeling ashamed due to failure to express oneself during humiliating event. Along with such acknowledgement of personal shame, participants also acknowledged feeling collective shame. For example, consider the following extract in which a participant reports the shame she felt when the crematoriums belonging to the group were destroyed, and the dead bodies in it were subjected to an undignified treatment.

Extract 22 (F, 28, Police):

In Aurangabad, three crematoriums of Matanga caste were destructed by upper castes ...there were some freshly buried dead bodies in it... they used bulldozers to uproot the graves and threw the dead bodies into a nearby gutter.. but no Matang leader came in front ... no activists... nobody protested... I feel ashamed. I feel shame that how come blood of Matanga is so cold like ice? Why doesn't he resist?

Participant acknowledges feeling ashamed due to lack of action and awareness among group members despite the assault on core values of the group. Another participant acknowledged the shame he feels regarding the degeneration of Dalit movement in contemporary times,

Extract 23 (M, 39, lecturer):

We are the cause of this degeneration. Had we remained strong, committed and assertive in the same way, this degeneration would never have occurred... there are so many factions of R.P.¹⁹. ... it is difficult even to count them...every leader opens his new party...our leaders are always dumb in the assembly or parliament and behave like buffoons all the time...I don't think there is anything more shameful in my life than this...it is because of such degeneration that other people do not think twice when humiliating us.

The feeling of collective shame, as the above two extracts show, was due to the failure of the group in terms of solidarity, leadership, assertiveness and action that has made it possible for others to humiliate the group. The acknowledgement of personal shame after failing to respond back during humiliating encounters and the acknowledgement collective shame regarding lack of action and solidarity of ingroup both show that participants did not distance themselves from the situation or the group but emphasize the responsibility (both personal and collective) to overcome the humiliating situation.

4.4.4.4 Seeking Cognitive Alternatives

Another important strategy for managing humiliating experiences among participants was to seek cognitive alternatives to the existing humiliating reality (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Participants shared a vision of a dignified and assertive future for the Dalits. They suggested various ways to achieve this vision. A participant, for example, emphasized the need to place group interest above one's self-interest for conditions to change.

Extract 24 (M, 36, Lecturer):

"If all of us could forsake self-interest and start thinking in terms of community or our social interest...then within one moment this humiliating condition will change."

¹⁹ R.P.I. refers to Republican Party of India founded by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. See chapter 3 for details.

Another participant emphasized the need of group solidarity as a way of overcoming humiliating condition.

Extract 25 (M, 29, student):

“If we forsake all internal divisions, dissolve all the schisms and differences and come together then if something like injustice of Khairlanji happens with the Bhotmange family²⁰ or if there is incident like Nanded in which one Dalit boy’s eyes were plucked out because of his love affair with a high caste girl. We can intervene in such events and challenge them.”

Participants also stressed having strong leadership, increased social movement participation and economic independence²¹ as ways to change humiliating conditions. What is common in all these cognitive alternatives is that they aim at overcoming powerless condition of the ingroup.

Importantly, all these ways of overcoming powerlessness are collective in nature. The main emphasis was, therefore, on achieving power and group was a source of social power needed to achieve an alternative future.

4.5 Discussion

The analysis revealed many novel and interesting aspects of humiliation. The analysis certainly allows us to develop a general conceptualisation of humiliation and also to build some hypotheses for future research. However, there are important concerns in the study like researcher’s sharing of identity with participants, nature of the sample, etc. which need to be addressed. We will start by discussing the conceptualisation of humiliation emerged in the analysis. We will then discuss various dimensions of this conceptualisation identified in the analysis. Next, we will consider the issues that we need to take into account while generalising from the analysis. We will conclude by generating hypotheses for future research.

²⁰ The Khairlanji atrocity of 2006, in which four members of a Mahar family were gang-raped and lynched by dominant caste members in the village.

²¹ This cognitive alternative refers to the economically dependent condition of Dalits labourers on land owning upper caste villagers. This economic dependence of Dalits often works as a constraint when it comes to challenging the humiliating treatment in the village.

4.5.1 Humiliation as a Complex Social Encounter

The analysis revealed that humiliation was not simply an internal experience for participants. It was rather a sort of social encounter in which their identity was devalued or denied. This does not mean that there were no cognitions and associated emotional states during humiliating experiences. The remarkable thing was that those cognitions and emotional states were not outcomes of a passive reflection, but they emerged from a social encounter and were affected by what social relations constituted the encounter and what happened during the encounter. The analysis also pointed out important dimensions of these encounters.

4.5.2 Dimensions of Humiliating Encounters

The four themes emerged in the analysis reveal four different dimensions of humiliating encounters. Firstly, it was an encounter in which there was an attempt by one party to diminish or devalue the identity of the other. Secondly, the nature of humiliation and how it was experienced depended upon the way in which the identity of that party was defined. In particular, when it was defined on a collective level, humiliation could be experienced even if one was not directly involved in the encounter. Thirdly, the outcomes of the encounter depended greatly on the issues of power within the encounter. Fourthly, the way in which humiliating encounter was resolved depended upon the strategies which can even change the nature of identities and, therefore, the nature of experience of the encounter. Let us look at these dimensions of humiliating encounters in detail.

4.2.1 Devaluation of one's valued identity as a core process in humiliating encounters

The devaluation of one's valued identity was identified as a core process in humiliating encounters. The analysis revealed that one cannot be humiliated unless one has a valued identity. This means one can differ in appraisal of humiliation depending upon whether one has a valued identity or not.

Importantly, it was also found that when a valued identity is acquired, one could re-appraise the past mistreatment and retrospectively feel humiliated.

The variability in appraisal of humiliation can be explained on the basis of the notion of identity change (Drury & Reicher, 2000) and the notion of identity salience (Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarty, 1994). Identity change refers to adoption of a new self-conception whereas identity salience refers to the contextual relevance of a particular self-conception among an existing repertoire of self-conceptions. For example, Levine and Reicher (1996) explained the variability in appraisal of physical symptoms on the basis of identity salience. Levine and Reicher (1996) hypothesized that 'given the same symptoms and given two identities such that these symptoms threaten a valued dimension of the first but not of the second identity, then the symptoms will be regarded more seriously when the first identity is salient than when the second is salient' (p. 248). They found that female sports science students perceive a knee injury much more serious if they define themselves as sports student rather than as women. However, when they define themselves as women rather than a sports student, they perceive facial rash as more serious than a knee injury. The salience of social identity thus determined the meaning of the symptom. Drury and Reicher (2000) examined psychological change among participants in an environmental protest. They show that through their interaction with police protesters came to see themselves as oppositional and radical in terms of their relationship with police where they previously considered themselves neutral (and sometimes even rejected the possibility of even clashing with police). The change in the content and meaning of identity thus constituted change in social relations and meaning of the event.

In the same way, two individuals can differ in the appraisal of a humiliating event depending upon the meaning and content of their identity. When one fails to appraise humiliation in a particular instance what one may lack in that context is a sense of a particular identity content or a sense of salience. The event is simply not seen as diminishing oneself or directed at oneself. The same

person, however, when gains that particular identity content or self-relevance can re-appraise the past situation and can feel humiliated retrospectively. I can hardly resist giving the example of the Biblical story of Moses in this regard. When Moses, the prince of Egypt, learns about his true identity as a slave, the treatment of other slaves in the kingdom that never concerned him became humiliating.

4.2.2 Collective Nature of Humiliating Encounters

Participants emphasized that humiliation is not only a personal experience, but it can be experienced collectively as well. One can feel equally humiliated by witnessing humiliation of another group member even though one is personally unaffected in the situation. Intergroup emotion theory (IET, Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007) can explain this collective experience of humiliation. IET states that when people see themselves and others in terms of their group membership, the ingroup becomes part of the self and acquires social and emotional significance. Due to such significance of the ingroup for the self, people appraise events or objects related to the ingroup for its emotional relevance just the way they appraise events in one's individual life. These group based appraisals of events then lead to the experience of collective emotions. In the context of humiliation, witnessing humiliation of another group member can lead to the appraisal that ingroup is being devalued. This appraisal of devaluation of one's ingroup can further lead to the feeling of humiliation.

The collective experience of humiliation can have pernicious consequences for intergroup relations since an entire group can be humiliated by humiliating just one member of that group. That is why the humiliation of few Muslim prisoners in Guantanamo bay was enough to constitute humiliation of all Muslims in the world (Nauhauser, 2011). Participants also emphasized the collective nature of the perpetrator acts of humiliation. They pointed out that the perpetrators prefer public humiliation over private humiliation of victims and also prefer attacking social identity rather than personal

identity in the acts of humiliation. In this sense, humiliation can be regarded as a practice or demonstration of power. By publically humiliating a victim in front of the intended audience, one can convey one's power and unchallengeable position. Humiliation, in this sense, can be performative in nature.

4.2.3 Consequences of Resistance vs. Compliance during Humiliating Encounters

The issue of power was at the core of humiliating encounters. The feeling of loss of power was associated with these encounters. Not only did these encounters constitute a message of one's powerlessness and inferior position in the society but challenging them also depended on whether one has enough power. Therefore, one's response during humiliating encounters was important. It influenced emotional as well as action responses.

Participants reported that the failure to resist during humiliating encounters led to a sense that one is somehow complacent in one's humiliation. The lack of action, therefore, was shameful in nature and disabling in terms of further action. Interestingly, participants denied feeling angry when they failed to respond during humiliating encounters since there was no way they could act on it. The denial of anger here may be understood in terms of the emotional accountability. Emotional accountability is the notion that there is linking of emotions and action consequences and hence, to feel something is to be obligated to do something about it. Participants also reported feeling a mix of shame and anger when they failed to respond during humiliating encounters. This report of feeling anger and shame during humiliating encounters fits with what scholars like Scheff (2000) and Lewis (1971) call as 'humiliated fury' or 'shame rage.' However, unlike the accounts of Scheff and Lewis, participants did not report any violent ideation after feeling this mix of shame and anger.

Conversely, there was also an indication that successful resistance during humiliating encounters is associated with feeling of anger and might add to one's sense of confidence and due to such increase in confidence it can motivate one to undertake further actions aimed at challenging

perpetrators. This indicates that a resistant response to humiliation during an encounter has the potential to change the outcome of the encounter.

4.2.4 Long term strategies of managing/challenging humiliating Encounters

Despite lack of action during humiliating encounters participants did not passively accept their humiliation but actively sought ways to manage/challenge it. The analysis of responses after humiliating encounters or what can be alternatively called as responses to humiliation experiences revealed that the management of humiliation is intra-psychic as well as social in nature. It involved adapting one's self-understanding by engaging in self-evaluation and re-appraisal as well as seeking ways to directly challenge one's powerless and inferior social position. Participants responded to humiliating experiences by re-assessing value of the ingroup in their life. Participants also reframed the humiliating encounters positively in terms of realisation of the importance of group identity and group action in their life. This is consistent with the long standing view that group identity is central to how people deal with societal devaluation (Fanon, 1967; Sartre, 1948: also see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Crocker & Major, 1989).

There is rich empirical evidence that individuals manage/challenge their societal devaluation by increasing their identification with the ingroup (e.g. Branscombe, Schmitt, Harvey, 1999; Haslam et al., 2004; Jetten, Branscombe, & Spears, 2001; Leach, Mosquera, Vilek, & Hirt, 2010). The increased identification with the ingroup, as participants suggested, might be due to the realisation of the futility of social mobility strategy outlined in SIT, which indicates an awareness that individual action is meaningless. This increased ingroup identification among victims of humiliation might be an assertion of group solidarity or group affiliation (Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005). Since humiliation is a particularly painful experience, identification with the ingroup might convey that the one is not alone in suffering and help reduce the pain (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006; Frable, Platt, & Hoey, 1998). Importantly, identification with the ingroup can protect

against the deleterious effects of humiliation on wellbeing by providing a sense of acceptance and belonging (Crocker & Major, 1989; Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Overall, it is clear that group identity in the context of humiliation can be “a potent enough resource to lead members of societally devalued groups to perceive themselves as able to respond by asserting their group identity” (Leach et al. 2010, p. 550). To return to Baldwin, Valmiki and Gandhi’s (and other’s) experience of humiliation and subsequent self-transformation and motivation to engage in social and political activism, it is clear that people like Baldwin, Valmiki, Gandhi, etc. might have responded to humiliation by identifying with the societally devalued ingroup which had implications for their self-understanding and motivated them to participate in collective resistance.

Along with the increased identification with the ingroup and reframing humiliating encounters positively, participants also acknowledged the collective shame they feel for the failure of action and solidarity among ingroup which has made it possible for others to humiliate the group. Although shame is generally considered as leading to distancing from the source or the situation, participants did not report any distancing from the group or humiliating situation. Instead, they emphasized the collective responsibility to overcome the humiliating situation. This strategy of managing humiliating experiences is consistent with the theoretical accounts of shame proposed by scholars like Scheff (2000) and Lewis (1971). Scheff and Lewis distinguish between shame that is felt and acknowledged and shame that is bypassed or unacknowledged. They propose that bypassed or unacknowledged shame create complications and often results in hostility whereas acknowledged shame is helpful in coping with the situation.

Another important point here is the feeling of collective shame due to failure of the group to live up to its ideal by allowing itself to be humiliated. Most of the accounts of collective shame in social psychology ignore the experience of collective shame among victim groups in the society. Collective shame is often depicted as an experience of perpetrator groups for their past wrongdoing against another group which is seen as a moral failure (Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008;

Gausel & Leach, 2011; Gausel, Leach, Vignoles, & Brown, 2012). Our analysis suggests that victims groups also experience collective shame and issues of power and agency are important to it. This certainly needs to be further examined by future social psychological research.

Along with these intra-psychic strategies, concrete change in social position was also important for Dalit participants in order to manage/challenge humiliation. Most of the participants actively sought various cognitive alternatives to the humiliating reality. They emphasized that conditions will change once there is enough group solidarity, powerful leadership; economic independence increased social movement participation in the group. The imagination of cognitive alternatives indicates an awareness among humiliated group members that “the existing social reality is not the only possible one and that alternatives to it are conceivable and perhaps attainable” (Tajfel, 1978, p. 93). Indeed, how we envisage future is important in terms of how we perceive our current disadvantage. The awareness of an empowered and dignified future can suggest to group members that the existing humiliating conditions are not static and fixed (Tajfel, 1978). The cognitive alternatives can boost confidence among group members and help create a sense of collective power (Reicher & Haslam, 2006). Cognitive alternatives can buffer deleterious psychological consequences of humiliation on well-being since they can help mitigate the enforced inferiority embedded in humiliation (e.g. Zhang, Jetten, Iyer and Cui, 2013). Importantly, the awareness of cognitive alternatives can increase group members’ willingness to undertake collective action aimed at challenging existing unequal social relations (Wright, 2001).

4.5.3 Final Comments

The responses to humiliation identified in the analysis bears some similarity with what Ginges & Atran (2008) call the inertia effect of humiliation which contends that humiliation leads to inaction. Humiliation was found to be closely associated with loss of power which had important emotional and action consequences. Dalit participants did not confront the perpetrators during humiliating

encounters due to powerlessness, and this led them to feel shame. However, this analysis also points out that participants did not passively accept their humiliation but actively manage it. They not only identified with their ingroup but also sought cognitive alternatives to overcome their powerlessness. I think the temporal dimension is important while understanding the inertia effect. One may not be able to respond back during humiliating encounters but will subsequently find a way to manage the powerlessness and challenge one's humiliation. This analysis points out the crucial role of group identity in this process.

I think that the present analysis provides some important insights into the phenomenon of humiliation. However, there are several reasons to exercise a degree of caution in drawing more general inferences.

First, the focus of the study was on chronic experiences of humiliation rather than acute ones. Humiliation can be experienced as an everyday phenomenon as is the case with Dalit participants in this study, but it is equally possible to have one-off experiences of humiliation especially among members of the dominant group. Necessary caution should be exercised while extending the present analysis to the acute or one-off experiences of humiliation. Future research should investigate the experience and responses to these acute experiences of humiliation.

Second, the sample cannot be said to be representative of Indian context or of Dalit group. In addition, very few female participants could be recruited. Given the complexity and heterogeneity of social context in India (see, chapter 3), it was impossible to obtain a representative sample. However, every effort was made to maintain as much diversity (in terms of caste and occupation) as possible among participants.

Third, this study cannot be said to have captured the full range of humiliating experiences, especially because some experiences were too painful or somewhat shameful to be recounted or acknowledged to others. It is also possible that the identity of the researcher as a Dalit might have made salient certain kind of experiences of humiliation and hampered the disclosure of some

experiences of humiliation. Participants did not talk about the humiliation they experienced at the hands of the ingroup as well as humiliation inflicted by another somewhat upward untouchable caste. There was a fleeting acknowledgement that humiliation at the hands of an ingroup is far more painful than at the hands of an outgroup, but participants did not dwell much on these experiences. For example, one female participant who was also a Dalit activist shared her humiliation by upper castes but avoided talking about humiliation she had to face due to her gender at the hands of Dalit men. These limits of disclosure should be taken into account while generalising from the analysis.

Despite these concerns, I believe that the present analysis makes an important contribution to the existing social psychological research on humiliation. It underlines the fundamental importance of valued identity and power relations in the phenomenon of humiliation. It highlights the collective experience of humiliation and illuminates different strategies used in managing/challenging humiliation. Most importantly, the analysis suggests a novel conceptualization of humiliation as a complex social encounter.

4.5.4 Hypothesis Generation:

I think that the present analysis raises two important issues which need to be addressed. Firstly, it is important to show that people indeed experience humiliation collectively on the basis of their group membership. Secondly, it is important to show that one's response within the encounter makes a meaningful difference in terms of outcomes of the encounter. Concretely, following three hypotheses can be stated -

H1: When social identity is salient, the devaluation of social identity will be perceived as humiliating irrespective of whether one is personally humiliated or whether another group member is humiliated.

H2: Resistance during a humiliating encounter will lead to anger, sense of self-empowerment and increase likelihood of undertaking action against the perpetrator.

H3: Compliance during humiliating encounter will lead to a greater sense of shame.

Chapter 5 will present the experimental examination of H1 and chapter 6 will present the experimental examination of remaining two hypotheses - H2 and H3.

CHAPTER V. COLLECTIVE HUMILIATION:

MANIPULATING PERSPECTIVE AND IDENTITY IN A HUMILIATING ENCOUNTER

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter conceptualised humiliation as a complex social encounter and suggested that the central aspect of this encounter is the devaluation or diminishing of one's valued identity where the self is made to feel worthless and valueless. Importantly, the valued identity attacked during a humiliating encounter can be social as well as personal. Dalit participants, in their interviews, shared the experience of feeling humiliated collectively or collectively when their group identity was devalued or when they witnessed humiliation of another Dalit person. Subsequently, we hypothesized that when social identity is salient, the devaluation of social identity will be perceived as humiliating irrespective of whether one is personally humiliated or whether another group member is humiliated. In this chapter, we will present experimental evidence from both India and the UK which addresses this hypothesis concerning the collective experience of humiliation.

5.1.1 Humiliation and its relationship with shame, anger and powerlessness

As discussed in chapter 1, there are numerous examples in the clinical and social psychological literature where humiliation is confused with shame/anger and regarded as high-intensity embarrassment or high-intensity shame (for a review, see, Elison & Harter, 2007). The relationship of humiliation to shame, anger and powerlessness is complicated. To give one example from the social psychological literature, we find that a common scale used in social psychological research to measure shame has humiliation as one of the items- *ashamed*, *disgraced* and *humiliated* (see, for example, Gausel, Leach, Vignoles & Brown, 2012; Iyer, Schmader & Lickel, 2005; Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier & Ames, 2005). Is humiliation, then, identical with shame? Importantly, there are profound differences among researchers regarding the relationship between shame and humiliation.

Some researchers argue for a clear distinction between humiliation and shame and anger (Klein, 1991; Elison & Harter, 2007) while others regard shame as the master emotion of social life and see humiliation as a complex mixture of shame and anger (Retzinger & Scheff, 2000). For some researchers, humiliation is not even an emotion (J. de Rivera, personal communication, 2 July 2013). Alongside these conflicting voices, there have recently been empirical efforts to clarify the link of humiliation to shame, anger and powerlessness.

Leidner, Sheikh and Ginges (2013) compared the experience of intergroup humiliation with two other closely related emotions - shame and anger. They asked self-identified minority group members (e.g. Blacks, homosexuals, Muslims) to recall a situation in which they were humiliated/angry/ashamed due to their group membership. The authors found that the emotional state experienced in the context of intergroup humiliation (as compared to shame and anger) is similar to shame and anger in some respects but is distinct from both. Importantly, Leidner et al. (2013) emphasize that the humiliation experience involves a complex mix of anger, shame and powerlessness. It seems reasonable, therefore, to expect humiliation to be positively associated with shame, anger and powerlessness. Although Leidner, Sheikh and Ginges (2013) resolve the conceptual confounding of humiliation with shame, anger and powerlessness to some extent, their work does not help in constructing a sound measure of humiliation for empirical research.

5.1.2 Measurement of Humiliation

There is no clear measure of humiliation available. Hartling & Luchetta's (1999) scale only measures the past experience and the current fear of humiliation, but not the actual experience of being humiliated. Combs, Campbell, Jackson, and Smith (2010) used two items, 'humiliated' and 'felt humiliated,' as a measurement of humiliation and it is not clear how similar or different these items were in relation to other constructs in the studies. Ginges & Atran (2008) used a single item (humiliated) to measure humiliation and asked participants to nominate out of a list of emotion

words the word which best, and the word which second best, described how they were feeling. The major problem with this procedure is that the 'humiliated' item, as noted previously, has a history of loading with shame items. With the single item 'humiliated,' it is hard to know whether this measure is really capturing humiliation or shame. This becomes problematic when one wants to examine the link of humiliation to motivational and action tendencies.

These issues can be resolved, to some extent, if the measure of humiliation is based on our conceptual definition of the construct - *as a devaluation of one's valued identity such that one is made to feel worthless about oneself*. In the present research, I used four items - *humiliated, degraded, devalued* and *belittled* to measure the phenomenological experience of being humiliated. These items were intended to capture the feeling of humiliation as expressed in the previous study: that is, somebody/something making you feel worthless about yourself. These items are expected to load together on a single factor and thus, yield a separate humiliation factor. It is important, at the same time, to know how these items load with anger, shame and powerlessness items.

5.2 The Present Research

This chapter will report two studies conducted in different contexts (UK and India) with different social identities (student and Dalit) to test the hypothesis that when social identity is salient, the devaluation of social identity will be perceived as humiliating irrespective of whether one is personally humiliated or whether another group member is humiliated. The collective or collective experience of humiliation, as discussed in the previous chapter, has resonances with concepts and findings within intergroup emotion theory (IET, Smith, 1993; Mackie, Davos and Smith, 2000; Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008). IET, as we have discussed previously in the thesis, posits that when social identity is salient people can experience emotions on the basis of what their group has done and what has been done to their group. This has been applied to a variety of emotions – shame (Brown et al., 2008), schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003) etc., but not to

humiliation. Here, then, we employ a paradigm where students read scenarios in which we manipulate the perspective (victim vs. witness) and the target of devaluation (personal identity vs. social identity) i.e. (a) either they are belittled by a lecturer themselves or witnessed a fellow student being belittled, and (b) the victim is belittled on the basis of personal identity or their social identity as a student. We predict that when victim is belittled on the basis of social identity, humiliation will be experienced even when one witnesses a fellow student being belittled. In statistical terms, we expect a significant interaction of perspective and target of devaluation on the scale of humiliation. Study 2 examined the hypothesis in UK context with a group of students whereas Study 3 was a conceptual replication of Study 2 in Indian context with Dalit participants. Due to the similarity in the experience of humiliation and experience of shame, anger and powerlessness (Leidner, Sheikh, & Ginges, 2012), the consequences of these manipulations for shame, anger and powerlessness were also examined. The examination of shame, anger and powerlessness was exploratory, and no concrete hypotheses were proposed regarding them.

5.3 Study 2 (UK)

5.3.1 Introduction

Study 2 was conducted in UK with mostly British/Scottish students from St Andrews University. The main goal of Study 2 was to establish the classroom humiliation paradigm for further research and, at the same time, examine the hypotheses regarding the collective experience of humiliation and the relationship of humiliation to shame, anger and powerlessness in UK context.

5.3.2 Method²²

²² The study received ethical approval from the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC). See Appendix -2a

5.3.2.1 Participants: One hundred and forty-three students from St Andrews University ($N=143$; Male= 47, Female=96; $M_{age}= 21.57$ years) voluntarily took part in an online experiment in exchange for a chance to win a prize draw. Ethnically, almost 85% participants were either White British or other white.

5.3.2.2 Procedure and design: The experiment was presented as an online survey regarding the classroom experiences of UK students. Participants were randomly allocated to one of the four experimental conditions, in a 2 (Perspective: victim vs. witness) x 2 (Target of devaluation: personal identity vs. social identity) between participants factorial design. Participants clicked the link advertised on the university website which redirected them to the experiment. After reading the information sheet and completing the consent form, participants were asked to answer a bogus choice question in which they had to choose their favorite nature image among the given four images. The choice of the image randomly redirected participants to one of the four versions of the vignette. The four versions of the vignette represented four experimental conditions. Participants were instructed to read the vignette carefully and imagine themselves in the situation described in the vignette. After reading the vignette, participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire which contained all measures of interest. After completion of the questionnaire, participants filled in their demographic information and were redirected to a website containing detail debriefing information.

5.3.2.3 The Vignette

The vignette was about an encounter in the classroom in which a student comes into a tutorial late and also fails to submit the required assignment. The student then apologizes to the lecturer for having overslept. The lecturer, however, belittles the student in front of the class. *Perspective* was manipulated by changing whether the student himself/herself is late for tutorial or else witnesses another student arriving late:

“You come into a tutorial late and give apologies for having overslept/you are sitting in a tutorial.

You see that one of the tutees comes into the tutorial late and gives apologies for having overslept.”

Target of devaluation was manipulated by changing whether the lecturer devalues the personal identity (you) or the social identity (you students) of the late-arriving student.

Lecturer (looking at you/ *looking at tutee*):

"This is absolutely typical of *you/you students*. In all my years, I have never come across *anyone/a year* as useless as *you/you lot*. Your timekeeping is poor; your work is poor, and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't *you/ you students* understand that you are at the University, not a nursery? Quite pathetic! You are like *a child/ children*! You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you all like adults, and I expect you to behave like *an adult/ adults*. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like *a child/ children*. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down."

5.3.2.4 Dependent Variables:

Manipulation check:

Participants answered two categorical questions regarding the vignette without looking back at it. They were asked to tick the correct box indicating whether they came late for tutorial, or they were already sitting in the tutorial. They were also asked to select between two wordings that were used by the lecturer in the vignette that they had read. The two wording options were related to the devaluation of personal identity and devaluation of social identity respectively.

Emotions:

Participants were presented with a number of items regarding range of positive and negative emotions items and were asked to indicate to what extent they would have felt these during the

event. These additional items were not intended as dependent variables but were filler items.

Participants answered all items on a 7 point scale 1 = not at all to 7 = very much.

Humiliation: The scale of humiliation consisted of four items- *humiliated, devalued, degraded* and *belittled* (Cronbach's alpha= .87).

Shame: Two items measured shame- *ashamed* and *inferior* (Pearson's $r = .65$).

Anger: Following three items measured anger- *angry, furious, outraged* (Cronbach's alpha = .86)

Happiness: Happiness was measured using two items- *happy, glad* (Pearson's $r = .70$).

Powerlessness: Two items measured powerlessness- *weak, helpless* (Pearson's $r = .79$).

Additionally, there were other measures of ingroup identification, motivational and action tendencies as well but these were intended mainly for exploration (See, Appendix - 2b).

5.3.3 Results

The results are presented in two sections - preliminary analysis and experimental analysis. In the preliminary analysis, we will see the manipulation checks, age and gender effects and importantly, confirm our measure of humiliation. In the experimental analysis, we will examine the hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation and effects of our manipulations on powerlessness, shame, happiness and anger.

5.3.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

5.3.3.1.1 Manipulation Checks:

Of the initial sample, twenty one participants did not answer the manipulation checks correctly. Two participants had more than 10% of their data missing. They were excluded from the analysis. The analysis was conducted on remaining participants. The final sample consisted of 120 participants.

(Male= 38; Female= 82; $M_{age} = 21.63$ years).

5.3.3.1.2 Gender and Age effects:

There was no significant effect of age or gender on humiliation, shame, anger, powerlessness and happiness.

5.3.3.1.3 Humiliation Measure:

In order to confirm our measure of humiliation and examine its relationship with shame, anger, powerlessness and happiness, a factor analysis was carried out.

Table 5.1
Rotated Component Matrix (Study2, UK)

Items	Component		
	1	2	3
inferior	.831		
helpless	.807		
weak	.767		
belittled	.760		.342
humiliated	.746		
degraded	.732	.306	.339
ashamed	.726		
devalued	.580	.301	.479
furious		.901	
outraged		.884	
angry		.841	
glad			-.876
happy			-.813

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

The 13 items were submitted to a principal component analysis (Varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalisation). The factor solution revealed three factors with an eigenvalue > 1. As can be seen from Table 5.1, our humiliation items (see bold items) loaded together onto a single factor along with powerlessness and shame items (Eigenvalue = 5.52; explained variance = 42.46%). Anger items, however, loaded on a separate Anger factor (Eigenvalue = 2.21; explained variance = 17%). Happiness items also loaded on a separate happiness factor (Eigenvalue = 1.38; explained variance = 10.68%). This supports our measure of humiliation.

5.3.3.2 Experimental Analysis:

Means and standard deviations of all the major variables in the study as a function of perspective and target of devaluation are reported in Table 5.2. The descriptives and zero-order correlations of are reported in Table 5.3. The correlational analysis suggests a positive association of humiliation with shame, anger and powerlessness. Importantly, humiliation is more strongly linked to the shame and powerlessness rather than anger.

Table 5.2

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of perspective and target of devaluation (Study 2; UK sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Victim		Witness	
		Personal Identity Devalued	Social Identity Devalued	Personal Identity Devalued	Social Identity Devalued
		Humiliation	<i>M</i>	5.70	5.33
	<i>S.D.</i>	(.70)	(1.32)	(1.40)	(1.37)
Shame	<i>M</i>	5.14	4.78	3.03	3.45
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.26)	(1.51)	(1.44)	(1.35)
powerlessness	<i>M</i>	5.37	4.85	4.66	4.80
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.33)	(1.72)	(1.81)	(1.48)
Anger	<i>M</i>	4.06	4.16	3.57	4.07
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.38)	(1.61)	(1.42)	(1.39)
Happiness	<i>M</i>	1.95	2.14	3.59	2.28
	<i>S.D.</i>	(.41)	(.59)	(.76)	(.63)

Table 5.3

Means, Standard deviations and Zero-order correlations among all variables in the study (Study 2; UK sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Humiliation	-	.80**	.37**	.62**	-.48**
2. Shame		-	-.14	.59**	-.25**
3. Anger			-	.17	-.20*
4. Powerlessness				-	-.14
5. Happiness					
<i>M</i>	4.52	4.01	3.97	4.69	2.47
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.54)	(1.01)	(1.61)	(1.51)	(.83)

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

5.3.3.2.1 Humiliation:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of humiliation with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. There was a significant main effect of perspective, $F(1, 116) = 62.10$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .35$, such that participants reported feeling more humiliation when they were victims ($M = 5.42$; $SD = 1.05$) than when they were witness ($M = 4.19$; $SD = 1.52$). The main effect of target of devaluation was also significant, $F(1, 116) = 3.71$; $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .03$ such that devaluation of social identity ($M = 4.94$; $SD = 1.26$) was reported as more humiliating than devaluation of personal identity ($M = 4.44$; $SD = 1.67$). Importantly, as we expected, there was a significant interaction effect of perspective and target of devaluation on feeling of humiliation, $F(1, 116) = 12.19$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .09$. The statistically significant interaction was decomposed using simple effects analysis. The cell values of each condition are reported in Table 5.2 (see row 1) and graphically described in Figure 5.1. The simple effects analysis showed that when personal identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant difference $F(1, 116) = 57.02$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .33$, such that participants in the victim condition experienced more humiliation than participants in the witness

condition. However, when social identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant (but much less) difference, $F(1, 116) = 11.12; p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .08$. It is clear that when personal identity was devalued, more humiliation was experienced as a victim than as a witness and, moreover, the response in the witness condition was below the scale midpoint suggesting a low level of humiliation in absolute terms. However, when social identity was devalued, both victim and witness experienced equally high levels of humiliation.

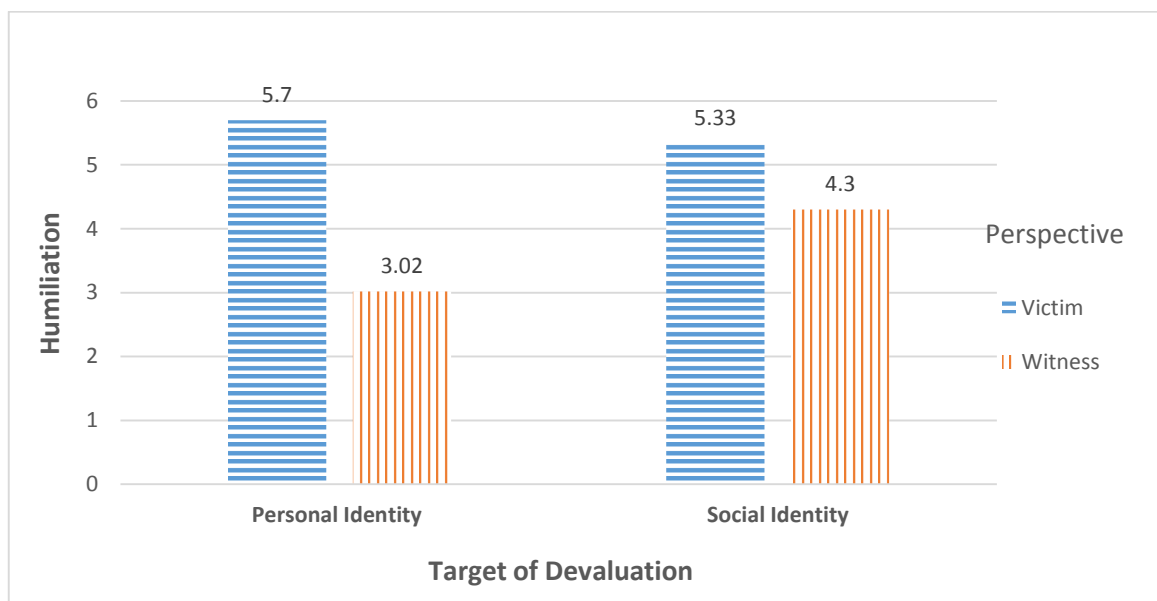


Figure 5.1. Humiliation as a function of perspective and target of devaluation (Study 2; UK Sample)

5.3.3.2.2 Powerlessness, Shame, Happiness and Anger:

The effect of perspective and target of devaluation on powerlessness, shame happiness and anger was also examined.

Powerlessness:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of powerlessness with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. Neither the main effects nor the interaction effect was found significant, $F_s < 1$.

Shame:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of shame with perspective and target of devaluation as factors revealed a significant main effect of perspective, $F(1, 116) = 43.65$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .27$ such that participants in victim conditions experienced more shame than participants in witness conditions. No other effects were significant.

Anger:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of anger with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. Again, neither the main effects nor the interaction effect were found significant, $F_s < 1$.

Happiness:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of happiness revealed a significant main effect of perspective on happiness, $F(1, 116) = 62.74$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .35$, such that participants reported feeling more happiness when they were witness than when they were victims. The main effect of target of devaluation was also significant, $F(1, 116) = 26.56$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .18$, such that participants reported feeling more happiness when personal identity was devalued than when social identity was devalued. Interestingly, the interaction of perspective and target of devaluation on the scale of happiness was significant, $F(1, 116) = 40.37$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .25$. Simple effects analysis showed that when personal identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant difference $F(1, 116) = 88.59$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .43$, such that participants in the witness conditions experienced more happiness than participants in the victim conditions. When social identity was devalued, being

victim or witness made no significant difference in the experience of happiness, $F(1, 116) = .82$; $p = .36$ ns.

5.3.4 Discussion

We successfully manipulated the perspective and target of devaluation i.e. identity in the context of a humiliating encounter. Factor analysis revealed that humiliation items load together on a single factor along with shame and powerlessness items. This confirms our measure of humiliation and suggests that humiliation was experienced as a combination of humiliation, shame and powerlessness. Interestingly, anger was not part of the humiliation experience since anger items loaded on a separate factor. The experimental analysis supported our hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation. When social identity was devalued and hence made salient, it made little difference to the levels of experienced humiliation whether respondents were a victim or a witness to the encounter. Participants reported feeling humiliated even when they were a witness and personally unaffected in the situation. Overall, the results provide a preliminary experimental confirmation that humiliation can be experienced collectively by witnessing humiliation another group member.

5.4 Study 3 (India)

5.4.1 Introduction

Study 3 was a conceptual replication of Study 2 with Dalit participants in India. This provided an opportunity to examine the hypothesis concerning experience of collective humiliation and relationship of humiliation with shame, anger and powerlessness in a different cultural context (India) with a different and stigmatised social identity (Dalit).

5.4.2 Method²³

5.4.2.1 Participants: One hundred and eighty-one Dalit students from colleges in western India ($N = 181$; Male = 133, Female = 48; $M_{age} = 21.88$ years) voluntarily took part in the experiment. They received no compensation for their participation.

5.4.2.2 Procedure and design: The experiment was presented as a survey regarding classroom experiences of Indian students. The design was same as in Study 2. Participants were randomly allocated to one of the four experimental conditions, in a 2 (Perspective: victim vs. witness) x 2 (Target of devaluation: personal identity vs. social identity) between participants factorial design. There were four versions of the booklet containing vignette and questionnaire. Each version represented a condition in the experimental design. Participants responded to the vignette and questionnaire in groups of 10-20 in their classrooms and in the student hostels where they lived.

5.4.2.3 The Vignette: The vignette was same as in Study 2 except one important change. Instead of student identity, the lecturer targeted Dalit identity.

Lecturer (*looking at you/ looking at tutee*):

"This is absolutely typical of you/*you Dalit people*. In all my years, I have never come across anyone/ *any castes* as useless as you/*you lot*."

5.4.2.4 Translation: The vignette and questionnaire were translated into Marathi (local language) by the researcher and back-translated into English with the help of a lecturer in English from a local college who was also a native speaker. The translated and back-translated versions were compared and discussed. No major differences were present.

5.4.2.5 Dependent Variables:

²³ The study received ethical approval from the UTREC (See Appendix - 2c).

All dependent variables were same as in Study 2.

Participants answered all items on a 7 point scale 1 = not at all to 7 =very much.

Manipulation check:

The same categorical manipulation check was used as in Study 2

Emotions:

Humiliation: The same four items as in Study 2 measured humiliation (Cronbach's alpha = .79).

Shame: The same two items as in Study 2 measured shame (Pearson's $r = .65$).

Anger: The same three items as in Study 2 measured anger (Cronbach's alpha = .80)

Happiness: The same two items as in Study 2 measured happiness (Pearson's $r = .60$).

Powerlessness: The same two items as in Study 2 measured powerlessness (Pearson's $r = .72$).

There were other filler items and additional measures of ingroup identification, motivational and action tendencies as well but these were intended mainly for exploration (See, Appendix - 2_d).

5.4.3 Results

5.4.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

5.4.3.1.1 Manipulation Checks:

Of the initial sample, twenty six participants did not answer the manipulation checks correctly. 12 participants left the manipulation check items blank. Five participants had more than 10% of their data missing. They were excluded from the analysis. The analysis was conducted on remaining participants. The final sample consisted of 138 participants. (Male= 103; Female= 35; $M_{age} = 21.12$ years).

5.4.3.1.2 Gender and Age effects:

There was no significant effect of gender on the main variables in the study. Age was also not found to be associated with any of the main variables in the study.

5.4.3.1.1 Humiliation Measure:

Factor analysis validated humiliation measure and examined the relationship of humiliation items with shame, anger, powerlessness and happiness items in the study. Unlike Study 2, the factor solution revealed four factors with eigenvalue > 1.

Table 5.4
Rotated Component Matrix (Study3, India)

Items	Component			
	1	2	3	4
furious	.839			
outraged	.779			
angry	.763			
belittled	.723			
devalued	.688			
humiliated	.684			
degraded	.625			
weak		.890		
helpless	.311	.778		
ashamed			.830	
inferior			.821	
glad				-.831
happy				-.815

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

As can be seen from Table 5.4, all humiliation items (see bold items) loaded together onto a single factor along with anger items (Eigenvalue = 4.83; explained variance = 37.17 %). Powerlessness items loaded on a separate powerlessness factor (Eigenvalue = 1.56; explained variance = 12%). Shame items also loaded on a separate shame factor (Eigenvalue = 1.34; explained variance = 10%).

Happiness items also loaded on a separate happiness factor (Eigenvalue = 1.06; explained variance = 8.15%). Our measure of humiliation is, thus, supported in Indian context as well.

5.4.3.2 Experimental Analysis:

Means and standard deviations of humiliation, shame, powerlessness, anger and happiness as a function of perspective and target of devaluation are reported in Table 5.3. The descriptives and zero-order correlations of emotion variables and other exploratory variables in the study are reported in Table 5.4. Correlational analysis suggests that, similar to Study 2, humiliation is strongly linked with shame, anger and powerlessness. However, in contrast to Study 2, humiliation is more strongly associated with anger rather than shame and powerlessness.

Table 5.5

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of perspective and target of devaluation (Study 3; Indian Sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Victim		Witness	
		Personal Identity Devalued	Social Identity Devalued	Personal Identity Devalued	Social Identity Devalued
Humiliation	<i>M</i>	3.80	4.60	2.59	4.88
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.51)	(1.60)	(1.04)	(1.44)
Shame	<i>M</i>	4.36	3.92	3.22	4.31
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.80)	(1.70)	(1.94)	(1.79)
Powerlessness	<i>M</i>	3.15	3.73	2.66	3.68
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.97)	(1.83)	(1.54)	(1.73)
Anger	<i>M</i>	2.85	4.51	2.76	4.14
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.67)	(1.79)	(1.69)	(1.71)
Happiness	<i>M</i>	1.98	1.92	2.56	1.51
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.16)	(1.04)	(1.66)	(.83)

Table 5.6

Means, Standard deviations and Zero-order correlations among all variables in the study (Study 3; Indian sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Humiliation	-	.38**	.73**	.45**	-.20*
2. Shame		-	-.23**	.29**	-.03
3. Anger			-	.38**	-.03
4. Powerlessness				-	-.07
5. Happiness					
<i>M</i>	4.05	3.97	3.66	3.35	1.96
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.66)	(1.83)	(1.87)	(1.81)	(1.23)

***. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).* **. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).*

5.3.4.3.2.1 Humiliation:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of humiliation with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. Unlike Study 2, the main effect of perspective was only marginally significant $F(1, 134) = 3.49; p = .06, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .03$, such that participants reported feeling more humiliated when they were victims ($M = 4.20; SD = 1.60$) than when they were witness ($M = 3.85; SD = 1.71$). The main effect of target of devaluation i.e. identity was significant, $F(1, 134) = 39.74; p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .22$ such that devaluation of social identity ($M = 4.74; SD = 1.52$) was reported as more humiliating than devaluation of personal identity ($M = 3.18; SD = 1.42$). Importantly, similar to Study 2, there was a significant interaction effect of perspective and target of devaluation on feeling of humiliation, $F(1, 134) = 9.21; p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .06$. The statistically significant interaction was decomposed using simple effects analysis.

The cell values of each condition are reported in Table 5.5 (see row 1). As expected, when personal identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant difference $F(1, 134) = 10.77; p <$

.001, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .07$, such that victims experienced more humiliation than witness. However, when social identity was devalued, being victim or witness made no significant difference, $F(1, 134) = .76$; $p = .38$ ns. As described in Figure 5.2, when social identity was devalued, it made virtually no difference whether one is experiencing humiliation personally or witnessing humiliation of another group member. Victims and witness both experienced high levels of humiliation.

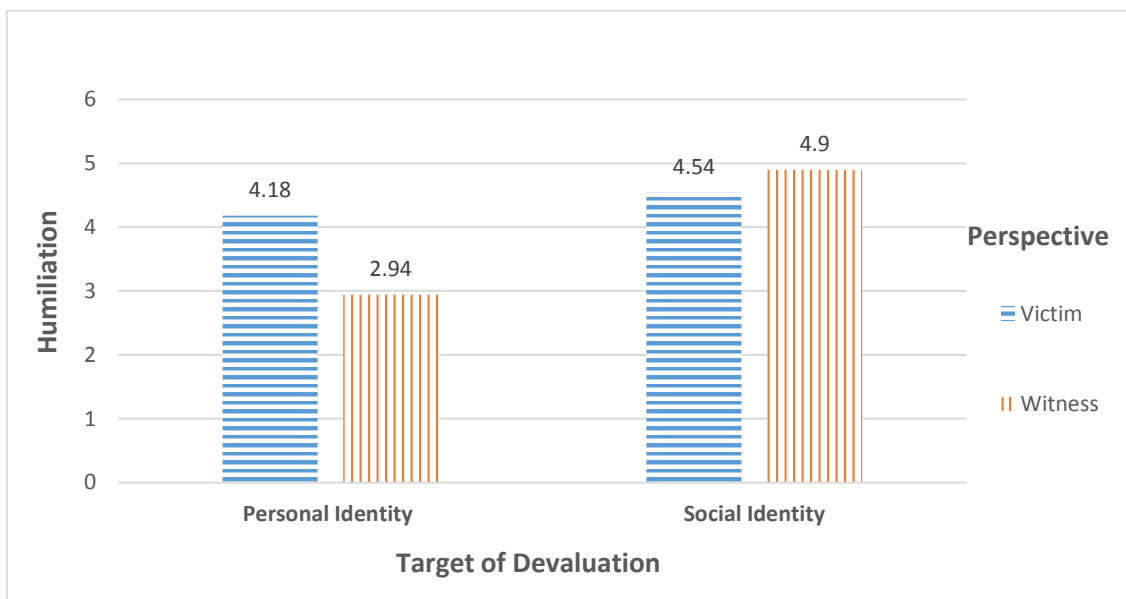


Figure 5.2. Humiliation as a function of perspective and target of devaluation (Study 3; Indian Sample)

5.3.4.3.2.1 Powerlessness, Shame, Anger and Happiness:

Powerlessness:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of powerlessness with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. The main effect of perspective was non-significant. However, the main effect of target of devaluation i.e. identity was significant, $F(1, 134) = 6.91$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .04$, such that devaluation of social identity ($M = 3.70$; $SD = 1.78$) resulted in greater experience of powerlessness

than devaluation of personal identity ($M = 2.90$; $SD = 1.76$). The interaction effect was non-significant, $F_s < 1$.

Shame:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of shame with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. The main effect of perspective, as well as target of devaluation, was non-significant, $F_s < 1$. Interestingly, the interaction of perspective and target of devaluation was significant, $F(1, 134) = 6.14$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .04$. The simple effects analysis showed that when personal identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant difference, $F(1, 134) = 6.09$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .04$ such that victims experienced more shame than witness. However, when social identity was devalued, being victim or witness made no significant difference, $F_s < 1$.

Anger:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of anger with perspective and target of devaluation as factors was conducted. The main effect of perspective was non-significant. The interaction effect was also non-significant, $F_s < 1$. However, the main effect of target of devaluation i.e. identity was significant, $F(1, 134) = 26.30$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .16$, such that devaluation of social identity ($M = 4.33$; $SD = 1.75$) resulted in greater experience of anger than the devaluation of personal identity ($M = 2.81$; $SD = 1.67$).

Happiness:

A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA on the scale of happiness revealed no significant main effect of perspective on happiness, $F_s < 1$. The main effect of target of devaluation was significant, $F(1, 134) = 7.40$; $p <$

.001, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .07$, such that participants reported feeling more happiness when personal identity was devalued than when social identity was devalued. The interaction of perspective and target of devaluation on the scale of happiness was significant, $F(1, 134) = 5.89$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .04$. The simple effects analysis showed that when personal identity was devalued, being victim or witness made a significant difference $F(1, 134) = 3.62$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .43$, such that participants in the witness conditions experienced more happiness than participants in the victim conditions. When social identity was devalued, being victim or witness made no significant difference in the experience of happiness, $F(1, 134) = .82$; $p = .36$ ns.

5.4.4 Discussion

Factor analysis revealed a different structure of humiliation experience than Study 2. Shame, powerlessness and happiness loaded on separate factors. Importantly, however, the humiliation items loaded together on a single factor along with anger items suggesting that the experience of humiliation in Dalit context was combination of humiliation and anger. In addition, correlational analysis also suggested a stronger association between humiliation and anger than between humiliation and shame or humiliation and powerlessness. The hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation was also supported in Indian context. When Dalit identity was devalued, Dalit participants reported feeling humiliation even though they were personally unaffected and simply witnessed humiliation of other Dalit person. Study 3, thus, successfully replicated the findings from Study 2 with a sample from a different cultural context with a different (stigmatized) social identity.

5.5 General Discussion

The present chapter conceptualised and measured humiliation as feelings of devaluation and worthlessness due to devaluation of one's valued identity and examined the hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation that when social identity is devalued, it is possible to feel humiliated simply by observing humiliation of another group member even if one is personally unaffected in the situation. There was a clear support for our conceptualisation and measurement of humiliation. Across both UK and Indian settings, humiliation items loaded together on a single factor suggesting a unified and singular construct. The humiliation items related to shame, anger and powerlessness items differently across contexts. The shame, anger and powerlessness items sometimes loaded with humiliation items and sometimes loaded separately.

Our hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation was also supported. We manipulated perspective (victim vs. witness) and target of devaluation (personal identity vs. social identity) in a humiliating encounter such that, either one is personally belittled by a lecturer or witnessed a fellow student being belittled, and the lecturer either belittled the victim on the basis of personal identity or their social identity. UK students (Study 2) and Dalit participants in India (Study 3) both reported that when their personal identity was devalued, more humiliation was experienced as a victim than as a witness and, moreover, the experience of humiliation as a witness was below the scale midpoint suggesting a low level in absolute terms. However, when social identity was devalued, both victim and witness experienced equally high levels of humiliation. Thus, high level of humiliation was experienced when social identity was devalued although one is a witness and personally unaffected in the situation.

These results from different cultural context (UK and India) and with different social identities (Student and Dalit) confirm that humiliation is not confined to the personal experience of being humiliated, and it can be experienced collectively or collectively on the basis of one's group membership. These results also extend the insights of IET by showing identity devaluation as a basis of social identity salience which provides ground for experience of emotions like humiliation.

Therefore, to use a correct typology regarding emotions experienced on the basis of one's group membership, these results confirm that humiliation is indeed a group based emotion experienced due to devaluation of one's social identity (Iyer and Leach, 2008).

We also examined the effects of our manipulations on the experience of shame, anger and powerlessness. Although our manipulations had a clear effect on humiliation in both UK and Indian contexts, the effect on shame, anger and powerlessness was mixed. Our manipulations had no meaningful effect on shame, anger, and powerlessness in UK context but had a meaningful effect in Indian context. This suggests that unlike humiliation, the effects on shame, anger and powerlessness are not robust across contexts.

We also found support for a positive association of humiliation with shame, anger and powerlessness as suggested by other researchers (Elison & Harter, 2007; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Leidner, Sheikh & Ginges, 2013). These associations, however, differed in their strengths in UK and Indian contexts. In UK student sample, humiliation was found to be strongly associated with shame and powerlessness whereas, in Dalit sample, humiliation was found to be more strongly associated with anger than shame and powerlessness. Similar to the correlational analysis, the factor analysis revealed that shame and powerlessness items load on the humiliation factor in UK context whereas anger items load on the humiliation factor in Indian (Dalit) context. This suggests a shame oriented experience of humiliation in UK students whereas an anger oriented experience of humiliation among Dalit participants. What might be the reason for this variability?

One plausible reason for this variability might be the differential nature of power relations in the context of UK students and Dalit participants in India. For UK participants, the public devaluation by a lecturer would indicate a loss of one's positive social identity resulting in the experience of humiliation coupled with shame and powerlessness. However, for Dalit participants in India, the public devaluation by a lecturer would indicate the enforcement of a stigmatised and negative

version of one's social identity resulting in an experience of humiliation coupled with a greater sense of illegitimacy and feelings of other directed outrage.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of present studies. The obvious limitation of present studies is the use of vignette of a humiliating encounter rather than devising an actual humiliating encounter. However, given the ethical and practical issues involved, it would be highly inappropriate to put participants under such conditions. Previous research in humiliation literature has successfully used vignettes (See, for example, Combs et al., 2010; Elison & Harter, 2007). In order to create the strongest manipulation possible and to make the situation more self-relevant, participants were encouraged to engage with the vignette and referred directly as "you." Another important limitation is that the vignette described a classroom encounter rather than what can be called as a general 'intergroup encounter.' The use of the student sample in the present studies had a good fit with the classroom encounter described in the vignette and importantly, it was meaningful to both university students in UK and Dalit participants in India. Future studies should examine the collective experience of humiliation in clear intergroup encounters. We need to temper our conclusions bearing these limitations in mind.

Overall, then, the present studies allow us to draw three conclusions. First, humiliation can be conceptualised and measured as feelings of devaluation and worthlessness due to devaluation of one's valued identity. Importantly, unlike the conceptualisation of humiliation as a mix of shame, anger and powerlessness, this conceptualisation and measure of humiliation is consistent and robust across UK and Indian contexts. Second, the devaluation of identity does lead to feeling of humiliation. Third, humiliation can indeed be collectively or collectively experienced on the basis of one's group membership. On this foundation, we can now examine the question how people respond to humiliation. We will look at that in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI. CHALLENGING HUMILIATION (I):

MANIPULATING VICTIM'S RESPONSE DURING HUMILIATING ENCOUNTER

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5) our focus was limited to understanding the experience of humiliation. We were able to establish that devaluation of identity leads to feeling of humiliation, and when social identity is devalued, humiliation can be experienced even by those who were not involved in the event. Now we will focus on the responses to humiliation and examine the conditions under which humiliation might be responded with action.

In previous chapters, we have been discussing the idea that humiliation is an encounter or interaction in which one party attempts to diminish or devalue the identity of another party. The main emphasis in looking at humiliation in this way is to point out that the perpetrators and victims both play an active role in the construction and communication of humiliation. Perpetrators can devalue or diminish the victims, but it is up to the victims to accept that devaluation or challenge it. In other words, perpetrators can attempt to humiliate the victim but it is victims who can finalise the success of the perpetrator's attempt. Therefore, the compliance or resistance during the act of humiliation is crucial, and it can have important consequences. The outcome of a humiliating encounter in which one is utterly powerless and has been made an accomplice in the very act of humiliation can be different from the one in which one resists the devaluation during the act of humiliation and protects one's identity (Kellezi and Reicher, 2011). In this chapter (and also the next one) we shall examine some of the consequences of such resistance vs. compliance during a humiliating encounter.

6.1.1 Consequences of Resistance vs. Compliance during Humiliating Encounters

We discussed the distinction between attempts of humiliation and psychological experience of feeling humiliated in Chapter 1. We pointed out that although this distinction is generally endorsed in psychological research, little attention has been paid to victim's responses to a humiliation attempt. The examination of responses to a humiliation attempt is important to understand the victim's agency and choice in the context of humiliation.

Few philosophical analyses have also highlighted the agency of the humiliation victims during the act of humiliation and emphasized that unless victims collaborate humiliation is not possible (Nandy, 2009). Gopal Guru (2009b), in particular, has tried to explore the question of who can be humiliated and argued that a person or group which is not only sensitive about their self-worth, but can also protest cannot be humiliated. It might be hard to accept Gopal Guru's argument without empirical evidence since it seems psychologically inconceivable not to have any experience of threat when one's self-worth is attacked. Even after successful resistance to humiliation, it is still possible to have a painful feeling of having a sense of self-worth or identity vulnerable enough to have been attacked by others. However, despite such shortcomings, the assertions such as these by Guru suggest the probable impact of victims' resistance on the outcome of humiliating encounters.

Importantly, the theoretical analysis by scholars like Gopal Guru and Ashis Nandy is consistent with Dalit participants' accounts of humiliation experiences described in chapter 4. The analysis of these accounts pointed out the differential consequences of resisting vs. complying with humiliation attempt by the perpetrator during the encounter. Although we had only a single case of resistance in the sample, it provided suggestive evidence that the resistance to a humiliation attempt might have positive consequences in terms of the potential for action. The participant who challenged her humiliation during an encounter reported feeling angry and more self-empowered. Moreover, she confidently undertook action against the humiliation. Based on this analysis, we can derive hypotheses regarding the consequences of resistance vs. compliance during humiliating encounters.

We hypothesize that the resistance during humiliating encounter will have a mobilising effect such that resistance will lead to feeling of anger, feed into one's sense of self-empowerment and increase likelihood of undertaking action (both individual and collective) against the perpetrator. The experience of anger after perceived mistreatment and its relations to individual as well as collective action tendencies is clearly established in existing research (van Zomeren, Leach & Spears, 2012; Becker, 2012). We, however, need to clarify the experience of self-empowerment. It is proposed that resistance to humiliation attempt will feed into one's sense of self-empowerment. Based on the work by Drury and Reicher (2005), self-empowerment is operationalized here as a positive feeling of being confident or assertive about one's ability to challenge existing relations of power and domination. Although one can feel self-empowered after resisting devaluation based on one's personal identity, we are concerned here with the self-empowerment one can feel after resisting devaluation of one's social identity.

We have already discussed that humiliating encounters involve devaluation of one's valued identity. The resistance to humiliation attempt means resisting the devaluation by the perpetrator and thus protecting the integrity of one's self. Self-affirmation theory posits that people are generally motivated to maintain the value and integrity of the self and whenever any threat to one's self arises people respond in such a way as to restore one's self-worth (Steele, 1988). Importantly, the defence of one's self-worth can be self-empowering (Sherman & Cohen, 2006). The feeling of self-empowerment has been found as a potent factor that can lead to action tendencies (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005). On this basis, it is expected that self-empowerment will mediate the relationship between resistance to humiliation attempt and action tendencies.

Conversely, we hypothesize that the effect of complying with a humiliation attempt will be to increase feelings of shame rather than anger and to produce a demobilising effect. One's compliance during the humiliation encounter can be seen as a moral failure and result in feelings of shame that

can lead to self-defensive motivation, such as wanting to hide, run away, or cover up (Gausel & Leach, 2011). Overall, we expect victim's response during humiliating encounter to play a crucial role in terms of experience of the encounter and action response to the encounter.

6.2 The Present Research

This chapter will report two studies in which we will manipulate the victim's response to a humiliation attempt. These studies will be based on the classroom humiliation paradigm used in the previous studies (Studies 4 and 5). In fact, we will be taking a cell (victim x social identity devaluation) from the previous 2 x 2 experimental design of study 2 and study 3 and adding a new manipulation (student's response) to it. Again, as in the previous chapter we will first examine the hypotheses with group of UK students (Study 4) and then with group of Dalits in India (Study 5). In more concrete terms, following hypotheses will be examined-

H1: When one resists rather than comply with one's humiliation during an encounter, it will increase feelings of anger, sense of self-empowerment and action tendencies against the perpetrator.

H2: When one complies rather than resisting to one's humiliation during an encounter, it will increase feelings of shame.

H3: Self-empowerment will mediate the relationship between the condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies against the perpetrator.

6.3 Study 4 (UK)

6.3.1 Introduction

Study 4 was conducted in UK with mostly British/Scottish students from St Andrews University. The aim of this study was to manipulate the student's response to the lecturer in the classroom humiliation paradigm and examine its consequences.

6.3.2 Method²⁴

6.3.2.1 Participants and Design: Ninety-five UK students ($M = 19$, $F = 76$; $M_{age} = 21.35$) voluntarily took part in an online experiment in exchange of a chance to participate in a prize draw. The study employed a single factor experimental design. Participants were randomly allocated to either the resistance condition ($N = 47$) or the compliance condition ($N = 48$).

6.3.2.2 Procedure: The experiment was represented as an online survey regarding classroom experiences of UK students. The procedure was same as described in the Study 2.

6.3.2.3 Vignette: The vignette was also same as described in the Study 2 (victim x social identity devaluation cell) with one very important change. The student comes into a tutorial late and also fails to submit required assignment. The student apologizes to the lecturer for having overslept. The lecturer then belittles the student in front of the class targeting the social identity- *“you students...are useless...quite pathetic... like children!”* Unlike study 2 and 3 in the previous chapter, here student responds to the lecturer. We manipulate the student’s response to the lecturer. In the resistance condition, the student challenges the lecturer,

“Enough...that’s enough now! I have already apologized to you. This is extremely rude! I understand it was my fault, but you can’t behave like this.”

However, in compliance condition the student begs forgiveness and promises to be on time in the future,

“I really am sorry. It won’t happen again. I will make sure I am on time in the future.”

6.3.2.4 Dependent variables:

Unless stated otherwise, all items were measured on a 7 point scale 1 = not at all to 7 =very much.

Manipulation Checks:

²⁴ The study received ethical approval from the UTREC (See Appendix - 3a).

In order to check the effect of manipulation, participants were asked to indicate to what extent they think they have expressed themselves to the lecturer and to what extent they think they were successful in challenging the lecturer. The items were averaged to form a composite scale (Pearson's $r = .77$).

After answering the manipulation check items, participants were asked to indicate to what extent they would have felt the following during the incident.

Anger:

Anger was measured with following items- *angry, furious, outraged* and *irritated*. The items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

Shame:

Shame was measured using following items-*ashamed, disgraced, flawed* (Cronbach's alpha = .77).

Self-empowerment:

Three items measured self-empowerment- *confident, proud and assertive* (Cronbach's alpha = .76).

After completing the responses to emotion and empowerment terms, Participants were asked to indicate the likelihood of undertaking following actions.

Individual Action tendencies:

Three items measured individual action tendencies - go to see the head of the department to protest against the lecturer, to write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities, contact student representative to protest against the lecturer. The items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .90).

Collective action tendencies:

Three items measured collective action tendencies - to sign a protest petition against the lecturer, to participate in a classroom walkout against the lecturer, to participate in a sit down protest against the lecturer. The items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .75).

Along with these there were some additional measures as well such as loss of group membership, legitimacy, powerlessness, humiliation, etc. which were mainly exploratory and did not form the focus of the current investigation (For questionnaire, see, Appendix - 3_b)

6.3.3 Results

6.3.3.1 Preliminary Analysis:

6.3.3.1.1 Manipulation Checks:

An ANOVA with the manipulation check as the dependent variable and condition (resistance vs. compliance) as a factor revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 91) = 70.77; p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .44$, with the means in the expected direction. Participants in the resistance condition ($M = 4.06; S.D. = 1.51$) perceived themselves as successfully expressing themselves and challenging the lecturer than participants in the compliance condition ($M = 1.94; S.D. = .99$). Thus, the manipulation was successful.

6.3.3.1.2 Gender and Age effects:

A MANOVA with gender as a factor and shame, anger, self-empowerment, action tendencies, as dependent variate revealed a significant effect of gender, Wilk's lambda = 0.83, $F(5, 89) = 4.30, p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .16$. Univariate analyses on each dependent variable revealed that gender significantly affected shame, $F(1, 93) = 3.84; p < .05, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .04$, such that female participants ($M = 5.18; S.D. = 1.07$) experienced more shame than male participants ($M = 4.63; S.D. = 1.18$) and self-empowerment, $F(1, 93) = 11.07; p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .10$, such that male participants ($M = 3.26; S.D. = .84$) felt more

assured than female participants ($M = 2.37$; $S.D. = 1.09$). There was no effect on remaining variables.

To control the effect of gender, it was added as a covariate in the experimental analysis.

Age was not found to be associated with any of the dependent variables.

6.3.3.3 Experimental Analysis:

Means and standard deviations of main dependant variables as a function of condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) are reported in Table 6.1 and the descriptives, and zero-order correlations are reported in Table 6.2.

Table 6.1

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of condition: Resistance vs. Compliance during humiliating encounters (Study 4; UK sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Resistance during humiliating encounter	Compliance during humiliating encounter
Anger	<i>M</i>	4.69	3.85
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.45)	(1.54)
Shame	<i>M</i>	5.31	4.84
	<i>S.D.</i>	(.93)	(1.23)
Self-empowerment	<i>M</i>	3.00	2.10
	<i>S.D.</i>	(.92)	(1.07)
Individual Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	4.19	3.22
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.73)	(1.63)
Collective Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	3.20	3.14
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.95)	(1.81)

Table 6.2

Means, Standard deviations and Zero-order correlations among main variables in the study (Study 4; UK sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Anger	-	.01	.24*	.45**	.48**
2. Shame		-	-.32**	-.03	-.11
3. Self-empowerment			-	.32**	.19
4. Individual Action Tendencies				-	.54**
5. Collective Action Tendencies					-
<i>M</i>	4.26	5.04	2.55	3.70	3.17
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.55)	(1.09)	(1.09)	(1.74)	(1.87)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 1:

H 1 stated that the resistance rather than compliance during humiliating encounters will increase anger, self-empowerment and action tendencies. An ANOVA with condition (resistance vs. compliance) as a factor and anger as the dependent variable revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 91) = 7.92$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .08$, such that participants in the resistance condition perceived themselves as more angry than participants in the compliance condition (cell values are reported in Table 6.1). Similarly, an ANOVA with self-empowerment also revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 91) = 12.95$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .12$. As expected, participants in the resistance condition felt more self-assured than participants in the compliance condition. Moreover, there was also a significant effect of condition on the individual action tendencies, $F(1, 91) = 10.46$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .10$, such that participants in the resistance condition reported more willingness to engage in actions than participants in the compliance condition. However, there was no significant effect on the scale of collective action tendencies, $F(1, 91) = .001$; $p = .97$ ns.

Hypothesis 2:

According to H2, participants in the compliance condition should report more shame than participants in resistance condition. As expected, there was a significant effect of condition on the scale of shame, $F(1, 91) = 8.21; p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .08$. Surprisingly, however, participants in resistance condition reported more shame than participants in compliance condition.

Hypothesis 3:

Mediation Analysis:

H3 stated that self-empowerment will explain the relationship between the condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and action tendencies. As there was no significant effect of our manipulation on collective action tendencies, this hypothesis was tested with individual action tendencies. Results based on 5000 bootstrapped samples indicated significant (partial)²⁵ mediation of self-empowerment. As shown in Figure 6.1, the total effect of experimental condition on humiliation was significant (Total Effect (TE) = .58, SE = .17, $p < .001$). The direct effect was significant but there was a significant decrease in the coefficient (Direct Effect (DE) = .39, SE = .18, $p < .05$). Importantly, zero was not in the 95% confidence interval (CI), (lower 95% CI = -.40, upper 95% CI = -.05). The indirect effect ($\beta = .18$, S.E. = .08, $p < .001$) was, thus, significantly different from zero at $p < .001$ (two-tailed). H3 is thus supported.

²⁵ Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty (2011) point out the negative consequences of excessive emphasis on the significance of c and c' in mediation analysis for theory building. They provide a convincing argument for abandoning the use of terms 'partial' and 'full' mediation in social psychological research. I am using the term partial here only to indicate somewhat less magnitude of indirect effect.

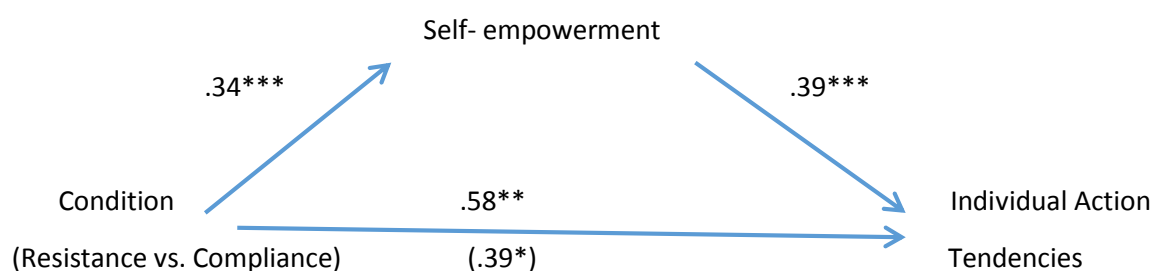


Figure 6.1 Self-empowerment as a (partial) mediator of the relationship between condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and individual action tendencies. Values represent β -weights *** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$

6.3.5 Discussion

We successfully manipulated the resistance and compliance during humiliating encounters. Resistance to humiliation attempt led to anger, self-empowerment and individual action tendencies. Importantly, there was a surprising effect on shame. Instead of the participants in compliance condition, the participants in resistance condition reported more shame. Although we received somewhat mixed support for our hypotheses, the results point out overall importance of victim's response during humiliating encounter.

6.4 Study 5 (India)

6.4.1 Introduction

Study 5 was a conceptual replication of Study 4 with Dalit participants in India. The study examined the hypotheses with a historically stigmatised group from a different cultural context.

6.4.2 Method²⁶

6.4.2.1 Participants and Design: Seventy-three Dalit participants from colleges in Western India ($M = 62$, $F = 11$; $M_{age} = 20.56$) voluntarily took part in the study. They received no compensation for their participation. They were randomly allocated to either the resistance condition ($N = 34$) or the compliance condition ($N = 39$).

6.4.2.2 Procedure: The procedure was same as described in the Study 3. Participant received a booklet containing vignette and questionnaire which they responded in groups 10-15 in their classrooms or in the student hostels where they live.

6.4.2.3 Vignette: The vignette was adapted to Indian context such that the lecturer targets Dalit identity instead of student identity. Apart from this, the vignette was same as Study 4.

6.4.2.4 Translation:

The vignette and questionnaire were translated into Marathi (local language) by the researcher and back-translated into English with the help of a lecturer in English at local college who was also a native speaker. The translated and back-translated versions were compared and discussed. No major differences were present.

6.4.2.5 Dependent variables:

Manipulation Checks:

As in Study 4, the same two items were used to as manipulation checks (Pearson's $r = .64$).

Anger:

The same four items as in Study 4 measured anger (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$).

Shame:

²⁶ The study received ethical approval from the UTREC (See Appendix - 3c).

The same three items as in Study 4 measured shame (Cronbach's alpha = .84).

Self-empowerment:

Same three items as in Study 4 measured self-empowerment (Cronbach's alpha = .78).

Individual action tendencies:

Compared with Study 4, one item (contact student representative to protest against the lecturer) was dropped from the scale of action tendencies due to an inadvertent mistake in the printing of the item. This left two items - go to see the head of the department to protest against the lecturer and to write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities- measured action tendencies. The items formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

Collective action tendencies:

The same three items as in Study 4 measured collective action tendencies (Cronbach's alpha = .88).

Along with these there were some additional exploratory measures as well such as loss of group membership, legitimacy, powerlessness, humiliation, etc. which did not form the immediate focus of the current investigation (For questionnaire, see, Appendix - 3d).

6.4.3 Results

6.4.3.2 Preliminary Analysis:

6.4.3.2.1 Manipulation Checks:

The manipulation was successful. An ANOVA with the manipulation check as the dependent variable and condition (resistance vs. compliance) as a factor revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 69) = 30.26$; $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{partial} = .30$. Participants in the resistance condition ($M = 4.50$; $S.D. = 1.18$) perceived themselves as more successfully expressing themselves and challenging the lecturer than participants in the compliance condition ($M = 2.78$; $S.D. = 1.61$).

6.4.3.2.2 Gender and Age effects:

There was no significant effect of gender on any of the variables in the study. Similarly, age was also not found to be associated with any of the variables in the study.

6.4.3.3 Experimental Analysis:

Means and standard deviations of main dependent variables are reported in Table 6.3 and the descriptives, and zero-order correlations are reported in Table 6.4.

Table 6.3

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of condition: Resistance vs. Compliance during humiliating encounters (Study 4; Indian sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Resistance during	Compliance during
		humiliating encounter	humiliating encounter
Anger	<i>M</i>	5.22	4.33
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.43)	(1.79)
Shame	<i>M</i>	4.39	3.46
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.62)	(2.03)
Self-empowerment	<i>M</i>	3.24	2.04
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.49)	(1.32)
Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	5.47	5.11
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.57)	(1.73)
Collective Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	3.83	4.12
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.78)	(2.04)

Table 6.4

Means, Standard deviations and Zero-order correlations among main variables in the study (Study 4; Indian sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Anger	-	.11	.09	.32**	.46**
2. Shame		-	.05	-.16	-.05
3. Self-empowerment			-	.27*	.06
4. Individual Action Tendencies				-	.53**
5. Collective Action Tendencies					-
<i>M</i>	4.26	5.04	2.55	3.70	3.17
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.55)	(1.09)	(1.09)	(1.74)	(1.87)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 1:

An ANOVA with condition (resistance vs. compliance) as a factor and anger as the dependent variable revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 69) = 5.05$; $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .06$, such that participants in the resistance condition perceived themselves as more angry than participants in the compliance condition. Similarly, an ANOVA with self-empowerment also revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 69) = 15.67$; $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .18$. As expected, participants in the resistance condition felt more self-assured than participants in the compliance condition.

Interestingly, however, there was no significant effect of condition on the scale of individual action tendencies, $F(1, 69) = .90$; $p = .34$ ns as well as on the scale of collective action tendencies, $F(1, 69) = .46$; $p = .50$ ns.

Hypothesis 2:

There was a significant effect of condition on the shame, $F(1, 69) = 4.67$; $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .06$.

Similar to UK participants of study 4, Dalit participants in the present study also reported unexpected pattern of shame experience i.e. participants in the resistance condition reported more shame than participants in the compliance condition.

Hypothesis 3:

Mediation Analysis:

Although we did not find a significant effect of condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) on individual as well as collective action tendencies, it was still decided to test H3 with individual action tendencies in order to maintain consistency with Study 4. Results based on 5000 bootstrapped samples did not indicate a significant mediation of self-empowerment. The zero was in the 95% confidence interval (CI), (lower 95% CI = -.25, upper 95% CI = .08). As is described in the Figure 6.2, only path that was significant in the model was the one from condition to self-empowerment.

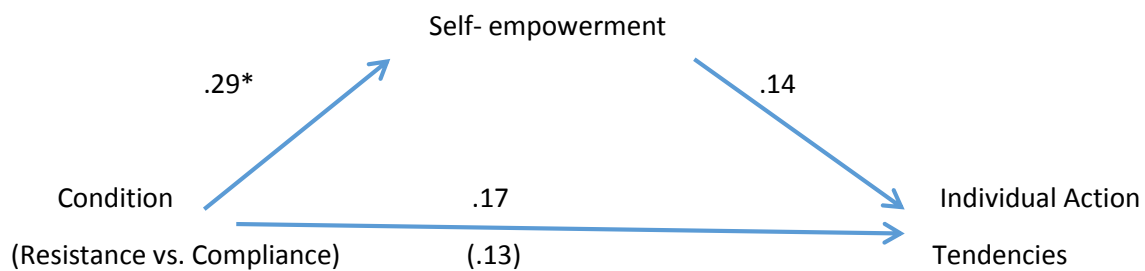


Figure 6.2. Lack of significant mediation of self-empowerment in Indian (Dalit) sample (Study 5).

Values represent β -weights. * = $p < .05$

6.4.4 Discussion

We again received mixed support for our hypotheses. Resistance to humiliation attempt lead to feeling of anger and also increased the sense of self-empowerment among Dalit participants. However, as compared with Study 4, neither did resistance increase individual or collective action tendencies nor self-empowerment mediated the relationship between the condition and individual action tendencies. Interestingly, we found the same unexpected effect of shame. Dalit participants who resisted the humiliation attempt reported feeling more ashamed.

6.5 General Discussion

This chapter presented two studies which examined the consequences of resistance vs. compliance during humiliating encounters. We successfully manipulated victim's response of resistance vs. compliance during a humiliating encounter using the classroom humiliation paradigm developed in the previous chapter. We found that resisting a humiliation attempt by the perpetrator during the encounter leads to feelings of anger and also (quite surprisingly) the feeling of shame in both UK and Indian (Dalit) samples. Importantly, as displayed in Figure 6.3, resistance to humiliation attempt was also found to feed into one's sense of self-empowerment in both UK and Indian (Dalit) samples. However, as described in Figure 6.4, we found that resistance to humiliation attempt led to individual action tendencies in UK sample but not in Indian (Dalit) sample. Similarly, self-empowerment mediated the relationship between experimental condition (resistance to humiliation attempt), and individual action tendencies in UK sample but not in Indian (Dalit sample). Along with the lack of effect on action tendencies in Indian (Dalit) sample, the experience of greater shame after resistance was contrary to what was hypothesized. It is clear that we received mixed support for our hypotheses across both samples of UK students and Dalits in India. We will first address the concerns regarding the effects on shame and anger and then discuss the effects on self-empowerment and action tendencies.

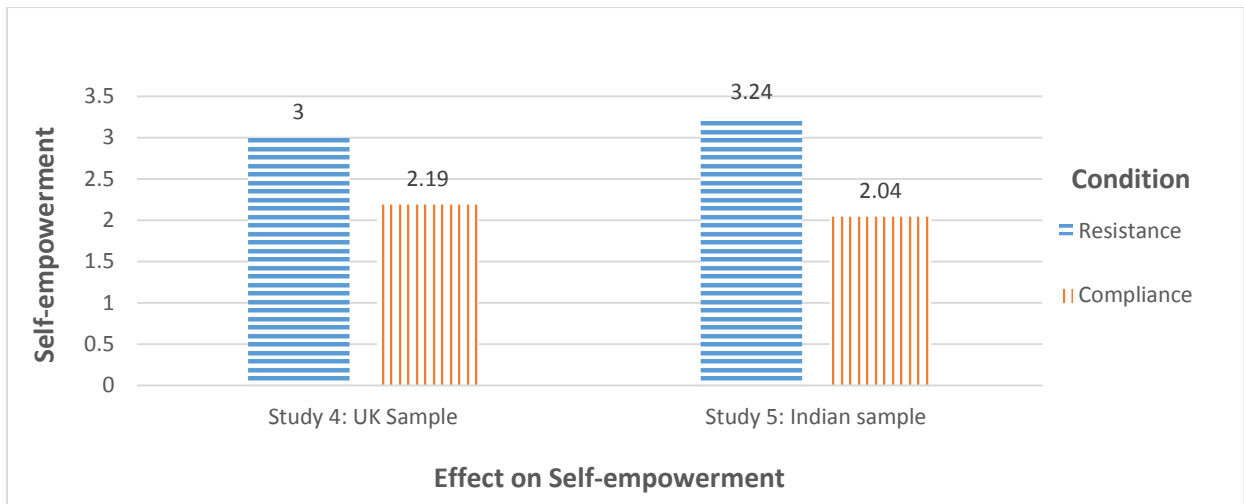


Figure 6.3. Effect of victim's response (resistance vs. compliance) on self-empowerment in Study 4 (UK) & Study 5 (India)

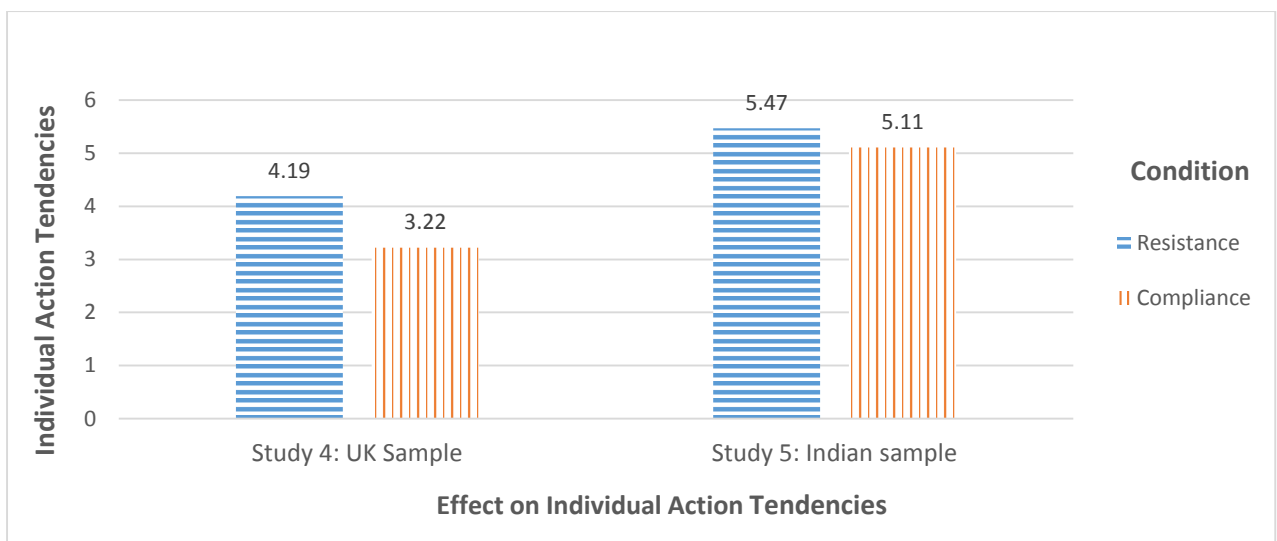


Figure 6.4. Effect of victim's response (resistance vs. compliance) on action tendencies in Study 4 (UK) & Study 5 (India)

The effect on shame was surprising. Across both UK and Indian samples, participants in the resistance condition reported feeling more shame than those in the compliance condition. What might have contributed to this unexpected pattern of response? It is possible that this unexpected

pattern of response might be an attribution effect. Seeing some resistance towards the end of the vignette might have led participants to believe that they must have felt pretty bad, and this has resulted in greater endorsement of shame. Another possibility is that a sense of having put up with public devaluation before responding might have led participants to feel shame.

Although the effect on anger was consistent across UK and Indian samples, it is quite possible to read our manipulation of student's response in resistance condition (*Enough...that's enough now*) as displaying anger and thus, leading to a demand effect on anger. In order to check whether the effect on anger was cued in because of our manipulation of student response, we conducted a post-hoc study with St Andrews university students (N= 64). Post-hoc study compared various milder and intense versions (along with the original version) of the student's resistance to the lecturer with control (no student's response) and with each other in terms of expression of anger, illegitimacy and challenge. It was found that all the versions of student resistance significantly differ in terms of anger, illegitimacy and challenge from the control version of the vignette, but they do not differ from one another. In other words, participants could not differentiate between various milder and intense versions of the student's resistance in terms of display of anger, challenge and illegitimacy. This meant the original manipulation of student response (i.e. *"Enough...that's enough now! I have already apologized to you. This is extremely rude! I understand it was my fault but you can't behave like this"*) could not be differentiated as displaying more anger/illegitimacy/challenge from the milder versions (e.g. *"I am sorry for being late. Now please stop"*). This suggests that the effect on anger was not cued in due to our manipulation. Although the effects on emotions are less clear, the studies in this chapter were not totally unsuccessful. The effect on self-empowerment and action tendencies are clear and suggest interesting possibilities.

Resistance during humiliating encounter led to a sense of self-empowerment. This was consistent across UK and Indian contexts. However, this sense of empowerment then led to individual action tendencies among UK students but not among Dalit participants. Both in UK and Indian samples, our

manipulation did not have any effect on collective action tendencies. The comments by participants after completion of the questionnaire²⁷ suggest that in the context of the classroom encounter described in our vignette undertaking individual level action against a lecturer after being belittled by him in front of class was seen as more viable response than undertaking collective action.

Given the fact that self-empowerment felt after resisting a humiliation attempt led UK students undertake action, the lack of action among Dalit participants despite feeling self-empowered is intriguing. Why, unlike UK students, feeling empowered was not enough to undertake action for Dalit participants in India? Indeed, Dalits are a historically oppressed minority in Indian context whereas UK university students do not have such attributes. There might be important structural differences in UK and Indian (Dalit) context especially in the ways a student complaint against a lecturer is treated. There might be greater support available for students in the universities in UK context whereas such support might be less in Indian context. It is also highly likely that students' complaints against a lecturer are taken more seriously by university administration in UK context than in Indian context.

Furthermore, in the context of the present classroom humiliation paradigm, a Dalit student is being humiliated by a lecturer in front of the class. Even if we assume that the Dalit student resists the humiliation attempt by the lecturer and feels psychologically empowered, it might be still not enough for that Dalit student to undertake action against the lecturer. This is because, along with the psychological empowerment, support from peer group i.e. other students in the class or campus and support from one's institution are important factors that can influence one's decision to act against humiliation in Indian context.

Given the background of prejudice against Dalits in Indian society, it is quite possible that the educational institution might look negatively at a Dalit student complaining or taking any action

²⁷ Participants wrote their comments regarding the study/issue after completion of the questionnaire.

against a lecturer (G. Nambissan, 2007; G. B. Nambissan, 1996). It is also possible that the university might be simply dismissive regarding student complaints in general and punish the student for making such a complaint. In fact, one of the frequent recommendations to Indian government regarding empowerment of women and Dalits in education and workforce is to increase the institutional support for protesting against discrimination in college and university campuses and set up independent mechanisms to address student grievances regarding mistreatment by the faculty (Rao, 2002).

The lack of awareness among students in the college or university campus regarding caste discrimination by administration or faculty is also an important factor. The occurrence of classroom mistreatment of Dalits is less in the universities or colleges where there are more Dalits students in the class or where there is strong student politics representing different voices in the campus and students can collectively challenge university administration (e.g. Jawaharlal Nehru University in India, Vijetha, 2013). At such places, in the event of mistreatment, other students in the class and campus often intervene and, thus, provide support to each other.

Under such conditions, one's positive willingness to act might not be enough to undertake action since a lot will still depend on whether other students in the class also see lecturer's behavior as unfair and support the student and importantly, whether there is a positive attitude of university administration regarding Dalits in general and complaints or protests against a lecturer in particular (Drury & Reicher, 2009). If there is support from other students in the class, one can take action against the lecturer even if institutional administration is not favourable and if there is support from university administration against the mistreatment of Dalits in the class and take such complaints seriously then, like UK context, feeling psychologically empowered is enough to undertake action.

It is clear that the support from one's group and one's institution can be crucial sources of power and has the potential to influence action against humiliation. They can explain the link between resisting a humiliation attempt and undertaking action against the perpetrator. We, therefore, need

to examine the role of group level and institutional support to understand the lack of effect on action tendencies among Dalit participants in Study 5. In the next chapter, we will follow up the present studies and examine the role of group and institution in responding to humiliation.

CHAPTER VII. CHALLENGING HUMILIATION (II): MEDIATORS AND MODERATORS OF ACTION CONSEQUENCES OF HUMILIATION IN UK AND INDIA

7.1 Introduction

The present chapter further examines the relationship between the victim's resistance during a humiliating encounter and his/her willingness to undertake action against the perpetrator after the encounter. In the previous chapter (Study 4 and 5), we found that UK participants who resisted a humiliation attempt were willing to undertake individual action against the perpetrator. Importantly, a sense of self-empowerment (partially) mediated the relationship between resistance to humiliation attempt and action tendencies. However, this effect of resistance on action tendencies was not replicated in a Dalit sample from India. Dalit participants felt empowered after resisting the humiliation attempt. However, unlike their UK counterparts, this feeling of self-empowerment did not lead them to undertake action.

We reasoned that although self-empowerment is important for undertaking action against humiliation, it might not be sufficient. There are two other aspects of power we need to take into account. The first is the role of one's peers, and second is the role of the institution. Along with self-empowerment, the institutional and group support can be important mediating/moderating links between resisting a humiliation attempt and undertaking action against the perpetrator. We, therefore, re-ran the studies with institutional and group support as additional potential mediating/moderating variables.

7.1.1 Self-empowerment and Meta-perceptions of Group Support as Mediators

Self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support can explain the link between resistance to humiliation attempt and willingness to undertake action. As we have seen in the previous chapter, resisting one's devaluation can affirm one's self and feed into self-empowerment, and these feelings of self-empowerment can then lead to action tendencies (Sherman & Cohen, 2006). Study 4 confirmed that self-empowerment mediates the relationship between resisting a humiliation attempt and action tendencies. However, the mediation effect of self-empowerment was rather weak (partial) and was limited only to the sample of UK students. No such mediation effect was found in Dalit sample from India. Although it is clear that feeling psychologically empowered helps in undertaking action against humiliation, it seems to be not enough in the case of Dalits. It might be that members of historically oppressed groups like Dalits need more power or support for undertaking action against humiliation.

Groups can be a critical source of power and support. Indeed, there is much evidence in social psychological literature regarding the crucial role of group support in motivating action (Becker, 2012). Information regarding group support can, therefore, be crucial because such information can render the situation as collective or group based rather than personal which can further feed into perceptions of efficacy (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). In the context of humiliating encounters, one's perceptions regarding whether other group members also perceive the perpetrator's actions as illegitimate or unfair can provide an additional source of power along with self-empowerment and impact upon one's willingness to undertake action. Importantly, the support from group can be a potent enough resource of power to facilitate the protest even if the protest is considered illegitimate from the perspective of social and political institutions (Drury & Reicher, 2000; van Zomeren, Leach & Spears, 2012). Therefore, this perception of group support can be an important mediating factor in UK as well as Indian context.

We can call this perception regarding other group member's perception of perpetrator's action the meta-perceptions of group support. Here the word meta-perception is not used in an inter-group

sense (e.g., Klein & Azzi, 2001) but used to designate an individual member's perception of other ingroup members' perception. In the context of present classroom humiliation paradigm, meta-perceptions of group support are operationalized in terms of whether other students in the class also see the lecturer's behavior as unfair or illegitimate and share their opinion with the victim. It is expected that self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will together provide a mediating link between resistance to humiliation attempt and action tendencies. Furthermore, it is expected that these mediations or indirect effects of will be found in both UK and Indian samples.

7.1.2 Institutional Support for Protest as a Moderator

The power of social or organisational structures to affect individual and group behavior has been well documented in social psychology (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Particularly, SIT outlines how different elements of social structures can impact upon strategies of dealing with disadvantage (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Since there is an enormous difference between socio-structural conditions in UK and India, it seems reasonable to assume that these socio-structural conditions might have affected how UK students and Dalits deal with humiliating encounters.

One socio-structural element that is particularly relevant for UK students as well as Dalit participants is the institutional or university support for complaining or protesting against a lecturer. In UK context, there is likely to be a greater institutional support for taking action after being humiliated by a lecturer. Indeed, study 4 established that being self-empowered is enough for UK students to undertake action against the lecturer. It also seems reasonable to think that UK university students will see such behavior by a lecturer as illegitimate and unfair in nature due to high level of institutional support for the protest against a lecturer available in UK context. Therefore, in UK context, it can be expected that resistance to humiliation attempt by a lecturer will not only feed into feeling of self-empowerment but also meta-perceptions of group support and generate enough power to undertake action after humiliating encounter.

As discussed in the previous chapter, compared to UK students, the situation in India and particularly that of the Dalits can be very different. In Indian context, Institutions can vary to a great extent concerning their attitude towards Dalits and their support to students' complaints regarding a faculty member. Along with institutions, the attitude and awareness of students regarding mistreatment of Dalits or fellow students can also significantly vary from campus to campus. It is, therefore, expected that an action against humiliation by a Dalit person should involve a complex interplay of intra-psychic, group level as well as institutional elements.

Similar to UK students, we would expect resistance to humiliation attempt to feed into self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support among Dalits as well. However, we would further expect institutional support to play a moderating role. If Dalits perceive that there is high institutional support available for protesting against humiliation then their positive willingness will be enough to undertake action. However, such high level of institutional support for protest for Dalits will be a reality at very few places in Indian context. The institutional support is often low, and protest by a Dalit is often looked in a negative light (Wankhede, 2008; Guru, 1997, Thorat and Newman, 2007). We would expect that under such conditions of low institutional support, the support from other students in the class or campus will be a crucial factor that can help undertaking action against humiliation.

(Figure on the next page)

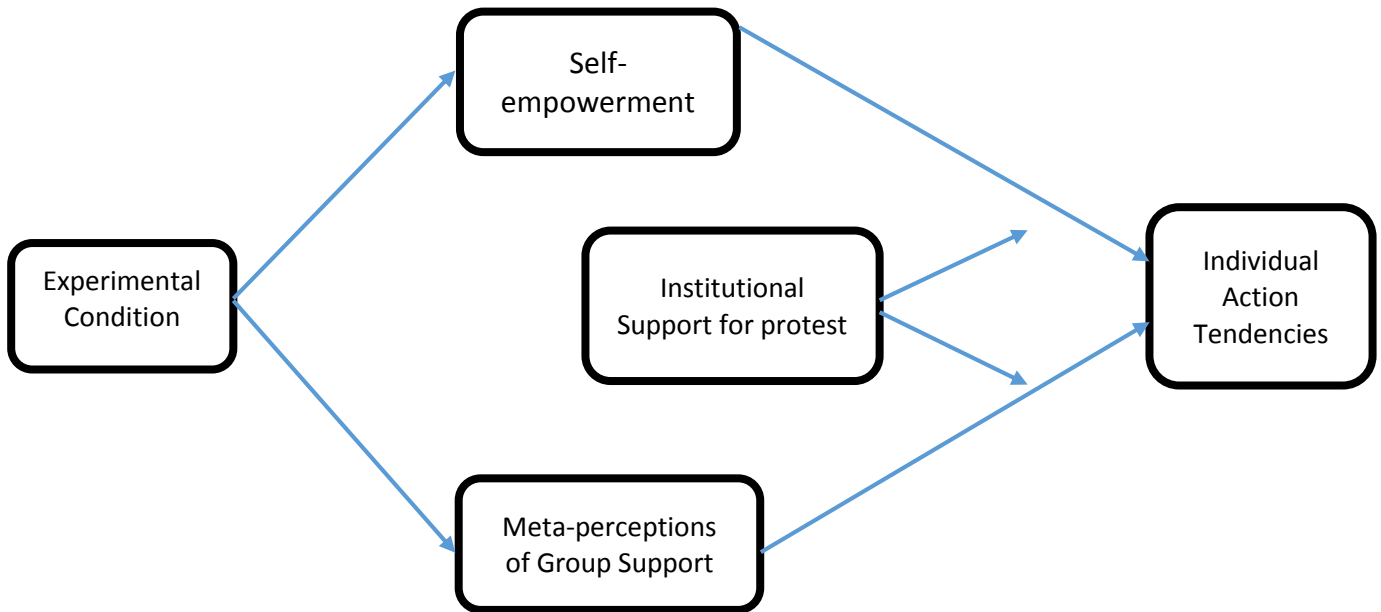


Figure 7.1. Hypothesized (conceptual) conditional indirect effect (Moderated Mediation) Model

Concretely, as described in the Figure 7.1, I expected that self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will mediate the effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on action tendencies in both UK and Indian samples. However, due to such differential backgrounds of institutional support in UK and India, I expected that these mediations or indirect effects will be further moderated by institutional support for protest among Dalit participants from India. In other words, the mediation effect of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will depend on the level of institutional support among Dalit participants.

Furthermore, in terms of moderation of institutional support for protest, I expected that self-empowerment will matter only for the Dalit participants who perceive high institutional support for protest, and not the ones who perceive low institutional support. Reversely, meta-perceptions of group support will matter only for participants perceiving low institutional support, but not those perceiving high institutional support. The reverse pattern is expected with meta-perceptions of

group support because if there is high institutional support then there is already enough power to act and group support will not make much difference.

7.2 The Present Research

The primary aim of the present studies was to examine why there is a lack of action among Dalits in India even after resisting a humiliating attempt during an encounter and feeling psychologically empowered about it. The current studies i.e. study 6 (UK) and study 7 (India) were simply a follow up of previous studies i.e. study 4 (UK) and study 5 (India) with additional potential mediating and moderating variables. Since it was important to confirm that pattern of results found in the previous studies is stable, I added two extra hypotheses which specify the pattern of results from previous studies. Although these follow-up studies were conducted at same places in UK and India, no previous participants from study 4 and study 5 were recruited.

The hypotheses for the current study were -

H1a: When one resists rather than complies with one's humiliation during an encounter, it will increase sense of self-empowerment and action tendencies in UK sample of students

H1b: When one resists rather than comply with one's humiliation during an encounter, it will increase sense of self-empowerment but it will not increase action tendencies in Indian sample of Dalits.

H2: Self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will mediate the relationship between condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies. However, the institutional support for protest will moderate the mediation or indirect effect of condition (resistance vs. compliance) on action tendencies through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support.

H3a: Self-empowerment will mediate the relationship between condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies only when institutional support for protest is high and not when it is low.

H3b: Meta-perceptions of group support will mediate the relationship between condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies only when institutional support is low and not when it is high.

7.3 Study 6 (UK)

7.3.1 Method

7.3.1.1 Participants and Design: Eighty-two UK students ($M = 18$, $F = 62$, *Undisclosed: 2*; $M_{age} = 22.96$) voluntarily took part in an online experiment in exchange of chance to participate in a prize draw. Participants were randomly allocated to either resistance condition ($N = 43$) or compliance condition ($N = 39$).

7.3.1.2 Procedure: The procedure was same as described in Study 4

7.3.1.3 Vignette: The vignette was also same as described in Study 4

7.3.1.4 Dependent variables:

Manipulation Checks: The same two items used in Study 4 were used as manipulation checks (Pearson's $r = .69$).

Self-empowerment: Self-empowerment was measured by four items. Along with same three items used previously i.e. confident, assertive, and proud, an additional item, self-assured, was added to the scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

*Institutional support for protest*²⁸:

²⁸ Please refer to Appendix - 4a for full scales of institutional support for protest and meta-perceptions of group support.

Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agree or disagree with following items regarding views of university authorities on a seven point scale from 1 - strongly disagree to 7 - strongly agree. The scale of institutional support had four items e.g. the university authorities treat student complaints against faculty members fairly, the university authorities will be negative towards anyone who complains about a lecturer (reverse coded) (Cronbach's alpha = .86).

Meta-perceptions of group support:

Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they agree or disagree with following items regarding views of other students in the class on a seven-point scale from 1 - strongly disagree to 7 - strongly agree. Two items measured meta-perceptions of group support - I think other students do not feel the same way about the lecturer as I do (reverse coded), I think other students also disagree with the lecturer's behavior (Pearson's $r = .74$).

Individual Action tendencies:

The same three items as in Study 4 measured individual action tendencies e.g. willingness to go to see the head of the department to protest against the lecturer, willingness to write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities (Cronbach's alpha = .82).

There were some additional exploratory measures in the study as well such as collective action tendencies, institutional support for student's collective action, meta-perceptions of group support etc. which did not form the immediate focus of the current investigation (See, Appendix - 4_b).

7.3.2 Results

7.3.2.1 Analytic Strategy:

The hypotheses were examined in two steps. First, I examined the mean differences in resistance and compliance conditions in terms of self-empowerment and action tendencies (H1a & H1b). This step was important in order to make sure that the results from earlier studies are stable. In the

second step, I tested a conditional indirect effect (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007, Model 3, alternatively known as Moderated Mediation) model depicted in Figure 7.1. This conditional indirect effect model integrates rest of the hypotheses in the study (H2-H3b). I used *process 2.10* macro developed by Andrew F. Hayes to test the conditional indirect effects model rather than SEM (Structural Equation Modelling) since it was found to be better suited for the present purpose (Hayes, 2012).

It was hypothesized that the mediation of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will be moderated by institutional support for protest in Indian sample. I did not expect such a moderation effect in UK sample. However, no concrete hypothesis was proposed in this regard. Assuming that the moderation hypothesis of institutional support for protest receives support in Indian sample, it is plausible that the strength of the hypothesized indirect effects (mediation) is contingent on the value of the moderator. Therefore, I expected different patterns of indirect effects (mediation) of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support for high and low levels of institutional support for protest (H3a & H3b).

7.3.2.2 Preliminary Analysis

7.3.2.2.1 Manipulation Checks:

Manipulation was successful. There was a significant effect of condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) on the manipulation checks, $F(1, 78) = 78.18, p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .50$. As expected, the participants in resistance condition ($M = 3.58; S.D. = 1.00$) scored significantly more on the manipulation checks than participants in compliance condition ($M = 1.74; S.D. = .82$).

7.3.2.2.2 Age and Gender Effects:

MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis of Variance) with gender as a factor and following dependent variables was conducted- self-empowerment, institutional support for protest, meta-perceptions of

group support, individual action tendencies. MANOVA revealed no significant effect of gender on the dependent variate, Wilk's lambda = 0.90, $F(4, 76) = 0.93, p = .49$ ns. However, age was found to be significantly but negatively associated with meta-perceptions of group support ($r = -.25, p < .02$; 2-tailed). Age was added as a covariate in the analysis.

7.3.2.3 Experimental Analysis:

Means and standard deviations of the main dependent variables as a function of condition are reported in Table 7.1 and the descriptives, and zero-order correlations are reported in Table 7.2. An inspection of the correlation analysis reveals that institutional support for protest is not associated with self-empowerment and action tendencies. The institutional support for protest is, however, found to be significantly but negatively associated with meta-perceptions of Group support ($r = -.34, p < .001$).

Table 7.1

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of condition: Resistance vs. Compliance during humiliating encounters (Study 6; UK sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Resistance during humiliating encounter	Compliance during humiliating encounter
Self-empowerment	<i>M</i>	3.66	2.56
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.02)	(.84)
Meta-perceptions of group support	<i>M</i>	5.74	5.01
	<i>S.D.</i>	(.86)	(1.38)
Institutional support for protest	<i>M</i>	4.63	4.56
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.24)	(1.54)
Individual Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	4.19	3.22
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.73)	(1.63)

Table 7.2

Means, Standard deviations and Zero-order correlations among main variables in the study (Study 6; UK sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Self-empowerment	-	.14	.06	.33**
2. Meta-perceptions of group support		-	-.34**	.42**
3. Institutional support for protest			-	-.07
4. Individual action tendencies				-
<i>M</i>	3.14	5.39	4.60	4.10
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.08)	(1.19)	(1.38)	(1.43)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Hypothesis 1a:

H1a stated that resistance rather than compliance will increase the sense of self-empowerment and action tendencies in UK sample. Consistent with the results of earlier study with UK sample (Study 4), ANOVA revealed a significant effect of experimental condition on the scale of self-empowerment, $F(1, 81) = 18.76, p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .19$, such that the participants in resistance condition reported feeling more self-empowered than participants in compliance condition. Similarly, an ANOVA with action tendencies also revealed a significant effect, $F(1, 81) = 18.76, p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .19$, such that participants in resistance condition reported more willingness to engage in actions than participants in compliance condition.

Hypotheses 2 – 3b:

7.3.2.3.1 Conditional Indirect Effect Analysis:

To conduct the conditional indirect effect analysis, condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) was entered into Andrew F Hayes' Process 2.10 macro as independent variable, action tendencies as dependent variable, self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support as mediators and institutional support for protest as the moderator. Age was added as a covariate. To reduce the risk of multicollinearity, all predictor variables were standardized by obtaining their z-scores (Aiken & West, 1991). Based on the templates of various conditional indirect effects provided by Andrew F. Hayes, model 14 of the process macro suited the present analysis (Hayes, 2012). Finally, the analysis was run with 5000 bootstrapped samples to generate 95% bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals.

It might be helpful to briefly comment on interpreting the output of a conditional indirect effect analysis especially Model 3. Two main paths - i) IV to mediator and ii) the interaction between the mediator (Med) and moderator (Mod) to the DV - are crucial for a conditional indirect effect to be significant (Preacher, Rucker & Hayes, 2007). If these paths are statistically significant then, we can say that a moderated mediation or conditional indirect effect is present. This effect then needs to be further subjected to bootstrapping analysis in order to examine exactly how the moderator variable affected the relationship between IV and DV via a mediator in the model. The 95% bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals are used to determine the significance of the indirect effect at various levels of the moderator variable. An effect is considered significant at $p < .05$ if the values of the estimated effect sizes within the 95% confidence interval do not include zero (For an example of application of conditional indirect effect analysis especially Model 3, See Cole, Walter, & Bruch, 2008).

Since we have two mediators and a single moderator as described in the Figure 1, the first path would be the one from the experimental condition (IV) to self-empowerment (Mediator 1 or Med1) and meta-perceptions of group support (Mediator 2 or Med2). The second path would be between

the interactions (Med x Mod) and DV that is, i) self-empowerment x institutional support for protest to action tendencies and ii) meta-perceptions of group support x institutional support for protest to action tendencies. We will first test these two paths and then further proceed to bootstrapping analysis and simple slope analysis.

The results of the conditional indirect effect analysis are presented in Table 7.3. H2 predicted that self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will mediate the relationship between condition and action tendencies. However, these mediations or indirect effect will not be moderated by institutional support for protest. Let us first look at the IV to mediator paths in the model. The condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) predicted self-empowerment ($coeff. = -.51$, $SE = 0.9$, $t = -5.30$, $p < .001$; see row 2 of the Table 7.3). The condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) also predicted meta-perceptions of group support ($coeff. = -.30$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = -2.89$, $p < .01$; see row 4 of the Table 8.3). Now let us look at the relationship between (Mediator x Moderator) interactions and DV. Neither the interaction of self-empowerment with institutional support for protest significantly predicted the action tendencies ($coeff. = -.14$, $SE = 0.15$, $t = -.93$, ns ; see row 10 of the Table 7.3), nor the interaction of meta-perceptions of group support with institutional support for protest ($coeff. = -.11$, $SE = 0.13$, $t = -.86$, ns ; see row 11 of the Table 7.3). In addition, if we look at the relationship of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support with action tendencies (see rows 8 and 9), we find that self-empowerment significantly predicts action tendencies ($coeff. = .38$, $SE = 0.16$, $t = 2.28$, $p < .05$) and meta-perceptions of group support also significantly predicts action tendencies ($coeff. = .61$, $SE = 0.16$, $t = 3.60$, $p < .001$). It is clear that the paths between interactions (Med1 x Mod & Med2 x Mod) and DV are found to be non-significant for UK sample. This means as we expected the conditional indirect effect model is not supported in UK sample. It might still be useful to look at the mediational role of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support.

Table 7.3

Result of the conditional indirect effect analysis (Study 6, UK sample): Self-empowerment & meta-perceptions of group support as mediators and Institutional support for protest as a moderator

Predictor	Coeff.	SE	t	LL CI	UL CI
DV= Self-empowerment (Mediators 1 in the model)					
1. Constant	.00	.09	.00	-.19	.19
2. Condition (Resistance vs. Compliance)	-.51	.09	-5.30***	-.70	-.31
DV= Meta-perceptions of Group support (Mediator 2 in the model)					
3. Constant	.00	.10	.00	-.21	.21
4. Condition (Resistance vs. Compliance)	-.30	.10	-2.89**	-.51	-.09
DV= DV (Action Tendencies)					
5. Constant	4.07	.14	27.34***	3.77	4.36
6. Condition (Resistance vs Compliance)	-.09	.17	-.54	-.43	.24
7. Institutional support for protest	.04	.16	.29	-.27	.36
8. Self-empowerment	.38	.16	2.28*	.04	.72
9. Meta-perceptions of group support	.61	.16	3.60***	.27	.94
10. Self-empowerment x institutional support for protest (MED x MOD 1)	-.14	.15	-.93	-.46	.16
11. Meta-perceptions of group support x institutional support for protest (MED x MOD 2)	-.11	.13	-.86	-.38	.15

Note. Standardized regression coefficients are reported. LL= lower limit; CI= confidence interval; UL= upper limit. *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

7.3.2.3.2 Mediation Analysis

A separate mediation analysis with condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) as IV, action tendencies as DV and self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support as mediators was conducted. Results based on 5000 bootstrapped samples indicated significant (full) mediation of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support. The total effect of condition on action tendencies was significant (Total Effect (TE) = $-.44$, SE = $.15$, $p < .001$). The direct effect was non-significant and there was a significant decrease in the coefficient (Direct Effect (DE) = $-.10$, SE = $.17$, $p = .35$). Importantly, zero was not in the 95% confidence interval (CI), (lower 95% CI = $-.59$, upper 95% CI = $-.10$). The indirect effect ($\beta = .33$, S.E. = $.12$, $p < .001$) was, thus, significantly different from zero at $p < .001$ (two-tailed). Self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support thus together mediate the relationship between condition and action tendencies in UK sample. Although the overall conditional indirect effect model is not supported, it is clear that self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support mediate the relationship between condition and action tendencies but these mediations or indirect effects are not moderated by institutional support for protest in UK sample.

7.3.2.3.3 Alternative Model

It might be theoretically possible that high and low levels of institutional support for protest instead of affecting the relationships between self-empowerment (Med1) and action tendencies (DV) and meta-perceptions of group support (Med2) and action tendencies (DV), might affect the relationships between resistance during the humiliating encounter (experimental condition) and self-empowerment (Med1) and meta-perceptions of group support (Med2). In other words, it is possible that the conditional indirect effect might be observed at path from IV to Mediators (See, Model 3, Preacher et al., 2007). Therefore, a conditional indirect effect model with above mentioned changes was examined. Although, the condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) predicted

self-empowerment (*coeff.* = -.51, SE= 0.9, *t*= -5.30, *p* < .001) and meta-perceptions of group support (*coeff.* = -.30, SE= 0.10, *t*= -2.89, *p* < .01), the interaction between condition and institutional support for protest did not significantly predict the self-empowerment (*coeff.* = -.09, SE= .09, *t* = -.94, *p* = .34) as well as meta-perceptions of group support (*coeff.* = -.16, SE = .10, *t*= -1.65, *p* = .10). This suggests that the conditional indirect effect model is not supported in UK sample either at IV to mediator path nor at mediator to DV path.

7.3.3 Discussion

Overall, in this study we could replicate effects on self-empowerment and individual action tendencies obtained in study 4. We also found that meta-perceptions of group support along with self-empowerment mediate the relationship between condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and action tendencies. The institutional support for protest did not moderate any of the mediations or indirect effects. It is clear from the results that in the UK context (where institutional support for action against a lecturer is high), the resistance to humiliation attempts leads to increased self-empowerment and increased sense of group support which, in turn, leads to action tendencies. Let us now look at these relationships among Dalit participants from India.

7.4 Study 7 (India)

7.4.1 Method

7.4.1.1 Participants and Design: Sixty Dalit students from a college in western India (*M*= 26, *F*=34, *M*_{age}= 22.92) voluntarily took part in an ostensible survey regarding classroom experiences of Indian students. They received no compensation for their participation. Participants were randomly allocated to either resistance condition (*N*= 31) or compliance condition (*N*=29).

7.4.2.2 Procedure: The procedure was same as described in Study 5.

7.4.2.3 Vignette: The vignette was also same as described in Study 5.

7.4.2.4 Translation:

The vignette and questionnaire were translated into Marathi (local language) by the researcher and back translated into English with the help of a lecturer in English at local college who was also a native speaker. The translated and back translated versions were compared and discussed. No major differences were present.

7.4.2.5 Dependent variables:

The dependent measures were the same as in study 6.

Manipulation Checks: The same two items used in Study 6 were used as manipulation checks

(Pearson's $r = .76$).

Self-empowerment: The same four items used in study 6 measured self-empowerment (Cronbach's alpha = .88).

Institutional support for protest: The same four items used in Study 6 measured institutional support for protest (Cronbach's alpha = .81).

Meta-perceptions of group support: The same two items as Study 6 measured meta-perceptions of opinion support (Pearson's $r = .89$).

Individual action tendencies: The same three items as in Study 6 measured individual action tendencies (Cronbach's alpha = .92).

There were some additional exploratory measures as well such as collective action tendencies, institutional support for student's collective action, etc. which do not form the immediate focus of the current investigation (For questionnaire, see, Appendix - 4b).

7.4.2 Results

7.4.2.2 Preliminary Analysis:

7.4.2.1 Manipulation Checks:

Manipulation was successful. There was a significant effect of experimental condition on the manipulation checks, $F(1, 56) = 23.36, p < .001, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .29$. The participants in resistance condition ($M = 4.17; S.D. = 1.47$) scored significantly more on the manipulation checks than participants in compliance condition ($M = 2.58; S.D. = 1.03$).

7.4.2.2 Age and Gender Effects

MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis of Variance) with gender as a factor and following dependent variables was conducted- self-empowerment, institutional support for protest, meta-perceptions of group support, action tendencies. MANOVA revealed no significant effect of gender. Age was also not found to be associated with any of the main variables in the study.

7.4.2.3 Experimental Analysis

Means and standard deviations of the main dependent variables as a function of condition are reported in Table 7.4, and the descriptives and zero-order correlations are reported in Table 7.5. It is clear from the Table 7.5 that institutional support for protest is significantly and positively associated with self-empowerment, meta-perceptions of group support and action tendencies. This is clearly different from UK sample where we found (See Table 7.2) institutional support for protest negatively associated meta-perceptions of group support and unrelated to self-empowerment and action tendencies.

Table 7.4

Scores on main dependent variables as a function of condition: Resistance vs. Compliance during humiliating encounters (Study 7; Indian sample)

Main Dependent Variables		Resistance during humiliating encounter	Compliance during humiliating encounter
Self-empowerment	<i>M</i>	3.75	2.66
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.52)	(.95)
Meta-perceptions of group support	<i>M</i>	4.61	3.74
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.55)	(1.36)
Institutional Support for protest	<i>M</i>	3.19	3.20
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.20)	(.86)
Individual Action Tendencies	<i>M</i>	5.32	4.64
	<i>S.D.</i>	(1.39)	(1.79)

Table 7.5

Means, Standard deviations and Zero order correlations among main variables in the study (Study 7; Indian sample)

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Self-empowerment	-	.58**	.43**	.44**
2. Meta-perceptions of group support		-	.59**	.55**
3. Institutional Support for protest			-	.45**
4. Individual Action Tendencies				-
<i>M</i>	3.22	4.19	3.19	4.99
<i>S.D.</i>	(1.38)	(1.51)	(1.04)	(1.62)

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Hypothesis 1b:

H1b stated that resistance rather than compliance to humiliation attempt will increase the sense of self-empowerment but it will not lead to increase in action tendencies in Indian sample. ANOVA

revealed a significant effect of experimental condition on the scale of self-empowerment, $F(1, 56) = 10.71, p < .01, \eta^2_{\text{partial}} = .16$, such that the participants in resistance condition reported feeling more self-empowered than participants in compliance condition. However, as we predicted an ANOVA with action tendencies did not reveal a significant effect, $F(1, 56) = 2.60, p = .11 \text{ ns}$. H1b is thus supported. This confirms the pattern of results we earlier found in Study 5. Now let us look at the conditional indirect effect analysis in Indian sample in order to examine H2-H3b.

Hypotheses 2 – 3b:

7.4.2.3.1 Conditional Indirect Effect Analysis

The results of the conditional indirect effect analysis are presented in Table 7.6. H2 predicted that self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support will mediate the relationship between condition and action tendencies and these mediations or indirect effects will be moderated by institutional support for protest. Let us first look at the IV to mediator paths in the model. The condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) predicted self-empowerment ($\text{coeff.} = -.39, \text{SE} = 0.12, t = -3.26, p < .001$; see row 2 of the Table 7.6). The condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) also predicted meta-perceptions of group support ($\text{coeff.} = 0.12, \text{SE} = 0.10, t = -2.72, p < .05$; see row 4 of the Table 7.6). Now let us look at the mediator and moderator interaction to DV paths. The interaction of self-empowerment with institutional support for protest significantly predicted action tendencies ($\text{coeff.} = .60, \text{SE} = 0.22, t = 2.65, p < .01$; see row 10 of the Table 7.6) and the interaction of meta-perceptions of group support with institutional support for protest also significantly predicted action tendencies ($\text{coeff.} = -.77, \text{SE} = 0.24, t = -3.12, p < .001$; see row 11 of the Table 7.6). The conditional indirect effect model is thus supported in Dalit sample from India. In the next section, we will look at bootstrapping analysis which will help us decompose the conditional indirect effect.

7.4.2.3.2 Bootstrapping Analysis:

The result of the bootstrapping analysis describing conditional indirect effects at M and ± 1 SD values of the moderator in Indian Dalit sample are presented in Table 7.7. The bootstrapping analysis at the mean and plus and minus one SD from mean of institutional support for protest revealed that self-empowerment did not mediate the relationship between condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and action tendencies when institutional support is low (*Lower CI* = -.10, *Upper CI* = .51) and on the mean level (*Lower CI* = -.35, *Upper CI* = .08). However, it only mediated when institutional support for protest is high (*Lower CI* = -.72, *Upper CI* = -.07).

The meta-perceptions of group support mediated the relationship between condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and action tendencies when institutional support is low (*Lower CI* = -.86, *Upper CI* = -.07) and on the mean level (*Lower CI* = -.45, *Upper CI* = -.02) but not when it is high (*Lower CI* = -.13, *Upper CI* = .33). The bootstrapping analysis, thus, provides support for H3a & H3b. As expected, self-empowerment mediated the relationship between condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies only when institutional support for protest was high and not when it was low. Obvesely, meta-perceptions of group support mediated the relationship between condition (resistance vs. compliance) and action tendencies only when institutional support was low and not when it was high.

7.4.2.3.3 Alternative Model:

An alternative model similar to Study 6 in which institutional support for protest instead of affecting the mediator to DV path affects the IV to mediators path was tested. Although, the condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) predicted self-empowerment (*coeff.* = -.40, *SE* = 0.9, *t* = -4.45, *p* < .001) and meta-perceptions of group support (*coeff.* = -.29, *SE* = 0.09, *t* = -3.00, *p* < .01), the interaction between condition and institutional support for protest did not significantly predict self-empowerment (*coeff.* = -.16, *SE* = .09, *t* = -1.62, *p* = .11) as well as meta-perceptions of group support

(*coeff.* = -.02, SE = .10, *t* = -.26, *p* = .79). This suggests that the conditional indirect effect model in Indian sample is significant at mediator to DV path but not at IV to mediator path.

(Table on the next page)

Table 7.6

Result of the conditional indirect effect analysis (Study 7, Indian sample): Self-empowerment & meta-perceptions of group support as mediators and Institutional support for protest as the moderator

Predictor	Coeff.	SE	t	LLCI	ULCI
DV= Self-empowerment (Mediators 1 in the model)					
1. Constant	.00	.12	.00	-.24	.24
2. Condition (Resistance vs. Compliance)	-.39	.12	-3.26**	-.63	-.15
DV= Meta-perceptions of Group support (Mediator 2 in the model)					
3. Constant	.00	.12	.00	-.25	.25
4. Condition (Resistance vs. Compliance)	-.28	.12	-2.27*	-.54	-.03
DV= DV (Action Tendencies)					
5. Constant	5.09	.19	25.72***	4.69	5.49
6. Condition (Resistance vs. Compliance)	-.04	.20	-.23	-.46	.36
7. Institutional support for protest	.06	.27	.23	-.49	.62
8. Self-empowerment	.23	.26	.88	-.30	.77
9. Meta-perceptions of group support	.59	.22	2.62*	.13	1.04
10. Self-empowerment x institutional support for protest (MED1 x MOD)	.60	.22	2.65**	.14	1.06
11. Meta-perceptions of group support x institutional support for protest (MED2 x MOD)	-.77	.24	-3.12***	-1.27	-.27

Note. Standardized regression coefficients are reported. LL= lower limit; CI= confidence interval; UL= upper limit. *** = p< .001, **= p< .01. , *= p< .05.

Table 7.7

Result of the conditional indirect effect at M and ± 1 SD values of the moderator in Indian sample (Study 7).

A. Conditional indirect effects of self-empowerment at institutional support for protest =					
M and ± 1 SD					
Mediator	Institutional Support for protest (Moderator = M and ± 1 SD)	<i>Boot Indirect effect</i>	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Self-empowerment	-1 SD (-1.000)	.14	.15	-.10	.51
Self-empowerment	M (.000)	-.09	.10	-.35	.08
Self-empowerment	+1 SD (1.000)	-.33	.16	-.72	-.07

B. Conditional indirect effects of meta-perceptions of group support at institutional support for protest =					
M and ± 1 SD					
Mediator	Institutional Support for protest (Moderator = M and ± 1 SD)	<i>Boot Indirect effect</i>	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Meta-perceptions of group Support	-1 SD (-1.000)	-.39	.19	-.86	-.07
Meta-perceptions of group Support	M (.000)	-.17	.10	-.45	-.02
Meta-perceptions of group Support	+1 SD (1.000)	.05	.11	-.13	.33

7.4.3 Discussion

We were successful in replicating the earlier pattern of results found in study 5. Resisting a humiliation attempt increased feelings of self-empowerment but did not have a direct effect on action tendencies. Importantly, we found that meta-perceptions of group support along with self-

empowerment mediate the relationship between condition (Resistance vs. Compliance) and action tendencies. However, for Dalit participants, unlike their UK counterparts, these mediation or indirect effects further depended on the level of institutional support for action against a lecturer. The conditional indirect effects model was thus supported among Dalits in India but not among UK students.

7.5 General Discussion

The present chapter set out to address the question raised by the findings of chapter 6 as to why, unlike the group of UK students, there was a lack of action among group of Dalits in India even after feeling psychologically empowered due to expressing resistance to a humiliating attempt. Of course, Dalits are a stigmatised minority in Indian context and UK students have no such attributes. We reasoned that feeling empowered may not be enough for members of a stigmatised and powerless group like Dalits in India and group level and structural sources of power and support may be more crucial to undertake action against one's humiliation. We proposed that meta-perceptions of group support and institutional support for protest against humiliation will be important sources of power or support in the context of a humiliating encounter. On this basis, we hypothesized a conditional indirect effects model in which the indirect effect of resisting a humiliation attempt on action tendencies (through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support) depends on the level of institutional support for action against humiliation.

The results of study 6 and study 7 together provide clear support for the mediational role of self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support and moderating role of institutional support for protest. Importantly, as expected, the hypothesized conditional indirect effects or moderated mediation model was supported among Dalits in India but not among UK students. Although there was a significant indirect effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on UK students' action against the humiliation by the lecturer through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support, it was not affected by the level of institutional support. However, in the context of Dalits, the level of

institutional support moderated the indirect effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on action tendencies through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support.

This moderation by institutional support for protest helped specify the conditions under which Dalits can act against their humiliation. It was confirmed that self-empowerment was helpful to undertake action only among Dalit participants with high institutional support but not the ones with low institutional support. This shows that a positive willingness to act among Dalits is meaningful only when institution is not dismissive or inimical towards complaints regarding a lecturer. Conversely, Dalit participants who perceived that they have a high level of group support were willing to undertake action particularly when the institutional support was low. This means no institutional support is necessary to undertake action if one could gather support from one's group. This shows the overall importance of group support as a source of power. It is clear that even after feeling empowered due to resisting a humiliation attempt the support from either one's group or the institution is essential for Dalit participants to undertake action against humiliation.

I believe that these results make three important theoretical points regarding the nature of humiliation. First and foremost, they confirm that humiliation indeed is a social encounter or interaction. Along with perpetrators, victims also play an active role in the phenomenon of humiliation. A perpetrator may possess more power and attempt to humiliate, but victims do not necessarily and passively accept the humiliation and feel bad about themselves. The results of these studies clearly show that victims even under the very powerless and oppressive conditions (as is the case with Dalits in India) can influence outcome of a humiliating situation. They can retain their positive sense of self and seek alternative sources of power to undertake action against the perpetrator.

Second, they point out the role of power relations in the context of humiliation and clearly demonstrate that humiliation is an encounter within power relations. Importantly, the power relations can be complex and involve the individual sense of power, the sense of group level power

and the sense of institutional level power. Moreover, these various sources of power do not have separate implications for action. They are interdependent. When there is low institutional support, the individual sense of power actually does not help you take action but it is the sense of group power that is crucial. Conversely, when there is high institutional support, individuals feel that they can act on their own. In a sense, this also fits with the individualistic and collectivistic cultural difference in UK and India (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). In India, what is critical is the perception that groups are crucial to one's sense of power and readiness for action whereas in UK, people feel that they are empowered as individuals and can achieve things on their own.

Third and somewhat related point these studies make is that social relations involved in a humiliating encounter are important. The questions - who is humiliating whom? Who is witnessing the encounter? - are fundamental in the context of humiliation. Indeed, chapter 6 confirmed that when social relations involved in humiliating encounters are defined on the basis of group membership, humiliation can become collective, and it can be felt even when one is not directly involved in the encounter. The results from present studies further corroborate that perception of social relations involved in humiliating encounters can impact upon the perceptions of support or power and affect the outcome of humiliating encounters.

Several issues need to be considered while drawing more general inferences from results of the present studies. First, following the meta-perceptions of group support were operationalized as opinion support and not as action support. Zomeran et al. (2004) demonstrate that group members' support of one's dissent and thus validation of one's opinion is not the same as group members' support for undertaking action. Although, some items regarding meta-perceptions of action support were present in the current studies for exploratory purposes (see, Appendix – 4_b), the meta-perceptions of action support were not found to be playing any significant role. van Zomeran et al. (2004) further argue that such opinion support can be better understood as emotional support from

group which feed into emotion focused coping of collective disadvantage. It might be the case that the emotional support from group may be more important after resisting a humiliation attempt.

Second, resistance to humiliation was operationalized in current studies only as a verbal disapproval of perpetrator's actions. However, one can imagine that different forms of resistance e.g. retaliatory confrontation during humiliating encounters are possible. The consequences of such different forms of resistance should be explored by future research on humiliation.

Third, the present research paid little attention to the cultural differences between UK and India that can affect responses to humiliating encounters. Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, and Zaalberg (2008) have shown that one's social image, which can be very important in honour cultures, influences the way in which one reacts to insulting situations. Since the focus of present studies was to examine the how different sources of power or support can affect responses to humiliating encounters, not much attention was paid to cultural differences in UK and India. However, this is certainly an important avenue of research and future research should do well to explore such influences of culture on responses to humiliating encounters.

Fourth, it needs to be considered that in the present studies the action tendencies were measured in terms of individual actions and not collective actions. One should be careful while extending present findings to collective action responses to humiliating situations.

Fifth, we examined consequences of individual member's resistance to humiliation attempt. However, collective resistance to the humiliation attempts is also possible and can instigate collective action. Indeed, future studies using the same classroom humiliation paradigm (in which not the individual student but the class challenges the lecturer's behaviour) can be designed to explore the consequences of collective resistance to humiliation attempt on collective action tendencies.

To conclude, I believe that present studies successfully demonstrate the relational or dynamic nature of humiliation and confirm the relevance of conceptualising humiliation in terms of social encounters. Importantly, they show the practical importance of various group level as well as structural sources of power and support for minority group members while dealing with everyday humiliations. Furthermore, these studies bear out the success of our strategy of comparative examination in UK and India. By comparing the experience and consequences of humiliation in UK and Indian contexts, we could see the critical importance of social structure and the critical importance of power relations in which dynamics of humiliation play out. These nuances would have never revealed to us had we have limited ourselves to the Western context only. In the next chapter, we will shift gears and take a different methodological perspective to further examine humiliation.

CHAPTER VIII. HUMILIATION RHETORIC AND COLLECTIVE MOBILISATION:

ANALYSING THE SPEECHES OF DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR

8.1 Introduction

This final empirical chapter examines humiliation from a rhetorical-discursive perspective (Billig, 1987; Wetherell and Potter, 1987; Reicher and Hopkins, 1996a; 2001). Instead of seeing humiliation as something that is automatically experienced and has automatic consequences, here we treat humiliation as something that is invoked - people are made to see particular things as humiliating - and then used to warrant action consequences. Using Dr. Ambedkar's speeches to untouchable masses during 1927 and 1936, we will examine how humiliation can be constructed and how it can be used to mobilise collective action. Let us start by discussing the necessity of adopting a rhetorical-discursive perspective to study humiliation.

8.1.1 Humiliation- Automatic or Mobilised?

As discussed earlier in the thesis, the existing literature looks at humiliation as an 'intense' and 'extreme' emotion which often results in acts of revenge and violent retaliation (Otten & Jonas, 2013; Elison & Harter, 2007). This view of humiliation as 'intense' and 'extreme' is often used to explain its antecedent role in the large scale events of collective violence such as Nazi Holocaust, Rwandan genocide, 9/11 attacks, etc. (Fattah & Fierke, 2009, Lindner, 2003; Silver et. al, 1986). Moreover, the explosive quality of humiliation is also emphasized on the basis of the power of humiliating experiences in turning victims of humiliation into perpetrators of humiliation when empowered at a later point in time (Jonas, Otten & Doosje, 2014).

Ginges & Atran (2008) contest the relationship of humiliation with action and argue that humiliation also leads to a state of inaction or inertia. Although Ginges & Atran (2008) propose a diametrically opposite consequence of humiliation. They suggest that humiliation can also have a rebound effect: “those who are humiliated may become less rebellious or violent, but if they are subsequently “empowered” by charismatic leaders or ideologies they might react with greater violence to avenge the insult of their previously humiliated state” (p. 292). Despite the diametrically opposite views regarding responses to humiliation, there seems to be a clear consensus about the ‘intense’ and ‘extreme’ nature of humiliation which can, under empowered conditions, transform victims of humiliation into perpetrators. Drawing on this understanding, some scholars have also proposed humiliation as an important ingredient of intractable group conflicts (Goldman & Coleman, 2005; Lindner, 2006).

Although it might seem reasonable to view humiliation as an ‘extreme’ and ‘intense’ in nature given its presence in cycles of aggression and violence. The emphasis on ‘intensity’ and ‘extremity’ of humiliation, however, creates a sense that humiliation is something very ‘hot’ in nature and people, when humiliated, are generally incapable of any reasoned and constructive responses. The emotion of humiliation, therefore, presented as an intense force which leads to irrational and uninhibited collective behavior. To what extent this is an accurate representation of humiliation and specifically, collective responses to humiliation? I think that we need to move beyond the confines of a psychological laboratory to be able to answer this question.

In the context of existing representations of humiliation as an ‘intense and ‘extreme’ emotion leading to collective violence and aggression, perhaps, we need to ask: does humiliation lead to acts of aggression and revenge *automatically*? And against *whom* these acts are directed? And in what *ways* these acts are related with experience of humiliation? It can be argued that humiliation can be invoked. We have already discussed in chapter 2 the relevant literature which looks at humiliation as a mobilised phenomenon. Moreover, humiliation might not lead to collective acts of violence and

aggression *on its own*; it needs to be *mobilised* by the leaders if it were to lead to these collective acts of violence and aggression. In fact, the extreme acts of hatred and violent retaliation in intergroup conflicts do not *happen* automatically but they are carefully *mobilised* by the leaders (Reicher, 2007; 2012).

Indeed, leaders play a crucial role in mobilising group action (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011). Leaders can characterise an individual or collective event in various ways, they can specify against whom the group should act and finally, they can also give injunctions to the group regarding what specific group action needs to be undertaken in a particular instant (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b; Elcheroth & Reicher, 2013). It seems plausible to expect leadership and mobilisation processes playing an important role in the context of collective humiliation as well.

A rhetorical-discursive perspective can, therefore, be useful to understand how humiliation can be invoked and used to mobilise group action. The examination of humiliation in mobilising group action can be useful to understand its probable role as an antecedent of collective action (e.g., Wright, 2009) and especially non-normative or violent collective action (e.g., Tausch, Becker, Spears, Christ, Saab, Singh & Siddiqui, 2011). Importantly, the role of humiliation rhetoric in mobilisation discourse, to my knowledge, remains unexamined in social psychology, and it certainly has potential to enrich our understanding of nature and consequences of humiliation.

8.1.2 Constructing Humiliation

We, first of all, need to confirm empirically whether humiliation rhetoric is found in a mobilisation discourse. However, if we presuppose that the humiliation is present in a mobilisation discourse, in what ways can it be constructed and used to impel action? To answer this question we need to refer to the work on category construction (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a; 1996b; 2001a; 2001b). Reicher & Hopkins (1996b) have demonstrated that leaders can characterise same event for different political purposes by using different contextual and category constructions. Importantly, this characterisation of categories and context always go hand in hand with the group actions proposed by leaders

(Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b, 2001). Can leaders use different contextual and category constructions to impel specific group actions in the context of humiliation as well?

Leader might be able to characterise a humiliating encounter differently by defining the social relations of humiliation (i.e. who is humiliating who) involved in it. The social relations of humiliation specify who should be targeted, who is accountable for taking action, and also what forms of action are necessary. In fact, social relations of humiliation involved in a humiliating encounter are seldom self-evident. As we have seen in chapters 5 of this thesis, it is possible to humiliate another person by devaluing his/her personal identity or his/her group identity. Leaders can characterise a humiliating encounter by using different definitions of social relation of humiliation involved in it. For example, the leader can define whether an individual humiliated another individual or a group member humiliated another group member and, thus, shape the individual/collective nature of that humiliating encounter. Leaders can define the context of social relations of humiliation in such a way that a specific content of ingroup identity becomes salient that can be used to characterise specific event as humiliating in nature and to propose a specific group action.

Since, as established in chapter 5, devaluation of group identity can lead to experience of humiliation even among those group members who were not involved in the humiliating encounter, leaders can effectively use humiliation for influencing group members and proposing a group action. It is clear that category constructions used in the context of humiliation can help us understand the use of humiliation to impel mass action. On the basis of category construction research, we can, therefore, expect that the speakers who use humiliation rhetoric to mobilise masses will construe the social relations of humiliation and ingroup identity in such a way that is conducive to their projects of mobilisation.

To test the validity of our perspective, we shall confront it with a historical instance of use of humiliation for mobilising mass action. We have discussed in chapter 4 how lived experience of Untouchables constitute humiliation due to caste and untouchability. Since humiliation was an

everyday experience for Untouchables, the mobilisations against caste and untouchability often involved the issue of humiliation. Particularly, the mobilisation under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar explicitly addressed the issue of humiliation of Untouchables in Indian society (Guru, 2009c). We shall analyse the speeches by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to examine whether humiliation rhetoric is truly present in the mobilisation discourse and if yes, how it is used and to what end. Although humiliation was an issue in all mobilisations by Dr. Ambedkar, we will particularly focus on the mobilisations during 1927 and 1936 which represent an important shift in the direction of Dalit mobilisation. It is crucial to describe the historical context of 1927 and 1936 mobilisations.

8.1.3 Dalit Mobilisation during 1927 and 1936

The major details about Dr. Ambedkar and the mobilisation under his leadership have already been covered in Chapter 3. Here we will focus on the period between 1927 and 1936. The following account is based on the biographical work on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar by Dhananjay Keer (1995) and Changdeo B. Khairmode (1992). Apart from these, the analytical and historical writings regarding Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit mobilisation by Eleanor Zelliot (2001), Gail Omvedt (1994) and Christophe Jaffrelot (2005) have also been used.

8.1.3.1 Mahad Satyagraha²⁹ of 1927

Dr. Ambedkar arose as a leader of Untouchables in the early 1920s. In 1924, Dr. Ambedkar established the first untouchable organisation in Bombay called as 'Bahishkrit Hitkarani Sabha' (Outcast welfare conference) to promote the welfare of Untouchables and represent their grievances to the government. 1927 was an important year for Dalit mobilisation. Dr. Ambedkar

²⁹ *Satyagraha* - literally means 'insistence on truth'. As popularised by Mahatma Gandhi, Satyagraha is way of non-violent individual/collective protest.

launched first major social movement of Untouchables in 1927 known as 'Mahad Satyagraha.' The Bombay legislative council had adopted a resolution in the year 1923 which granted Untouchables the right to access the water from public resources. Due to this legislation, the Mahad (a small town in western India) municipality threw open its tank, called as the 'Chawdar tank,' to Untouchables. It was, in fact, an empty gesture since Untouchables could not touch the water of Chawdar tank due to hostility of Hindus in Mahad. A conference was held in the March 1927 under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar at Mahad to address this issue. A decision was reached in the conference regarding a collective exercise of the right to drink water from the Chawdar tank. Accordingly, Dr. Ambedkar along with ten thousand Untouchables gathered in the conference went to the tank and drank water from it. The Mahad conference also passed resolutions regarding human rights and equality of human beings as well as the consolidation of Hindu society by removing internal divisions based on caste and untouchability. Finally, the sacred law book of Hindus, *Manusmriti* (Laws of Manu), which provides divine justification for exploitation of Untouchables and women, was collectively burnt as a mark of protest.

The Mahad Satyagraha of 1927 was a landmark event in Indian history. After twenty-five hundred years of oppression, it was the first time that Untouchables had collectively protested for their human rights. After the Mahad Satyagraha, Dr. Ambedkar initiated several temple entry movements. These movements sought to collectively assert the right to enter into Hindu temples. Dr. Ambedkar's aim during the Mahad Satyagraha and the subsequent temple entry movements was to seek reforms in Hinduism and establish the rights of the Untouchables as equal Hindus. However, there was strong resistance from orthodox Hindus against accepting Untouchables as equals. The upper caste leaders from Indian National Congress were also reluctant to support any legislative measures for granting temple entry rights to the Untouchables.

8.1.3.2 Drastic Changes in Social and Political Conditions: 1930-1935

There was a drastic change in the political atmosphere during the early years of the 1930s. Three consecutive round table conferences were held in London from 1930 to 1932 to discuss the future constitution of India and the issue of communal representation in it. In 1935, the Government of India act was passed in the British parliament which granted more autonomy to the 'dominion of India' and introduced direct elections of the Indian representatives. Specifically, two events during early 1930s made a powerful impact on the mobilisation of Untouchables.

The first event was a setback in securing political rights for Untouchables in 1932 due to bitter opposition by Mahatma Gandhi. The communal award of 1932, declared by the then British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald after the proceedings of the second round table conference, granted separate electorates in British India for the Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Untouchables. Although Gandhi had no objection against separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs, he declared a fast unto death to protest the separate electorates for Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar, who challenged Gandhi's claim to leadership of Untouchables during the second round table conference and played a key role in convincing the British government to support separate electorates for Untouchables, was reluctant to change his position due to Gandhi's opposition and fast. However, amidst increasing public pressure and after intervention and lengthy negotiations with other Congress leaders, he finally agreed to drop the claim for separate electorates and save Gandhi's life. Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar finally reached an agreement to have a single Hindu electorate, with Untouchables having seats reserved within it. This is called as the Poona Pact of 1932 since the agreement took place in Poona central jail where Mahatma Gandhi was serving a sentence.

The second event was the failure of the Kalaram Temple³⁰ entry Satyagraha. Despite many years of struggle, the orthodox Hindus in Maharashtra and the priests of the Kalaram temple did not allow

³⁰ Kalaram temple is an important shrine of Hindus in the holy city of Nashik in Maharashtra.

Untouchables to enter in the temple and opposed their peaceful demonstrations by resorting to violence.

The main argument from Gandhi and Hindu nationalist leaders against granting separate political rights for Untouchables (but allowing them for Sikhs and Muslims) was that Untouchables are a part of Hindu society and separating them would render Hindu society weaker against Muslims.

Untouchables were, thus, caught in a difficult situation. On the one hand, their attempts to claim equal rights on the basis of Hindu identity were ruthlessly clamped down upon by upper caste Hindus. On the other hand, their attempts to gain political safeguards through British intervention were thwarted by Congress leadership and Hindu nationalists who rejected their separation from the rest of Hindu society. This deadlock eventually led Dr. Ambedkar to abandon efforts to reform Hinduism and to seek other solutions.

8.1.3.3 Dharmantar (Conversion) Movement of 1936

In the Yeola conference of late 1935, Dr. Ambedkar publicly urged his followers to abandon all efforts to reform Hindu society and declared his intention to leave Hinduism. In his presidential address at Yeola, Dr. Ambedkar said, “unfortunately for me, I was born a Hindu Untouchable. It was beyond my power to prevent that; but I declare that it is within my power to refuse to live under ignoble and humiliating conditions. I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu” (Jaffrelot 2005, p.120). During the year 1936, Dr. Ambedkar mobilised the Untouchable masses to leave Hinduism and converting to other religion which grant them basic human rights. Although, the intention to leave the Hindu fold was firm, Dr. Ambedkar did not specify which religion people should convert to. After deliberating for about twenty years, Dr. Ambedkar finally converted to Buddhism along with a million followers in October 1956, shortly before his death.

8.2 General Hypothesis

According to the mobilisation perspective discussed above, the speakers who use humiliation rhetoric to mobilise masses will construe the social relations of humiliation and ingroup identity in such a way that is conducive to their projects of mobilisation. While there is no reason to expect differences in the extent that humiliation is used by Dr. Ambedkar in both 1927 and 1936 mobilisations, we would expect that it should be construed in different ways. More precisely, we would expect systematic differences in the way Dr. Ambedkar construed social relations of humiliation (i.e. who is humiliating who), ingroup identity (i.e. who is being humiliated) and injunctions (i.e. who is accountable for taking action, and also what forms of action are necessary). We would, however, expect the characterisation of ingroup identity and social relations of humiliation to remain consonant with the injunctions that were proposed.

8.3 Method

8.3.1 Textual Corpus

Dr. Ambedkar delivered numerous speeches to different audiences during his 36 years of public life. He spoke mainly in Marathi and English but at times in Hindi and Gujarati as well. He covered a wide range of subjects from diverse national, international as well as local platforms. He spoke in various capacities, first and foremost as a prominent leader of the untouchable masses as well as of a close group of untouchable activists. He also spoke as a member of Bombay legislative assembly, as Labour member of the Viceroy's executive council, as a representative of Untouchables in the Round Table Conferences hosted by British government in London, as first law minister of independent India in central legislative assembly, as chairman of drafting committee of Indian constitution, as a member of the opposition in the Indian parliament etc. There are around 537 speeches attributed to Dr. Ambedkar. Most of the speeches are scattered across 24 volumes of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches (BAWS) published by Government of Maharashtra, India. Volume 17 (2003) of

the BAWS contains the English translation of important speeches of Ambedkar. Another important English source of Dr. Ambedkar's speeches is Narendra Jadhav's recent and comprehensive compilation in three volumes (Jadhav, 2013). These two sources were mainly used for sourcing Ambedkar's speeches.

The key speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar during the years 1927 and 1936 were selected for the analysis. The years 1927 and 1936 are important because they cover mobilisations during the Mahad Satyagraha and the Conversion movement respectively. Dr. Ambedkar delivered 20 speeches during the year 1927, and 22 speeches during the year 1936 (See Full Bibliography of speeches, Jadhav, 2013). The speeches to Untouchable audiences were considered given the focus on Untouchable mobilisation. An important concern in the corpus of speeches was that some speeches were not transcribed, only newspaper reports of these speeches were available. These speeches were excluded. Out of remaining corpus, the speeches considered as historically important during Mahad Satyagraha and conversion movement were selected. The historical importance was determined by a general agreement among Dr. Ambedkar's biographers as well as other scholars. The final data corpus consisted of overall six speeches, four speeches from 1927 and two speeches from 1936. Table no. 8. 1 shows the selected speeches and their respective occasion and length.

(Table on the next page)

Table 8.1

Key Speeches by Dr. Ambedkar during 1927 (Mahad Satyagraha) and 1936 (Dharmantar Movement).

Speech No.	Date	Title of the Speech	Occasion	length
1	March 19, 1927	'Keep alive the fire of awareness'	Presidential Speech, Meeting of Colaba District Depressed Classes' Conference, Mahad.	2818 words
2	November 13, 1927	'Untouchability and the achievement of <i>Satyagraha</i> '	Presidential address 2 nd Conference of Untouchables, Berar, Amravati.	5362 words
3	November 27, 1927	'Economic foundation of emancipation of Untouchables'	Presidential Speech at the Solapur District Vatandar Mahar Parishad, Solapur.	3736 words
4	December 26, 1927	' <i>Mahad Satyagraha</i> is for laying foundation of equality'	Presidential Speech, Mahad Satyagraha Conference, Mahad.	4395 words
5	17 May 1936	Conversion is necessary for your emancipation and advancement.	Rally organized for Supporting the decision of Conversion, Kalyan.	2000 words
6	31 may 1936	What way emancipation?	All Mumbai Area Mahar Conference: A Public Meeting for assessing the support of Untouchables for Conversion, Mumbai.	13,270 words

8.3.2 Analytic Approach

This study adopts SAGA (Structural Analysis of Group Arguments) developed by Reicher and Sani (1998) as the main analytic approach. The use of SAGA is illustrated by Sani and Reicher (2000) in their work on group schism and also by Reicher et al. (2006) in their work on Bulgarian Jews. SAGA is a general means to analyse arguments about group identity and group action. SAGA can provide a detailed description of categories constructed, debated and contested in the data corpus and also help examine the systematic consequences of these category constructions. For these dual purposes, SAGA combines qualitative and quantitative analysis. The qualitative part generally involves providing a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the category arguments present in the data corpus. The quantitative part then involves analysing/summarising the category arguments to further examine the inter-relationships between category constructions and/or their consequences. The precise form of quantitative analysis in SAGA depends upon the issue under investigation.

In the context of the present study, my aim was to first confirm the presence of humiliation rhetoric in the speeches by Dr. Ambedkar and then comparatively examine its use in the mobilisations of 1927 and 1936. After confirming the presence of humiliation rhetoric, following SAGA, in the first stage of the analysis, a rich qualitative description of humiliation rhetoric found in the 1927 and 1936 mobilisations will be provided. In this description, the following points will be specifically attended to – 1) the construction of social relations of humiliation: who is seen as being humiliated and who is seen as inflicting that humiliation 2) injunctions related to humiliation: who is accountable for taking action, and what forms of action are necessary. As I will show shortly, an injunction regarding self-humiliation and ingroup obligation was revealed during the course of the analysis; that is 3) humiliating oneself by accepting humiliation meekly and the obligation to challenge humiliation.

In the second stage of the analysis, a systematic inventory will summarise the use of arguments regarding the social relations of humiliations and the various injunctions in each speech in the data

corpus. We will then examine the relationship between social relations of humiliation and injunctions. We expect here that although arguments might change, the relation between category arguments and projects of mobilisation will remain constant.

All speeches were read multiple times and coded for social relations of humiliation and injunctions. Three questions were crucial while reading and coding the speeches- First, whether humiliation rhetoric is found in the speeches? Second, what social relations of humiliation are present in the speeches and third, what are the injunctions in the context of humiliation? An independent coder (supervisor) then read the speeches and confirmed the presence of humiliation rhetoric. He also checked the coding of social relations of humiliation and injunctions. Any differences of coding were resolved through discussion.

8.4 Analysis

The analysis is divided into four parts. The first part confirms the existence of humiliation rhetoric in the speeches. Parts two and three deal with humiliation rhetoric in 1927 and 1936 mobilisations respectively. Specifically, these parts focus on social relations of humiliation and various injunctions in 1927 and 1936 speeches. The fourth part involves a summary of the frequency with which different types of social relations of humiliation and ingroup injunctions were used in the speeches.

8.4.1 (Part I) Is Humiliation Rhetoric Present in the speeches?

We wanted to confirm whether humiliation rhetoric is found in the speeches of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. An initial reading of the speeches indicates that humiliation is widely present. In fact, there is mention of humiliation in every speech. This is not surprising as most of these speeches are about the practice of untouchability in Hindu society and the sufferings of Untouchables due to it. The practice of untouchability, as discussed in chapter 4, involves a denial of identity as a fellow human

being and therefore constitutes the experience of humiliation. Perhaps, mere presence of humiliation in the speeches of a leader of a historically oppressed group is not enough. What is really important is to confirm whether humiliation is used as an argument to mobilise people to undertake collective action.

Let us look at following extract from a speech delivered in 1936 which will help clarify the use of humiliation to mobilise collective action. In this speech, Dr. Ambedkar recounts three major humiliating experiences from his life. The first experience is from his childhood. He narrates how no barber was prepared to cut his hair due to untouchability when there were so many barbers in the town, and they had no objection cutting hair of buffalos. The second experience is about a horrifying journey with his brothers and sisters to a nearby town where his father was employed. He recounts how a bullock-cart driver treated them after learning about their caste. The third experience is about the period when he served in Baroda State after earning Ph.D. from Columbia University, US and when his D.Phil. from London School of Economics was in progress. It was a job he agreed as part of the scholarship agreement for education in America and England granted by Baroda State. Ambedkar relates how, after joining the Baroda state job, he was unable to find a house to live as neither a Hindu nor any Muslim was prepared to rent out a house to an untouchable. Due to this situation, Ambedkar further relates, he had to pass himself off as a Parsi and stay in a Parasi guest house. This plan also eventually backfired. After learning his caste, an outraged mob of 15-20 Parsi men, armed with sticks, charged at Ambedkar and threatened to kill him. Ambedkar made a narrow escape from this situation. After relating these three experiences from his life, Ambedkar then invokes the experiences of humiliation in the lives of his audience as well,

Extract 1:

“Like these horrified incidents of my life, you too, must have undergone hardships in your life. I would like to ask you all, what is the sense in living in a society which is devoid of humanity, which does not respect you, protect you or treat you as a human being? Instead, it insults you, humiliates you and never misses an opportunity to hurt you. Any person with an iota of self-respect and decency will not like to remain in this satanic religion. Only those who love to be slaves can remain in this religion.”

Ambedkar blames the Hindu religion for such humiliating treatment and questions the meaning of living under such conditions. Ambedkar then stresses the obligation to act under such humiliating conditions and specifically advocates to his audience to leave the Hindu religion. It is clear from the extract that the injunction of leaving Hindu religion has been made by making humiliating experiences salient among the audience. This confirms that humiliation is indeed used as an argument by Dr. Ambedkar to mobilise Untouchables. After confirming the presence of humiliation rhetoric in the mobilisation discourse, we will now examine its use. In the next two sections, we will compare Ambedkar's use of humiliation rhetoric in 1927 and 1936 mobilisations.

8.4.2 (Part II) Humiliation Rhetoric in 1927 Mobilisation:

To examine the use of humiliation rhetoric, we will look at how the social relations of humiliation are defined and what injunctions are proposed on the basis of it.

8.4.2.1 Social Relations of Humiliation:

Consider the following extract from a speech delivered in 1927.

Extract 2:

“Touchables believe that the things defiled by our touch are purified by spraying cow urine. Things become impure by the touch of human beings of your own religion and can be purified by the urine of an animal! It is such a shameful thinking. In the view of Touchables, animal's dung and urine is more pious than the human touch of the Untouchable. Is such a life worth living? Is this living just for the sake of existence is worth living?”

In this extract, we can see Dr. Ambedkar criticising Touchable Hindus for humiliating fellow human beings and fellow Hindus by treating them worse than animals. First thing to notice in this extract is the social relation of humiliation i.e. who is humiliating whom. It is clear that a subgroup of Hindus, Touchable Hindus, is humiliating Untouchables. This particular presentation of perpetrator outgroup

is very important. Self-categorisation theory states that identities are contextual and are most of the time defined in relation to other identities (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Therefore, the act of providing a particular definition of outgroup also means constructing a particular definition of ingroup (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a; 1996b). By defining perpetrator outgroup as a sub-group of Hindus and by emphasising the common membership of Hinduism, Untouchables are also defined as a part of the Hindu ingroup. Thus, the conflict that Touchable Hindus are humiliating untouchable Hindus becomes completely intra-group in nature. In addition, the implicit references to the shared humanity and shared religion (e.g. *human beings of your own religion*) suggests that the humiliation of Untouchables is rendered illegitimate not only from the perspective of humanity but also from religion.

Along with these implicit claims regarding a shared Hindu identity and humanity, Dr. Ambedkar also invokes shared cultural authority/resources and explicitly claims Hindu identity of Untouchables.

This is evident in the following extract.

Extract 3:

“The Untouchables are entitled to Hinduism as much as the Touchables are. If the Brahmins like Vashishta, the Kshatriyas like Krishna, the Vaishyas like Harsh and the Shudras like Tukaram have re-established Hinduism; the Untouchables like Valmiki, Chokhamela and Rohidas have also equally contributed towards re-establishing it. Thousands of Untouchables have laid down their lives to protect Hinduism... The Touchables and Untouchables together have built up this Hindu religion and protected it with their lives.”

In this extract, Dr. Ambedkar recounts the contributions of various Hindu Saints and warriors born in untouchable castes and make an explicit claim over Hindu identity. One of the main features of the public debate during 1920s and 30s regarding humiliating treatment of Untouchables was the contested definitions of who is a Hindu and what Hinduism is (Keer, 1995). When category definitions are contested, the political leaders try to impose their own version in various ways. For example, they invoke shared cultural symbols or icons (Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins & Levine,

2006). The invocation of cultural symbols or icons helps a leader to make their constructions more concrete by making them more familiar and accessible (Farr & Moscovici, 1984). Here we can see Dr. Ambedkar attempting to impose his version of category definitions i.e. Untouchables are Hindus by invoking the equal contribution by Untouchable cultural icons here.

By defining Untouchables as a subgroup of Hindus humiliated by another sub-group of Hindus, Dr. Ambedkar construes humiliation of Untouchables as a violation of shared norms, beliefs and more importantly the shared identity which is Hinduism (which also represents humanism) in this case. This is clearer in the following extract from another 1927 speech,

Extract 4:

“The Touchable Hindus are so kind and peace loving people that they never do any violence and never harm anybody. That is the result of so many saints being born in this religion. Obliging others is their virtue and causing pain is a sin, such is their attitude. They worship and protect the harmless animals like cow and also harmful serpents, etc. with equal respect. “One soul pervades all creatures,” is their principle! But these same noble Touchable Hindus prevent people of their own religion from drawing water from ... lake.”

Here Ambedkar draws attention to the inherent contradiction in the behavior of Touchable Hindus, who despite being inherently righteous and humane by the virtue of the being part of Hinduism itself, treat their co-religionists as Untouchables. The humiliation of Untouchables (inherent in the practice of untouchability) is, therefore, construed as contingent to Hinduism and presented as an abnegation of Hinduism itself. In 1927 mobilisation by emphasizing the social relation of humiliation as Touchable Hindus humiliating Untouchable Hindus, Dr. Ambedkar successfully presents humiliation of Untouchables as a matter of a sub-group of Hindus being humiliated by another subgroup of Hindus and this intra-group humiliation as a violation of shared norms and beliefs of the entire Hindu category. Now let us look at the injunctions given by Ambedkar during 1927 mobilisation.

8.4.2.2 Injunctions:

8.4.2.2.1 Self-Humiliation and Obligation to Act:

There are several instances in the speeches where Dr. Ambedkar argues that the Untouchables are humiliating themselves by accepting their humiliation without resistance and emphasizes ingroup obligation of caring for group's moral integrity. Consider the following extract from a 1927 speech.

Extract 5:

“It is true that the Touchables treat the Untouchables as impure and inauspicious. But the Untouchables also consider themselves as impure and inauspicious, and behave like that only. It has become their³¹ habit. Untouchability has survived for so many years because of Untouchables only. They think that the Touchables are superior to them, the Touchables are their masters and they are servants. The Untouchables have become habituated to behave the way they are told to behave by the Touchables.”

What is noteworthy in this extract is that the ingroup rather than outgroup is criticised and held responsible for humiliation. Ingroup criticism such as this is important for the overall protection and improvement of group as it allows to reassess ill-adaptive behaviors and attitudes, and of course, it is well received by group when coming from an ingroup member rather than an outgroup member (intergroup sensitivity effect; Hornsey, Oppes and Svensson, 2002). The ingroup criticism in the context of humiliation can serve an important function of preserving moral integrity (or what Dr. Ambedkar calls self-respect and dignity) of the group in the eyes of oneself as well as others. The injunction in the context of such self-humiliation is clear - *cherish self-respect and dignity*. This is evident from the next extract from another 1927 speech:

Extract 6:

“Today, amongst Untouchables, Mahars are like a herd of useless people. They have developed a habit of living on stale food begged from house-to-house. They do it as if it is their great right; begging door-to-door for stale food. As a result, nobody respects them.

³¹ Reference to the ingroup as “they” instead of “we” in the extracts is partly due to the translation issues involved and partly due to the fact that the speaker was addressing to an audience comprising heterogeneous collection of castes in Indian society (See chapter 3).

They have lost their self-respect and dignity. They have lost their independence and cannot take a path of progress. If they think of entering a temple, or attempt to draw water from a public pond or decide not to carry dead animals, the next day they lose their stale food. It is most shameful to sell your humanity for a few stale crumbs.”

The injunction that one should always cherish one’s self respect and dignity is summed up in the last sentence of the extract - ‘it is most shameful to sell your humanity for a few stale crumbs.’ The expression ‘selling one’s humanity’ conveys the act of swallowing humiliation for petty benefits. The morally abhorrent nature of such action is conveyed by invoking a sense of shame regarding it. The ingroup responsibility of challenging humiliation and protecting one’s self-respect and dignity is strongly emphasized.

8.4.2.2 Who Should Act?

Dr. Ambedkar enjoined the Touchables and Untouchables and the British to act together for common interest. This is evident in the following extract.

Extract 7:

“It is not that Untouchability has caused loss only to the Untouchables; it has caused loss to the Touchables as well, and has done immense damage to the nation. It has blotted not only Untouchables but also blemished the Touchables. Those who are looked down upon get, no doubt, insulted, but those who insult others also lower themselves down in morality. If Untouchables come out of that stigma and participate in nation building, they will only contribute to the progress of the nation. Therefore, this movement for removal of Untouchability is in a true sense a movement for nation building and fraternity.”

The injunction is clear. Untouchability (which constitutes humiliation of Untouchables) is not only causing loss to Untouchables but to the Touchables as well (as they are part of a common category of Hinduism). The Touchable Hindus should support the movement of removal of untouchability for the benefit of Hindu religion and Indian nation. Two important things can be pointed out in this extract. The scope of humiliation is defined in such a way that it affects not only to the Untouchables

but also to the Touchables and all Indians. Second, the project of mobilisation is presented in an inclusive way on the basis of shared interest of national and religious category.

There is an invocation of national category and national interests in the above extract. This invocation of national category and national interest can be seen as relevant not only to the Untouchables and Touchables but also to the British in this case. The British government in colonial India was shouldering the responsibility of national development during 1920s and early 1930s. The gradual efforts to develop a responsible self-government in India were taking place (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2006). The injunction to support the mobilisation of Untouchables for national interests is, therefore, addressed to the British as well. This can be considered as an implicit way of making an injunction to a third party.

Apart from the implicit injunctions to the British by invoking the national interest, the injunctions to the British were also made explicitly. In a speech during Mahad Satyagraha in the year 1927, Dr. Ambedkar recounted how service in British army helped Untouchables to overcome their oppression in Hindu society. He criticises British government for meekly accepting objections of higher caste Hindus and banning recruitment of Untouchables in government service. At one point in the speech, he says:

Extract 8:

“And look at the wretched condition of Untouchables in this area now. They have become so poor, so illiterate, absolutely destitute. It is impossible to find such a low level even amongst Untouchables in any other areas. What could be the reason for such a reversal of fortunes; it’s a big question. I have no doubt this has happened because of stoppage of army recruitment for Untouchables. It is greatly unjust to ban any member of the public from getting a Government job. It is unjust politically, morally and also economically. Banning Untouchables from army recruitment is not only discriminatory, it is also a breach of trust and unfriendly. The British could not have entered India without the help of Untouchables.”

Dr. Ambedkar reminds British government that they could not have entered India without the help of untouchable soldiers. On the basis of these historical relations as well as norms of friendship and decency, Dr. Ambedkar emphasizes to the British government that it should empower Untouchables by resuming their recruitment in the army and thus support positive social change in Indian society.

8.4.2.2.3 What action should be taken?

In 1927 mobilisation the Untouchables, Touchables and the British were enjoined to seek reform in Hinduism. This is evident in the following extract:

Extract 9:

“This social system of discrimination is not as plain as it looks. It is the root cause of our poverty, wretchedness and humiliating status. If we have to rise above this position we must take up this difficult task of social reform. This work of social reforms is not only in our self-interest but is in the interest of the nation. The Hindu society cannot survive unless the discrimination ... is eliminated.”

The injunction of seeking reform in Hinduism by removing untouchability is proposed as a way to challenge humiliation based on caste and untouchability. The national as well as shared category interest in reforming Hinduism is explicitly emphasized. On this basis, the project of mobilisation - reforming Hinduism, is presented in such a way that it becomes relevant not only for the Untouchables and Touchables but also to the British. The Touchable and Untouchable Hindus are presented as part of a common category and therefore a common action of reforming Hinduism (by removing untouchability) is proposed. The injunction of reforming Hinduism is consonant with the definition of social relation of humiliation in terms of Touchable Hindus humiliating Untouchable Hindus.

To summarise, in 1927, Dr. Ambedkar construed the humiliation of Untouchables as an intra-group issue between Touchable Hindus and Untouchable Hindus which is causing loss not only to Untouchables but also to the entire category of Hinduism and Indian nation. This way of constructing humiliation allowed Dr. Ambedkar to make an appeal of action to a wider audience. He mobilised Untouchables, all Hindus, all Indians and the British government for reforming Hinduism. In 1927 mobilisation Ambedkar's strategy was thus to construct a solidarity based political action for removing untouchability.

In the next section, we will look at the humiliation rhetoric in 1936 mobilisation.

8.4.3 (Part III) Humiliation Rhetoric in 1936 Mobilisation:

As described earlier, despite many efforts of mobilisation during the years 1928 to 1935 the upper caste Hindus remained offensive towards the cause of Untouchables. Non-Hindus such as Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, etc. also remained distanced. This opposition and apathy put Untouchables in a very difficult situation. By the end of 1935, Dr. Ambedkar realised that due to their myopic vision of nationalism upper caste Hindus as well as Gandhi and Congress were more interested in gaining independence from a foreign rule (which ultimately secured their own dominance) than in establishing social equality in India (Guru, 1998; Jaffrelot, 2005) . This made Ambedkar change his mobilisation strategy. In the year 1936, Dr. Ambedkar urged his followers to abandon all efforts to reform Hinduism and launched a new wave of mobilisation aimed at advocating departure from Hinduism. Let us see how this change was reflected in the nature of his humiliation discourse.

8.4.3.1 Social relation of Humiliation:

In the year 1936, we find little reference to the Touchable Hindus as the perpetrator outgroup. Instead, as is evident from the following extract, Dr. Ambedkar presents the entire group of Hindus as the perpetrator outgroup humiliating Untouchables.

Extract 10:

“Wherever you go, nobody looks at you sympathetically. You all have good [=ample]³² experience of it. Not only this, but the Hindus have no sense of brotherhood towards you. You are treated by them worse than foreigners...the Hindus have not the slightest affinity towards you.”

The social relations of humiliation as construed in 1927 i.e. the Touchable Hindus are humiliating Untouchable Hindus is shifted in 1936 to ones in which Hindus full stop are humiliating Untouchables. As we discussed earlier, referring to the perpetrator outgroup as Hindus instead of Touchable Hindus is not a mere change of labels. It also entails a change in the understanding of who the Untouchables are and how they relate to their oppressor. Untouchability now no longer remains an internal, intra-group matter but becomes an inter-group matter involving two separate groups with distinct interests. This inter-group relation between Hindus and Untouchables also no longer remains implicit but is pronounced more explicitly. For example, see the following extract,

Extract 11:

“The problem of Untouchability is a matter of class struggle. It is a struggle between ... Hindus and the Untouchables. This is not a matter of doing injustice against one man. This is a matter of injustice being done by one class against another. This class struggle has its relation with the social status. This struggle indicates how one class should keep its relations with the other class.”

Untouchables are, thus, rendered as a distinct group humiliated by Hindus. These two groups stand in a hierarchical relation with one another in terms of status and social treatment. The act of

³² These parts in brackets are from the texts cited and not later additions.

construing the humiliation of Untouchables as a group level conflict between Hindus and Untouchables allows Dr. Ambedkar to frame the humiliation of Untouchables in the intergroup context rather than intra-group context. This inter-group framing of humiliation changes its relation with category of Hinduism as well. As is evident from the following extract, the humiliation of Untouchables now no longer presented as contingent to Hinduism but rather as an expression of its very essence:

Extract 12:

“We practise casteism; we observe untouchability, because we are asked to do it by the Hindu religion in which we live. A bitter thing can be made sweet. The taste of anything can be changed. However, poison cannot be made Amrit [=nectar]. To talk of annihilating castes is like talking of changing poison into Amrit.”

Insofar as caste oppression is an inherent part of Hinduism, Ambedkar uses a powerful metaphor to stress that it cannot be changed - ‘poison cannot be made nectar.’ This essentialisation of humiliation in Hinduism is also reflected through a change in the description of Hindus:

Extract 13:

“The Hindus can be ranked among those cruel people whose utterances and acts are two poles asunder [=poles apart]. They have [as in the proverb] "Ram on their tongue, and a knife under their armpit." They speak like saints and act as butchers. Do not keep company with those who believe that the God is omnipresent, but treat men worse than animals. They are hypocrites. Do not keep contact with those who feed ants with sugar, but kill men by prohibiting them to drink water.”

This extract, when read in conjunction with extract 4, reveals that the same characteristics (e.g. the belief that “One soul pervades all creatures,”) which were once used to portray a positive picture of Hindus are now used to portray a negative picture. We can see a dramatic shift in the description of Hindus from ‘kind and peace loving people’ to ‘cruel and hypocrites.’ Furthermore, the separation from Hindus is clearly pronounced. The shift in social relations of humiliation in 1936 which

construes Hindus humiliating Untouchables rather than previous construal in 1927 i.e. Touchable Hindus humiliating Untouchable Hindus is, thus, accompanied by relevant changes in its relation with Hinduism and the description of Hindus. Let us see how this shift in social relation of humiliation is reflected in terms of injunctions.

8.4.3.2 Injunctions:

8.4.3.2.1 Self-Humiliation and Obligation to Act:

Although we can see a systematic shift in Ambedkar's use of humiliation rhetoric in 1936 mobilisation, the arguments regarding self-humiliation and related ingroup obligation were unchanged. The speeches from 1936 mobilisation also contain several instances where Dr. Ambedkar criticises Untouchables for accepting their humiliation and emphasizes the ingroup obligation of resisting humiliation in several ways. For instance, Dr. Ambedkar highlights the harmful consequences of accepting humiliation without any resistance. Consider the following extract:

Extract 14:

“Thousands of Untouchables tolerate insult, tyranny, and oppression at the hands of Hindus without a sigh of complaint, because they have no capacity to bear the expenses of the courts. The tolerance of insults and tyranny without grudge and complaint has killed the sense of retort and revolt. Confidence, vigour, and ambition have completely vanished from you. All of you have become helpless, unenergetic, and pale. Everywhere there is an atmosphere of defeatism and pessimism. Even the slight idea that you can do something, cannot peep [=penetrate] into your minds.”

In this extract, Dr. Ambedkar describes an utterly powerless, hopeless and demobilized state of Untouchables due to accepting humiliation without resistance. This description of a demobilized state among Untouchables might provide an apt illustration of what Ginges & Atran (2008) call ‘inertia effect’ of humiliation.

Another way Dr. Ambedkar emphasizes the ingroup responsibility of cherishing self-respect and dignity is by comparing the conditions of past and present generation of Untouchables:

Extract 15:

"This Hindu religion is not the religion of our ancestors, but it was a slavery forced upon them. Our ancestors had no means to fight this slavery, and hence they could not revolt. They were compelled to live in this religion. Nobody can blame them for this helplessness. Rather, anyone will pity them. But now nobody can force any type of slavery upon the present generation. We have all sorts of freedom. If the present generation do not avail [themselves] of such freedom and free themselves, one will have to call them, most regretfully, the most mean, slavish, and dependent people who ever lived on earth."

In this extract, the inaction of past and present generation of Untouchables regarding their humiliation in Hindu religion is compared. It is emphasized that the inaction of past generations regarding their humiliation is understandable as they were truly powerless whereas it is hardly the case with the present generation. The consequences of inaction by present generation will be that they will be 'most mean, slavish and dependent people who ever lived on earth.' The comparison with ancestors is helpful here in creating a sense of moral obligation for the present generation of Untouchables to undertake action against humiliation. Dr. Ambedkar did not stop at simply conveying value of self-reliance and self-decision in 1936, but he eloquently emphasized responsibility of the Untouchables to undertake action against their humiliation and thereby preserving one's moral worth.

8.4.3.2.2 Who Should Act?

In contrast to 1927 mobilisation, there is no appeal to other parties (Touchables or Indians or British) to participate in the cause of Untouchables. Instead, it is emphasized that Untouchables should distance themselves from others and achieve their social freedom on their own. In other words, it is emphasized that being a part of Hinduism is no longer in the interest of Untouchables, and they should, therefore, guard their own interests by leaving Hinduism. The distinct self-interest of Untouchables is explicitly expressed in the following extract,

Extract 16:

“Everybody is for himself, and those who have no benefactor are at the mercy of God. This is the present-day condition of the society. If you yourself have to rise, if no one else is to come to your aid--if this be the situation, what is the purpose in listening to the advice of the Hindus? There is no other motive in such advice but to misguide you and kill [=waste] your time. If you are to improve yourselves, then that [misguiding and time-wasting effect] is what they mean, so nobody need pay attention to their gossip.”

The common interests of Untouchables with Hindus are no longer stressed. Instead, their distinctiveness and oppositional nature is emphasized. In fact, there is a clear warning for guarding one's self-interest. It is clear that the notion of interest was also shifted in 1936. Dr. Ambedkar conveys the value of self-reliance and self-decision to the untouchable masses by invoking Lord Buddha's final message to Sangha (community of Bhikkus), '*Atta dip Bhav*' (Be a light unto yourself)...Be your own guide. Take refuge in your own reason. Do not succumb to others... Take refuge in truth. Never surrender to anybody.” This shift in the injunction of 'who should act' in 1936 is also accompanied by the shift in the proposed course of action against humiliation.

9.4.3.2.3 What action should be taken?

The major injunction to Untouchables is to leave Hinduism and convert to other religion. Consider the following extract.

Extract 17:

“In view of the fact that the Hindu religion which forced your forefathers to lead a life of degradation, and heaped all sorts of indignities on them, kept them poor and ignorant, why should you remain within the fold of such a diabolical creed ? If, like your forefathers, you too, continue to accept a degraded and lowly position, and humiliation, you will continue to be hated. Nobody will respect you and nobody will help you.”

Along with a passionate expression of an appeal to leave Hinduism, what is noteworthy in the above extract is the fact that remaining in Hinduism is equated with accepting one's humiliation. It is emphasized that this acceptance of humiliation is illegitimate in nature and will further add to the status loss and exclusion of Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar not only questions the complacency of Untouchables regarding their humiliation in Hindu religion, but also emphasizes that the way to claim one's human and democratic rights is converting to other religion. This is clearer in the next extract from another 1936 speech.

Extract 18:

"I tell you all very specifically, religion is for man and not man for religion. For getting human treatment, convert yourselves. Convert for getting organised. Convert for becoming strong. Convert for securing equality. Convert for getting liberty. Convert so that your domestic life should be happy. Why do you remain in a religion which does not treat you as human beings? Why do you remain in a religion which prohibits you from entering temples? Why do you remain in a religion which prohibits you from securing drinking water from the public well? Why do you remain in a religion which comes in your way for getting a job? Why do you remain in a religion which insults³³ you at every step?"

Here one is invariably reminded of individual mobility or individual exit strategy outlined by social identity theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) which devalued group members employ to deal with negative or threatened social identity. Individual mobility implies a disidentification with the erstwhile ingroup and an effort to achieve high social status by joining another high status group. SIT views the individual exit strategy possible only on the level of individual and therefore regard it useless to change the position of low status ingroup. However, such an individualised approach might not be the only alternative available. The collective action of leaving Hinduism and converting to another religion proposed by Dr. Ambedkar can aptly fit as a collective exit strategy seeking to

³³ Although the translator has used the word 'insult' here, in the original Marathi speech Dr. Ambedkar used the word '*maanhaani*' which clearly means humiliation in English.

change the status of the ingroup. It is evident that this injunction of leaving Hinduism and converting to other religion is consonant with Ambedkar's construction of the social relation of humiliation in his 1936 speeches.

When Dr. Ambedkar construed the humiliation of Untouchables as an intra-group issue between Touchable and Untouchable Hindus, he mobilised Untouchables, Touchable Hindus as well as all Indians for reforming Hinduism by removing untouchability. However, when Dr. Ambedkar construed the humiliation of Untouchables as an inter-group issue between Hindus and Untouchables, he mobilised only Untouchables for leaving Hinduism and converting to other religion. The construal of social relations of humiliation, thus, had implications for mass action proposed to counter humiliation.

8.4.4 (Part IV) Summary of arguments:

We have qualitatively analysed the arguments in the speeches and thus, completed the first phase of SAGA. Now we will move onto the second phase of the SAGA and summarise the arguments according to their use in each speech. This is presented in Tables 8.2 and 8.3. The summary of arguments reported in the present section will further confirm the specific patterns of the social relations of humiliation and related injunctions in 1927 and 1936 mobilisations.

Table 8.2 shows the use of arguments in each speech. The arguments regarding social relations of humiliation are sub-divided in two categories viz. Touchable Hindus are humiliating untouchable Hindus and Hindus are humiliating Untouchables. The injunctions to Untouchables are also subdivided in three further sub-categories i.e. seek reform in Hinduism, leave Hinduism and convert to other religion, cherish self-respect and dignity. The injunctions to Touchables and the British are placed separately. These arguments are located as they were found in each speech in the dataset. On the basis of presence and absence of arguments in the speeches, Table 8.3 was prepared which reveals the pattern of use of these arguments.

It is clear from the Table 8.3 that during the year 1927 Dr. Ambedkar construed that Touchable Hindus are humiliating Untouchable Hindus. Since Touchable and Untouchable Hindus belong to the same category of Hinduism, all Hindus are being humiliated in the humiliation of Untouchables and the perpetrator is a sub-group of Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar, then, instructed Untouchables and Touchables to seek reform in Hinduism for the sake of Hinduism and national interest. Moreover, he entreated British government to help Untouchables in overcoming their oppression for the sake of national interest and historical relations.

Conversely, in the 1936 speeches, Dr. Ambedkar construed that Hindus are humiliating Untouchables. This means only Untouchables are being humiliated, and the perpetrator is an outgroup i.e. the Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar instructed Untouchables to leave Hinduism and convert to other religion which guarantee basic human rights. There were no injunctions or appeals to Touchables and the British government in 1936 speeches. The reason for the absence is simply due to their irrelevance to the mobilisation strategy. What is common and therefore most stressed in the speeches of 1927 and 1936 is that Untouchables are humiliating themselves by accepting their humiliation and the injunction that the Untouchables, therefore, should cherish self-respect and dignity.

The focal point of these mobilisation attempts by Dr. Ambedkar is the definition of who the Untouchables are, and that definition is implicitly achieved by defining social relations of humiliation i.e. who is humiliating whom. Dr. Ambedkar's characterisation of social relations of humiliation shifted the attribution of blame from a sub-category of Hindus to the entire Hindu category and also shifted the respective injunctions from reforming the Hinduism to leaving the Hinduism. Although the specific arguments changed, the category definitions in the context of humiliation, thus, remained consonant with the projects of mobilisation proposed in order to counter humiliation. Overall, the qualitative description in the first stage of SAGA as well as schematic summary in the second stage of SAGA provide a clear support for our hypothesis that leaders who seek to use

humiliation rhetoric to mobilise masses generally construe the social relations of humiliation in such a way that they remain consonant with injunctions about action.

(Table on the next page)

Table 8.2*Use of arguments regarding social relations of humiliation and injunctions in each speech*

Speech	Year	Social Relations of Humiliation		Injunctions to Untouchables			Injunctions to Touchables	Injunctions to The British
		Touchable Hindus humiliating Untouchable Hindus	Hindus humiliating Untouchables	Cherish self-respect and dignity and act against humiliation	Seek reform in Hinduism	Leave Hinduism and Convert to other religion	Seek reform in Hinduism	Help Untouchables to reform Hinduism
1) 'Keep alive the fire of awareness'	1927	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2) 'Untouchability and the achievement of <i>Satyagraha</i> '	1927	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3) 'Economic foundation of emancipation of Untouchables'	1927	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4) ' <i>Mahad Satyagraha</i> is for laying foundation of equality'	1927	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5) Conversion is necessary for your emancipation	1936	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6) What way emancipation?	1936	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

Key: Y: Argument appears in the speech; N: Argument does not appear in the speech.

Table 8.3

Summary of Humiliation Rhetoric in 1927 (Mahad Satyagraha) and 1936 (Dharmantar) Mobilisations.

1927 (Mahad Satyagraha)			
Social relations of humiliation	Injunction to Untouchables	Injunctions to Touchables	Injunctions to the British
Touchable Hindus are humiliating Untouchable Hindus	Untouchables should cherish self-respect and act against humiliation	_____	_____
	Untouchables should seek reform in Hinduism and claim their rights as equal Hindus	Touchable Hindus should support the reforms in Hinduism for the benefit of Hinduism and Indian nation.	British government should help Untouchables in reforming Hinduism for the sake of national interest and historical relations
1936 (Dharmantar movement)			
Social relations of humiliation	Injunction to Untouchables	Injunctions to Touchables	Injunctions to the British
Hindus are humiliating Untouchables	Untouchables should cherish self-respect and act against humiliation	_____	_____
	Untouchables should leave Hinduism and covert to a religion which guarantees basic human rights	_____	_____

8.5 Discussion

We analysed the speeches of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar during two different mobilisations (1927 and 1936) to understand the use of humiliation rhetoric for mass mobilisation. We wanted to examine 1) whether humiliation rhetoric is actually present in the mobilisation discourse; 2) how it is used; 3) for what purposes. We indeed found that Dr. Ambedkar used humiliation rhetoric in 1927 as well as 1936 mobilisations. In both mobilisations, humiliation created an injunction to act. But who should act and how they should act was a function of the way the social relations of humiliation were construed. The construal of social relations of humiliation were different in the two mobilisations so were the injunctions. In 1927, Dr. Ambedkar construed the humiliation of Untouchables as an intra-group issue between Touchable and Untouchable Hindus which is causing loss not only to Untouchables but also to Hinduism and Indian nation, he mobilised Untouchables, all Hindus and all Indians for reforming Hinduism. However, in the year 1936, he construed the humiliation of Untouchables as an inter-group issue between Hindus and Untouchables, he mobilised only Untouchables for leaving Hinduism and converting to other religion. Although the social relations of humiliation changed in 1927 and 1936, they remained consonant with injunctions about action.

There have been many attempts to explain the experience and consequences of humiliation by subscribing to the essential nature of humiliation. The emphasis on intense and extreme nature of humiliation to explain the role of humiliation in the events of aggression and violence represents such an attempt (Elison & Harter, 2007, Jonas, 2013; Lindner, 2006; Otten & Jonas, 2014; Walker & Knauer, 2011). The present analysis is in stark contrast with such essentialist attempts and explanations. The present analysis shows that humiliation can be constructed and not simply experienced. While these essentialist attempts do not shy away from pathologising the victims of humiliation (e.g., Muenster & Lotto, 2010), present

analysis demonstrates the victim's discursive power over defining the nature and scope of humiliation and underlines their agency to find a solution of humiliation.

The analysis confirmed that it is possible to use humiliation rhetoric differently for different purposes depending upon the changes in mobilisation strategy and political context.

Humiliation is a complex construction involving a model of social relations. This model of social relations in humiliation is not self-evident. The construal of social relations of

humiliation enables a leader to strategically define and use humiliation in different ways.

The reason, therefore, for the prominent role of humiliation in collective events of

aggression and revenge may not be because of its negative impact on victim's ability of

acting in a peaceful manner and seeking some constructive solutions to the situation; it may

be because characterisation of humiliation by the leaders in a specific manner that is

conducive to their projects of mobilisation. In other words, the extreme of collective acts of

aggression and violence aftermath of humiliating events may not be due to 'extremity' and

'intensity' of humiliation but because of the ideologies and leaders who deploy humiliation

to justify the extreme actions (Reicher, Haslam & Rath, 2008). In fact, when emotion of

humiliation is used to mobilise masses, it also incorporates underlying social categories, and

therefore in no sense a mindless or uninhibited response to intergroup conflict.

There are several reasons to believe that Dr. Ambedkar's focus was more on ingroup rather

than outgroup such as the presence of ingroup criticism along with outgroup criticism, the

emphasis on ingroup responsibility, emphasis on ingroup shame (in the context of accepting

humiliation for petty benefits) rather than outrage at the outgroup, emphasis on

maintaining moral integrity of ingroup rather than seeking revenge and retaliation towards

outgroup etc. Another eloquent aspect which reveals the ingroup focus is the emphasis on

self-humiliation in which ingroup was criticised for accepting humiliation without resistance.

This focus on ingroup also reveals the performative aspect of humiliation experience. By performative aspect, we mean the implicit obligation to act against humiliation. It seems the appraisal that one is being humiliated also includes in itself a sense that one is responsible for acting against it. Indeed, the interview analysis in chapter 5 also suggested that if humiliation is not challenged, it can lead to a sense that one is somehow complicit in one's humiliation and create a feeling of shame. Gopal Guru (2009b) also pointed out that the awareness of humiliation in itself can be an act of resistance because it makes one aware of one's agency and responsibility. In this sense, by making Untouchables aware of their humiliation, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized to the Untouchables that they too are subject of rights and should fight for their respect and dignity.

This self-directed use of humiliation rhetoric by Dr. Ambedkar suggests that the 'humiliation entrepreneurship' is not predictably destructive as emphasized by scholars like Lindner (2002). In fact, the self-directed use of humiliation rhetoric revealed in the present analysis is also corroborated by Callahan's analysis of the Chinese rhetoric of 'century of humiliation' (Callahan, 2004). Callahan (2004) shows that the humiliation rhetoric in Chinese context is 'not deployed just in a predictably xenophobic way but also in a self-critical examination of Chineseness' (p. 200). Both the present analysis of Dr. Ambedkar's humiliation rhetoric and Callahan's (2004) analysis of humiliation rhetoric in Chinese context show that humiliation is far more complex than generally imagined as it can be used to mobilise different ends other than revenge and retaliation.

Few concerns regarding the study need to be discussed before we conclude. There were unequal number of speeches in the data corpus. Although the number of selected speeches in 1936 seem less than the selected speeches in 1927, it needs to be pointed out that one speech in 1936 - What way emancipation? - is quite long and detailed. This makes word length of the speeches in both the periods almost equal with each other. In addition, the

speech - What way emancipation? - is regarded as one of the most important speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar to his followers (Jaffrelot, 2005). Many scholars agree that it contains the gist of conversion movement (Keer, 1995; Zelliott, 2001). The unequal number of speeches in the data corpus is not expected to pose a problem in the analysis as the intention was to select speeches which are representative of arguments made during the specific mobilisations. The emphasis was on presence and absence of an argument in the respective mobilisation rather than the overall frequency of an argument.

Another concern is that we analysed the speeches delivered only to the ingroup i.e. untouchable audience and did not pay attention to how Ambedkar uses humiliation rhetoric to mobilise outgroup (Hindu) or third party (British) audience. In the course of our analysis, we have seen Dr. Ambedkar using radically different description of ingroup and outgroup in 1927 and 1936 mobilisations. This variable representation of the ingroup and outgroup reminds one of an interesting study by Klein and Licata (2003). Klein and Licata present an interesting comparative analysis of the speeches delivered to Belgians (outgroup) and Congolese (ingroup) audiences by Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese Political leader, during different periods of the decolonization of the Belgian Congo. They show that Lumumba used radically different descriptions of Belgians (outgroup) and Congolese (ingroup) depending on the period during which the speech was delivered and on the audience he was addressing (Congolese or Belgian). Klein and Licata explain this strategic variability in the description of ingroup and outgroup on the basis of the different actions expected from Lumumba's audiences, as a function of their group membership and the changes in the political context. A comparative analysis of use of humiliation rhetoric to mobilise ingroup vis-à-vis outgroup / third party audiences can be an important avenue for future research.

Finally, the present analysis allow us to draw three broad conclusions. First, humiliation is not only experienced but it can also be invoked or constructed according to political needs.

Second, humiliation is performative in nature i.e. it demands action on the part of the victim as acceptance of humiliation can be shameful and disempowering in nature. However, this performative aspect of humiliation is not necessarily cognitive but can be invoked and shifted in different directions by leaders. Therefore, although humiliation would lead people to act, it might not necessarily and automatically lead them to extreme and uninhibited collective action. This brings us to our third conclusion that humiliation can be strategically used to mobilise different forms of action according to changes in the political context. I believe the present chapter, together with previous empirical chapters in this thesis, provides support for the conceptualisation of humiliation as a social encounter. Previous empirical chapters highlighted the crucial role of social relations of humiliation in humiliating encounters whereas the present chapter elaborated on the construction of social relations of humiliation and their consequences for experience and responses to humiliation. On the methodological level, the present chapter, hopefully, shows the value of combining laboratory experiments with discursive-rhetorical analysis to study humiliation.

CHAPTER IX. RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

Having completed the empirical part of the thesis, we are now in a position to recapitulate and discuss the main findings. The impetus for the research in this thesis was derived from the fact that despite social psychology's interest in the processes of prejudice and discrimination, humiliation has received little attention in social psychological research. Importantly, the experience and consequences of group based humiliation, especially in the context of stigmatised or minority groups in society, are largely unexamined. The present thesis, therefore, sought to examine the experience and consequences of humiliation among Dalits (ex-Untouchables) in India who have been historically humiliated due to their "impure" status in the society and continue to face humiliation in their everyday life even today. Although the main focus of the thesis was on the group of Dalits in India, the thesis also examined some hypotheses with UK students for comparative purposes.

Reviewing the existing psychological research on humiliation, chapter 1 pointed out several unresolved issues regarding the nature, experience and consequences of humiliation. Firstly, it was noted that humiliation has been looked at as extreme and intense emotion in social psychology which often leads to extreme behaviors (Otten & Jonas, 2014). On the basis of this intense and extreme nature of humiliation, victims of humiliation are often portrayed as lacking rationality and control which makes them vulnerable to violent and vengeful actions (Lindner, 2002). This view of humiliation and its victims was contested. It was argued that the existing literature considers the emotion of humiliation as something intra-psychic and automatic in nature which overlooks the relational or dynamic aspect of humiliation. Similarly, victims of humiliation are either portrayed as passive and voiceless or lacking any rational control and prone to violence. This way of looking at victims of humiliation pathologises them and feeds into false reason-emotion dichotomy. It also renders their

resistance meaningless and ignores the numerous ways people manage/challenge their humiliation in everyday life.

Secondly, it was pointed out that the dominant conceptualisation of humiliation has been mostly individual (e.g. Gilbert, 1997) and interpersonal (e.g. Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Elison & Harter, 2007; Combs et al, 2010) in nature which is inadequate to explain the humiliation people experience on the basis of their group membership. The need to distinguish between individual and group level humiliation was, therefore, emphasized. Thirdly, it was noted that the existing literature on humiliation is divided over the consequences of humiliation (de Rivera, 2013). Humiliation is emphasized as leading to action, as well as inaction (Lindner, 2002; Ginges & Atran, 2008). The present thesis proposed to resolve this debate by attending to the issues of power, efficacy and mobilisation in the context of humiliation. The empirical research in this thesis set out to address these unresolved issues and questions regarding relational or dynamic nature, victim's agency in the context of humiliation, group level experience and the consequences of humiliation.

Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical and methodological perspectives that guided the empirical research in the thesis. Various theoretical frameworks were discussed which help us understand humiliation as 1) inherently relational or dynamic in nature, 2) a distinguishably group level phenomenon and 3) a mobilised phenomenon. The methodological perspective of the thesis argued for a mixed approach involving suitable quantitative as well as qualitative methods. Chapter 3, then, introduced the Dalit context in India. The social position of Dalits in the caste system, their lived experience and their historical and contemporary resistance was considered. It was pointed out that the present generation of Dalits live in an ambivalent condition of being empowered due to larger politico-economic changes but still powerless due to the persistence of the caste system and the practice of untouchability. This ambivalence for present generation Dalits of being

simultaneously empowered and powerless provided the context for the empirical research in this thesis.

9.1 Review of the Empirical Research

Chapter 4 (Study 1) explored the experience of humiliation among Dalits in India and generated hypotheses for subsequent studies. The thematic analysis of interviews with Dalit participants revealed that humiliation was experienced as a social encounter in which their valued identity was devalued. The devaluation of one's valued identity was identified as a core process in the phenomenon of humiliation. The analysis revealed a retrospective appraisal of humiliation i.e. an event once perceived as a normal occurrence can be perceived as humiliating in retrospect by the same person if that person acquires valued identity. This retrospective appraisal pointed out that one cannot be humiliated unless one has a valued identity. When their social identity was devalued, Dalit participants reported feeling humiliated even when they were personally unaffected in the humiliating encounter. This pointed out the collective experience of humiliation. The issue of power was central to how humiliation is responded to. The powerlessness experienced during a humiliating encounter was found to be relative in nature. The response during a humiliating encounter, therefore, made a considerable difference. Resistance during the humiliating encounter was reported (although only in a single event) as leading to feelings of empowerment and willingness to undertake action whereas failure to resist during humiliation was reported as leading to feeling of shame. This analysis helped conceptualise humiliation as a social encounter in which one party attempts to diminish or devalue the identity of another party and emphasized that the issues of identity and power are central to the phenomenon of humiliation. The analysis also facilitated the generation of hypotheses regarding collective experience of humiliation and consequences of resistance vs. compliance during humiliating encounters that were examined in the next studies.

Chapter 5 (Study 2 and Study 3) reported experimental examination of the hypothesis regarding collective experience of humiliation i.e. whether it is possible to feel humiliated simply by witnessing humiliation of another group member. The experimental examination was based on a 'classroom humiliation' paradigm in which perspective (victim vs. witness) and target of devaluation (personal identity vs. social identity) was manipulated. Study 2 examined this hypothesis with group of UK students whereas Study 3 examined this hypothesis with group of Dalits in India. Both the studies confirmed that when social identity is devalued, simply witnessing the humiliation of another group member leads to an experience of humiliation. Additionally, both the studies also supported the conceptualisation and measurement of humiliation as feelings of devaluation and worthlessness due to devaluation of one's valued identity. Across both UK and Indian contexts, the items measuring humiliation loaded together on a single factor suggesting a unified and singular construct. The experience of shame, anger and powerlessness, however, were found to be variable across UK and Indian contexts. The items measuring shame, anger and powerlessness sometimes loaded with humiliation items and sometimes loaded separately.

Chapter 6 (Study 4 and Study 5) manipulated victim's response (resistance vs. compliance) during humiliating encounters and examined its consequences for willingness to undertake action against the perpetrator. The experimental studies in this chapter were also based on the 'classroom humiliation' paradigm used in the previous studies but with a small modification. Study 4 was conducted with group of UK students whereas Study 5 was a conceptual replication with a group of Dalits in India. Resisting a humiliation attempt during an encounter led to feelings of anger, an increased sense of self-empowerment and added to willingness to undertake action against the perpetrator in UK context. Importantly, self-empowerment (partially) mediated the relationship between resistance to the humiliation attempt and willingness to act against the perpetrator. Study 5 revealed that Dalit

participants felt empowered after resisting a humiliation attempt during the encounter but, unlike their UK counterparts, they did not show any increase in willingness to undertake action.

It was hypothesized that the lack of action among Dalit participants, despite the feeling of empowerment, might be due to structural conditions in Indian society. In the context of Dalits, factors such as support by one's institution for protesting against one's mistreatment and support from one's group can be crucial sources of power that can influence one's willingness to act against humiliation. Therefore, in order to explicate the lack of action among Dalit participants, follow up studies were conducted both in UK and India in which mediators (*self-empowerment* and *meta-perceptions of group support*) and moderators (*institutional support for protest*) explaining the link between resisting a humiliation attempt and willingness to undertake action were added as measures.

Chapter 7 (Study 6 and Study 7) reported the follow studies regarding lack of action among Dalit participants. A conditional indirect effects model was proposed in which the indirect effect of resisting a humiliation attempt on action tendencies (through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support) depend on the level of institutional support for action against humiliation. The analysis confirmed that although there is a significant indirect effect of resistance to an humiliation attempt on action through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support, it is not affected by the level of institutional support among UK students. However, in the context of Dalits, the level of institutional support moderated the indirect effect of resistance to humiliation attempt on action tendencies through self-empowerment and meta-perceptions of group support. Along with feeling of self-empowerment due to resisting a humiliation attempt, the support from either one's group or the institution was, thus, found to be essential for Dalit participants to undertake action against humiliation. This meant in the Indian context, people only protest against

humiliation on those occasions where they see institutional support. The same is not the case in the UK, perhaps because in the UK (but not India) people always see that there is sufficient support (or, at least, lack of opposition) to make protest viable.

Chapter 8 (Study 8), the final empirical chapter, adopted the mobilisation perspective (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) to study humiliation. The sense of humiliation, of whether and how people respond to it, was not treated simply as a matter of individual cognition, but rather as actively invoked by leaders as a means of mobilising people to change the status quo. The use of humiliation rhetoric for collective mobilisation was examined in the speeches of Dr. Ambedkar, one of the most important Dalit leaders, during early years of Dalit mobilisation. The speeches of Dr. Ambedkar during two important mobilisations (1927 and 1936) were comparatively analysed using SAGA i.e. Structural Analysis of Group Arguments (Reicher & Sani, 1998) as the main analytic approach. Humiliation rhetoric was indeed present in the speeches of Dr. Ambedkar. Humiliation was mainly used to impel action. However, it was not used to ignite masses to undertake vengeful and retaliatory actions.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed the strategic use of humiliation rhetoric by Dr. Ambedkar in 1927 and 1936. In 1927, Dr. Ambedkar argued that Touchable Hindus are humiliating Untouchable Hindus. Thus, humiliation of Untouchables was construed as an intra-group issue between Touchable and untouchable Hindus which is causing loss not only to Untouchables but also to Hinduism and Indian nation. Dr. Ambedkar mobilised Untouchables, all Hindus and all Indians to reform Hinduism. However, in the year 1936, Dr. Ambedkar construed that Hindus are humiliating Untouchables. This made humiliation of Untouchables an inter-group issue between Hindus and Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar mobilised only Untouchables for leaving Hinduism and converting to another religion. The focal point of the mobilisation attempts by Dr. Ambedkar was the definition of who the

Untouchables are which was implicitly achieved by defining social relations of humiliation i.e. who is humiliating who. The definition of social relations of humiliation affected the nature (intragroup vs. intergroup), scope (Untouchables vs. Hindus/Indians) and proposed actions (reforming Hinduism vs. leaving Hinduism) against humiliation.

9.2 Main Findings

Although the empirical research in the thesis was conducted by employing different quantitative (experiments) and qualitative methodologies (thematic analysis and discursive/rhetorical analysis) and with different groups such as Dalits (stigmatised) and university students (non-stigmatised) and across different cultural contexts such as UK and India, the findings corroborated and complemented each other and led to several common themes regarding the nature, experience and consequences of humiliation.

9.2.1 Centrality of Valued Identity

Although the previous research has conceptually associated humiliation with devaluation of identity (e.g. Hartling & Luchetta, 1999), the role of identity in humiliation was still poorly understood. The interview analysis in the chapter 4 showed that a valued identity is central to the phenomenon of humiliation. The devaluation of one's valued identity leads to feeling of humiliation (this was also corroborated by successful manipulation of identity devaluation that led to feeling of humiliation in chapter 5). Not only one can differ in the appraisal of humiliation depending upon whether one has a valued identity or not but one cannot be humiliated unless one has a valued identity. Importantly, when one acquires a valued identity through different experiences or coming in contact with mobilisation, one can re-appraise the past mistreatment and retrospectively feel humiliated. For example, a Dalit participant recounted a school experience of untouchability in which all Dalit students were

made to sit separately during school lunch and were given food avoiding their slightest touch and sometimes even their shadow. The practice of untouchability during school lunch was a normal occurrence for the participant when it happened, but he came to appraise it as humiliating only while reflecting back years later when he became aware of his value and rights simply for being human. Subsequently, Chapter 4 conceptualised humiliation as a complex social encounter in which one party attempts to diminish or devalue the identity of another party.

Chapter 5 showed that humiliation can be experienced collectively if identities in a humiliating encounter are defined on the group level. Importantly, the analysis in chapter 5 also confirmed the conceptualisation and measurement of humiliation as feelings of devaluation and worthlessness due to devaluation of one's valued identity across UK and Indian contexts. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 together showed how the perception of identities involved in humiliation affect its experience and consequences. Chapter 8, on the other hand, showed that the identities involved in a humiliating encounter are not self-evident, but they can be actively constructed in a mobilisation discourse. The empirical research, thus, pointed out the centrality of identity in the context of humiliation.

9.2.2 Relational Nature and Victim's Agency

This thesis pointed out various limitations to the philosophical and psychological conceptualisation of humiliation in the existing literature and underlined a need for a social psychological conceptualisation of humiliation that is sensitive to its relational or dynamic nature and also to the victim's agency. This thesis challenged the view in the existing literature that humiliation is an intense and extreme emotion which often leads to extreme behaviors among victims. The empirical research in the thesis provided concrete evidence for the relational or dynamic nature of humiliation and of victim's agency in the context of

humiliation. The relational or dynamic nature of humiliation is established by the importance of social relations of humiliation revealed in the empirical research. The experimental chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) together established that the perception of social relations of humiliation (i.e. who is humiliating who) is important in the context of humiliation. Chapter 5 showed that when social relations involved in humiliating encounters are defined on the basis of group membership, humiliation can become collective and it can be felt even when one is not directly involved in the humiliating encounter. Chapter 6 and 7 corroborated that the perception of social relations involved in humiliating encounters can impact upon the perceptions of support or power and affect the outcome of humiliating encounters. The analysis in chapter 8 further elaborated on the importance of the social relations of humiliation by examining its construction and consequences in a mobilisation discourse. The analysis of Dr. Ambedkar's speeches showed that the perception of social relations of humiliation is not intra-psychically conceived but actively constructed by leaders in a mobilisation discourse. The definition of social relations of humiliation had implications for the project of mobilisation. Change in the definition of social relations of humiliation was accompanied by corresponding change in the nature, scope and the projects of mobilisation.

The analysis in Chapter 4 (Study 1) established that victims of humiliation do not passively accept their humiliation and feel bad about themselves but face a moral choice of resisting or complying with the humiliation attempt during an encounter. Even if they fail to act during humiliating encounters due to powerlessness, victims do not passively accept their humiliation but actively seek ways to manage/challenge it. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 experimentally confirmed the active role of the victim during a humiliating encounter. UK students and Dalit participants in India confirmed that resistance to humiliation attempts by a victim during an encounter leads to feeling of empowerment and feeds into willingness to undertake action against humiliation. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 together attested that a victim does possess the agency to change the outcome of a humiliating encounter.

Furthermore, the analysis of humiliation rhetoric in mobilisation discourse in chapter 8 confirmed that, in their struggle against humiliations of caste and untouchability, Untouchables had the discursive power to define the nature and scope of humiliation and, thus, they were able to retain their agency even under extremely powerless and oppressive conditions.

9.2.3 Group level experience of Humiliation

The analysis in chapter 4 showed that due to shared group identity, Dalit participants experienced humiliation collectively when they witnessed humiliation of another group member. Chapter 5 provided experimental evidence for this collective experience of humiliation. Both UK students (Study 2) and Dalit participants in India (Study 3) confirmed that when social identity is devalued, one can feel equally humiliated by witnessing the humiliation of another group member even though one is personally unaffected in the situation. Although theorisation and empirical research motivated by Intergroup Emotion Theory (Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007) has studied different group based emotions in intergroup relations such as guilt (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Iyer, Leach and Crosby, 2003), shame (Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008; Brown & Cehajic, 2008), schadenfreude (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003) etc., the emotion of humiliation is neglected. Present research contributed to this literature on group based emotions by providing the evidence of collective experience of humiliation on the basis of one's group membership.

When it was conducted, the present research was the very first attempt at an experimental examination of collective experience of humiliation. However, a paper published in *Plos One* in the last few months also reported an examination of collective experience of humiliation (Veldhuis et al., 2014). Using the cyberball paradigm (Williams & Jarvis, 2006), Veldhuis et al.

show that observing the rejection of an ingroup member leads to feelings of humiliation that are as intense as those experienced after personal rejection. Veldhuis et al. follow the conceptualisation of humiliation as a mix of shame, powerlessness and anger and show that this collectively experienced humiliation is often accompanied by feelings of powerlessness and anger.

Although Veldhuis et al. and the present research examined the same hypothesis regarding collective experiences of humiliation, several differences exist between the Veldhuis et al.'s (2014) research and the research in the present thesis. Veldhuis et al. manipulated an outward condition (social rejection) as a cause of humiliation whereas the present research manipulated devaluation of a valued identity and thus, specified the precise social psychological antecedent which can lead to the feeling of humiliation. Veldhuis et al. also acknowledge this limitation of their research (p. 8). Importantly, Veldhuis et al. conducted their research mainly in the Netherlands whereas the present research was conducted in UK and India with stigmatised (Dalit) and non-stigmatised (university students) social identities and, therefore, was able to provide stronger evidence.

9.2.4 Role of Power and Mobilisation

The empirical research in this thesis attempted to resolve the debate regarding diametrically opposite responses to humiliation. To what extent was the present research successful in this effort? The present research was mainly concerned with examining the conditions under which humiliation is responded with action but did not elaborate on the conditions under which humiliation will lead to inaction or inertia among group members. It is clear that the present research did not fully clarify the different conditions under which humiliation leads to action vis-a-vis inaction. Perhaps, instead of resolving the debate, the present research might have enriched it by showing the complex role of power and mobilisation in responding

to humiliation. The analysis in Chapter 4 showed that the experience of humiliation is accompanied by the experience of being powerless to challenge the attempt of humiliation during an encounter. However, the powerlessness in the context of humiliation is not absolute but relative in nature. Victims of humiliation, even under the most oppressive conditions, possess the agency and choice to challenge humiliation and protect one's self-respect. Chapter 6 & 7 examined consequences of this relative nature of powerlessness on action responses to humiliation.

Chapters 6 (Study 4 and Study 5) pointed out that unlike UK students, there is lack of action against humiliation among Dalits in India even after feeling psychologically empowered due to expressing resistance to a humiliating attempt. The condition indirect effect analysis in chapter 7 (Study 6 and Study 7) showed that feeling empowered is not enough for members of a stigmatised and powerless group like Dalits in India but group level, as well as structural sources of power, are more crucial for undertaking action against humiliation. Chapters 6 & 7 together, thus, confirmed that humiliation is an encounter within power relations. These power relations can be complex and involve different levels of power such as a feeling of self-empowerment, power from one's group and power from social and political structures. The implications of these various sources of power on action are not separate but interdependent. The action against humiliation, therefore, involve an interaction between psychological, group level and institutional sources of power.

Chapter 8 (Study 8) extended the study of experience and consequences of humiliation in the context of mobilisation. The analysis of the speeches of Dr. Ambedkar confirmed that humiliation is not only experienced, but it can be invoked as well. The analysis made it clear that humiliation demands action on the part of the victim as acceptance of humiliation can be shameful and disempowering in nature. This performative aspect of humiliation enables leaders to invoke humiliation in different events and propose different actions. However,

when humiliation is used to mobilise masses, it also incorporates the construction of social categories and, therefore, in no sense it can be called as a mindless and automatic emotional outburst against injustice. Importantly, the use of humiliation in mobilisation discourse is not always xenophobic in nature but depend on the ideologies and leaders who use humiliation to mobilise masses. Chapter 8, therefore, suggested that the consequences of humiliation can be better understood by examining the use of humiliation rhetoric by leaders to mobilise masses. Previous mobilisation research in social psychology has emphasized the role leaders as ‘entrepreneurs of identity’ (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), the analysis in chapter 8 showed that leaders can be ‘entrepreneurs of emotion’ as well. Importantly, the analysis in chapter 8 also made an important contribution to the understanding of the nature of humiliation by showing that humiliation is not conceived through passive reflection but it can be constructed by leaders according to contemporary political needs. If nothing else, this thesis makes a case for studying the issues of power and mobilisation while examining consequences of humiliation.

9.3 Limitations and Future Directions

The limitations and directions for future studies have already been discussed in the empirical chapters but let us systematically summarise them together and identify future areas of research.

Firstly, the studies were limited in terms of methodology. Although one of the main strengths of the present thesis is the use of variety of methods and analysis (thematic analysis, experimental method, rhetorical-discursive analysis) to study humiliation, it is important to acknowledge that the experimental studies mainly relied on vignette methodology. Parkinson and Manstead (1993) note several limitations of using vignettes in emotion research. They argue that the vignette methodology relies on individual

representational processes rather than on how emotion emerges in real-time social interactions. The vignettes in our studies were narrative representations of an encounter rather than a real life dynamic encounter. We need to devise experiments with behavioral manipulations in order to establish clear causal relations. The behavioral manipulations may be more challenging in the context of humiliation due to ethical and practical concerns but nevertheless are an important advance for future research.

Secondly, the studies were limited in terms of measures. The experimental studies relied on provisional (i.e. non-validated) scales (e.g. meta-perceptions of group support and institutional support for protest). Due to scarce research on humiliation, the use of provisional scales was necessary. Chapter 5 noted the difficulties in measurement of humiliation and developed a provisional scale of humiliation. Although this scale of humiliation was found to be empirically valid across UK and Indian contexts, more work is needed to examine its predictive ability in terms of motivational and action consequences as well as the distinctiveness from shame, anger and powerlessness. It is also worth thinking in terms of using different ways of measuring humiliation. For example, instead of asking participants to rate the emotion words, they can be asked to provide a verbal or written description of what they are actually feeling at the moment. This description can then be coded and matched with specific emotions. The attempts have been made to develop a clear scale of humiliation (Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; P. R. Mosquera, personal communication, 18 August, 2012). These attempts, however, had limited success due to confounding of humiliation with shame, anger and powerlessness. The measurement of humiliation should be a priority for future psychological research on humiliation.

Thirdly, the studies mainly focused on individual responses to humiliation and not much attention was paid to collective responses. Due to lack of attention to collective responses, many important questions regarding the role of humiliation in collective action and

especially in the large scale events of violence and atrocities remain unanswered. The theorising and research in collective action research have pointed out several emotions as antecedents of collective action such as anger (van Zomeren et al., 2004), contempt (Tausch et al., 2011), empowerment and positive emotion (Drury & Reicher, 2009), sympathy (Iyer and Ryan, 2009), etc. It is important to examine whether humiliation can be an antecedent of collective action and given its oppositional consequences in terms of action it is important to explore in what ways humiliation can instigate collective action and in what ways it can impede collective action. Moreover, it is also important to examine consequences of humiliation for normative vis-a-vis non-normative collective action and explain the role of humiliation in instigating violence.

Fourthly, the empirical research in the thesis mainly focused on the experience and consequences of humiliation among stigmatised or oppressed groups in the society. This focus helped in understanding how group identity, power relations and social/political structures shape the experience and consequences of humiliation. The comparative examination of hypotheses among UK students and Dalit participants added to the generalizability of the present research. However, it is not clear to what extent the results in this thesis are generalizable to the high-status groups in the society. As noted at various places in the thesis, the experience and consequences of humiliation might be somewhat different in the context of high-status groups due to the differential nature of power relations. Future research should examine the experience and consequences of humiliation among high-status groups in the society.

Fifthly, due to our focus on stigmatised or oppressed groups in the society, we examined only particular type of power relations in the context of humiliation. However, there might be differences in the experience and consequences of humiliation when both parties possess equal power. Importantly, there is also need to consider the impact of changing power

relations. When humiliated individuals and groups do revolt and gain power, how do they subsequently treat subordinated individuals or groups? This is an important question for future research.

Sixth, we examined the strategic use of humiliation rhetoric for collective mobilisation by a leader but did not consider what effect it had on audiences. It is important to understand whether use of humiliation rhetoric is an effective way of mobilisation. Future studies in this area need to examine the effectivity of humiliation rhetoric for collective mobilisation.

Seventh, and finally, the studies mainly focused on action consequences of humiliation and overlooked the mental health consequences of humiliation. Existing literature on humiliation underlines the deleterious consequences of humiliation on well-being, and emphasize that humiliation leads to lowered self-esteem in interpersonal as well as intergroup context (Stamm, 1978; Hartling & Luchetta, 1999; Baumeister et al., 1993). The Social Cure perspective (Jetten, Haslam & Haslam., 2012) would, however, contradict these consequences of humiliation and emphasize that individuals and groups have adequate resources to deal with their societal devaluation. Indeed, it is rare to find evidence of lowered self-esteem or negative ingroup evaluation in response to group devaluation (Leach et al., 2010). A correlational study ($N= 49$) by the present researcher examined the relationship between humiliation and personal and collective self-esteem among Dalits (Jogdand, 2010). There was a lack of association between humiliation and personal and collective self-esteem. However, humiliation was found to be strongly and significantly linked to ingroup identification. This suggested a critical role of group identity in coping with adverse effects of humiliation on well-being (Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey, 1999). Moreover, the interview analysis in chapter 4 also pointed out that Dalit participants managed their experiences of humiliation by increasing their identification with the ingroup.

The study of how people manage/cope with their humiliation is certainly an important line of inquiry for future research.

Social psychological research on humiliation is still in a nascent stage. Clearly, we need much more work in order to develop a clear understanding of the nature, experience and consequences of humiliation. This thesis, therefore, does not claim to have reached final conclusions and provided definitive answers but merely hopes to represent a stepping stone for future social psychological research on humiliation. Nonetheless, I believe this thesis makes a significant contribution to the existing research on humiliation and advances understanding of a vital but neglected social psychological phenomenon.

9.4 Conclusion

This thesis examined the experience and consequences of humiliation among Dalits in India (and also among university students in UK). The empirical work in this thesis conceptualised humiliation as a complex social encounter in which one party attempts to diminish identity of another party. The empirical work pointed out four important dimensions of humiliating encounters. First, valued identity is central to the humiliating encounters. Not only valued identity affect the appraisal of humiliation, it is a prerequisite of humiliation. Second, the nature of humiliation and how it is experienced depends upon the way in which identities are defined in a humiliating encounter. When identities are defined on the collective level in a humiliating encounter, humiliation can be experienced even if one is not directly involved in the encounter. Third, victims do not remain passive during the humiliating encounter and possess agency and choice to affect the outcome of the encounter. Fourth, the way in which humiliating encounter is resolved depends upon the individual coping strategies as well as mobilisation processes which can even change the nature of identities and, therefore, the nature of experience of the encounter.

This thesis has shed light on the dynamic/relational nature of humiliation and the victim's agency in the context of humiliation. By showing the agency and power victims of humiliation possess, I hope my work can help strengthen the struggle against humiliation that is going on in different parts of the world. I also hope that future social psychological research will contribute to the struggle against humiliation and keep the promise of a decent society alive.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:	Materials Referred in Chapter IV
Appendix 2:	Materials Referred in Chapter V
Appendix 3:	Materials Referred in Chapter VI
Appendix 4:	Materials Referred in Chapter VII

Appendix 1: Materials Referred in Chapter IV

Appendix 1_a: Study 1 Ethical Approval

Appendix 1_b: Interview Schedule

Appendix 1a



University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

12 July 2011

Ethics Reference No: <i>Please quote this ref on all correspondence</i>	PS7742
Project Title:	Experiences of Humiliation among Dalits in India
Researchers Names:	Yashpal Jogdand, Professor Stephen D. Reicher
Supervisors:	Professor Stephen D. Reicher

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology School Ethics Committee meeting on the 29th June 2011. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form	11/07/2011
2. Participant Information Sheet	11/07/2011
3. Consent Form	11/07/2011
4. Debriefing Form	11/07/2011
5. Interview Schedule	11/07/2011

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Prof. S. D. Reicher (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

Appendix 1_b

Experiences of Humiliation among Dalits in India:

Interview Schedule

Researchers:

-Yashpal Jogdand (yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk)

- Prof. Stephen D. Reicher (sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk)

Interviewer: *“We are interested in studying the experience of humiliation amongst Dalits in India. I want you to tell me about various experiences of humiliation you personally have had. Tell me up to three experiences.”*

After listening to each experience of the participant, following questions will be asked-

Was there any audience present when this happened?

- *Who was the audience? (familiar people or non-familiar people; ingroup or outgroup; personally related or personally not related)*

Can you describe your feelings during the event?

- *What exactly you felt during the event?*
- *Have you felt shame?*
- *Have you felt anger?*
- *Have you felt embarrassed?*
- *Have you felt depressed?*

What was your reaction to the event?

- *Did you retaliate in some way?*
- *Have you thought about taking revenge?*
- *Have you thought about any retaliatory action?*
- *Was there any reaction from you when this happened?*

- *Do you think that something made you inactive during the event?*

Interviewer: *“Now I want to move on and discuss experiences of humiliation which you saw, but where you personally were not involved. Can you tell me any incidences in which somebody personally related to you was humiliated? Again, tell me up to three incidents.*

After listening to each incident, following questions will be asked-

How the humiliated person is related to you?

Was there any audience present when this happened?

- *Who was the audience? (familiar people or non-familiar people; ingroup or outgroup; personally related or personally not related)*

Can you describe your feelings during the event?

- *What exactly you felt during the event?*
- *Have you felt shame?*
- *Have you felt anger?*
- *Have you felt embarrassed?*
- *Have you felt depressed?*

What was your reaction to the event?

- *Did you retaliate in some way?*
- *Have you thought about taking revenge?*
- *Have you thought about any retaliatory action?*
- *Was there any reaction from you when this happened?*
- *Do you think that something made you inactive during the event?*

Interviewer: *“Finally, I want to move on to incidents which you witnessed which involved strangers. Can you tell me of any incidents in which somebody personally not related to you was humiliated? Once more, tell me of up to three incidents”.*

After listening to each incident, following questions will be asked-

Was there any audience present when this happened?

- *Who was the audience? (familiar people or non-familiar people; ingroup or outgroup; personally related or personally not related)*

Can you describe your feelings during the event?

- *What exactly you felt during the event?*
- *Have you felt shame?*
- *Have you felt anger?*
- *Have you felt embarrassed?*
- *Have you felt depressed?*

What was your reaction to the event?

- *Did you retaliate in some way?*
- *Have you thought about taking revenge?*
- *Have you thought about any retaliatory action?*
- *Was there any reaction from you when this happened?*
- *Do you think that something made you inactive during the event?*

Appendix 2: Materials Referred in Chapter V

Appendix 2_a: Study 2 Ethical Approval

Appendix 2_b: Study 2 Questionnaire

Appendix 2_c: Study 3 Ethical Approval

Appendix 2_d: Study 3 Questionnaire



18 June 2012

Ethics Reference No: <i>Please quote this ref on all correspondence</i>	PS8858
Project Title:	An Experimental Examination of Humiliation as a Group Emotion
Researchers' Names:	Yashpal Jogdand and Professor Stephen D. Reicher
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen D. Reicher

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology School Ethics Committee meeting on the 6th June 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Ethical Application Form | 18/06/2012 |
| 2. Advertisement | 18/06/2012 |
| 3. Participant Information Sheet | 18/06/2012 |
| 4. Consent Form | 18/06/2012 |
| 5. Debriefing Form | 18/06/2012 |
| 6. Conditions | 18/06/2012 |

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Prof. S. Reicher (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

Study 2: Questionnaire

*The following account is based on **a true event** that happened with a person just like you. The incident took place in a university with **a student who was late for tutorial / who was sitting in a tutorial and a tutee came late for tutorial** and also failed to submit required assignment Please **read** the following account **very carefully** and, as you do, **visualize yourself in the same situation**. Imagine what you would be **feeling and thinking during the event** if it were happening with you. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page and answer the questionnaire items that follow.*

(You come into a tutorial late and give apologies for having overslept / You are sitting in a tutorial. You see that one of the tutees comes into the tutorial late and gives apologies for having overslept. You/ The tutee also apologize/s for not having done the required essay assignment)

Lecturer *(looking at you / tutee)*: "This is absolutely typical of you/ **you students**. In all my years, I have never come across anyone as useless as you/ **a year as useless as you lot**. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't you/ **you students** understand that you are at a University, not a nursery? Quite pathetic! You are like a child /**children**. You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you like an adult/ **adults** and I expect you to behave like an adult / **adults**. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like a child/ **children**. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down."

(You/ Tutee are / is about to sit down)

Lecturer: "Don't you have anything to say? Haven't you yet learnt the manners to apologize even?"

You/ **Tutee** *(hanging head)*: "Sorry"

Lecturer: "Good Lord, typical - next I am going to have to teach you to say please and thank you."

Please answer following questions about the incident you have just read **without looking back.**

1) Who were you in the event?

Please tick (✓) the appropriate option from the following.

i) The student who comes into the tutorial late.	1
ii) The student who was already sitting in the tutorial.	2
iii) The lecturer of the tutorial	3

2) Please choose the exact wording used by the lecturer in the above event-

Please tick (✓) the appropriate number.

i) <i>"This is absolutely typical of you. In all my years I have never come across anyone as useless as you."</i>	1
ii) <i>"This is absolutely typical of you students. In all my years, I have never come across a year as useless as you lot."</i>	2

For each of the following terms, please use the scale below to rate **how** you would have felt during the incident that you have just read about.

	Not at all		Somewhat			Extremely	
Guilty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inferior	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Furious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Insulted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Remorseful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relieved	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Felt angry at being ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Thankful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Devalued	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helpless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disrespected	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Felt angry as well as ashamed at the same time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Outraged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgraced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Irritated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Degraded	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mistreated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vengeful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Belittled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Insecure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dishonoured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Now please indicate *how likely* it is that you would *feel* or *do* the following after the incident-

	Very Unlikely likely							Very likely
Have a strong desire to see the lecturer suffer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Take great pleasure if something terrible were to happen to the lecturer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Organise with others a black armband protest against the lecturer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Organise with others a Facebook page for posting abusive material about the lecturer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Write a letter of complaint to the University authorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Let down the tyres on the lecturer's car.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Organise with others a classroom walkout against the lecturer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Please tell us what you think of **yourself** as a **student**:*

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree			
I view myself as a student.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel glad to be a student.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel strong ties with other students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I identify with other students.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I often think about the fact that I am a student.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Do you have any more comments regarding the incident and your feelings and reactions during it? Please write them in the box provided below.

lease provide following information:

Age:

Gender:

Education:

Thank You!



Project Title	An Experimental Examination of Humiliation as a Group Emotion
Researchers' Name	Yasphal Jogdand, Professor Stephen Reicher
Supervisor	Professor Stephen Reicher
Department/Unit	School of Psychology & Neuroscience
Ethical Approval Code (Approval allocated to Original Application)	PS8858
Original Application Approval Date	18 June 2012
Amendment Application Approval	29 October 2012

Ethical Amendment Approval

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which was considered by the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee on the 29th October 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Ethical Amendment Application Form | 29/10/2012 |
| 2. Conditions | 29/10/2012 |

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years from the original application only. Ethical Amendments do not extend this period but give permission to an amendment to the original approval research proposal only. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply. You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ces Professor S. Reicher (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

Study 3: Questionnaire



University of St Andrews

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

प्रकल्प शीर्षक

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

हा अभ्यास कशा संबंधी आहे?

आम्ही आपणाला भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव अभ्यासणाऱ्या या संशोधन प्रकल्पात आमंत्रित करतो. हा अभ्यास स्कूल ऑफ सायकॉलॉजी अँड न्यूरोसायन्स, यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके अंतर्गत माझ्या Ph.D. प्रबंधासाठी घेण्यात येत आहे.

मला भाग घ्यावाच लागेल का?

हे माहिती पत्र तुम्हाला भाग घेण्याविषयीचा निर्णय घेण्यासाठी तयार केलेले आहे. हे फक्त आणि फक्त तुमच्या मनावर आहे की तुम्हाला भाग घ्यावयाचा आहे किंवा नाही. जरी तुम्ही भाग घेतला तरी तुम्ही त्यातून कधीही, कुठलेही कारण न देता, माघार घेवू शकता. याशिवाय तुम्हाला अडचण असल्यास तुम्ही कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर नाकारू शकता.

मला काय करावे लागेल?

तुम्हाला महाविद्यालयीन वर्गामधे घडलेली एक घटना वाचावी लागेल आणि त्यासंबंधी काही प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्यावी लागतील. आमच्या अंदाजानुसार तुम्हाला यासाठी जास्तीत जास्त 20-30 मिनिटे लागतील.

माझा सहभाग हा अनामिक (Anonymous) आणि गोपनीय (Confidential) राहिल का?

तुमचा प्रतिसाद हा अनामिक राहिल आणि डाटा (data- संकलित केलेली माहिती) अतिशय काटेकोरपणे गोपनीय ठेवला जाईल फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना तो उपलब्ध असेल.

डाटा संग्रह आणि विनाश

संकलित केलेला डाटा फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना उपलब्ध असेल. तुमचा डाटा नष्ट करण्यापूर्वी अधिकाधिक तीन वर्षे संग्रहीत ठेवला जाईल. हा डाटा अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक एका संगणकात संग्रहीत करण्यात येईल.

या संशोधन अभ्यासात सापडलेल्या परिणामांचे काय होईल?

परिणाम प्रकाशनाकरिता वापरण्यात येतील. परंतु, प्रकाशित झालेला डाटा हा ओळखता येणार नाही.

मला या संशोधनात सहभागी होवून काय मिळेल?

तुम्हाला या संशोधनात सहभाग घेवून प्रत्यक्षात कुठलाही आर्थिक लाभ होणार नाही. परंतु, तुमच्या सहभागाने तुम्ही भारतीय राष्ट्र आणि समाज यांविषयीच्या अत्यंत महत्वाच्या समस्येची उकल करण्यात मदत कराल.

सहभाग घेण्यात काही संभाव्य जोखम आहे का?

या अभ्यासात सहभागी होण्यात अतिशय अल्पतम जोखम आहे. परंतु, शक्यता नाकारता येत नाही की काही लोकांना महाविद्यालयातील घटना वाचून अस्वस्थ वाटेल. विशेषतः ज्यांना वर्गामध्ये काही कट्टू अनुभव आहेत त्यांना या अभ्यासात त्रास होण्याचा संभव आहे. यास्तव ज्यांना असे अनुभव असतील आणि ते आठवल्याने स्वतःला त्रास होईल असे वाटत असेल त्यांनी या अभ्यासामध्ये भाग घेण्याचे कृपया टाळावे. यदाकदाचित, तुम्हाला सहभागानंतर अस्वस्थ वाटले आणि तुमची त्याविषयी चर्चा करण्याची इच्छा असेल तर निसंकोचपणे संशोधकाशी संपर्क साधा (संपर्कासंदर्भात माहिती खाली देण्यात आली आहे.)

प्रश्न

सहभागाची संमती नोंदवण्यापूर्वी तुम्हाला तुमच्या सर्व शंकांचे समाधान करून घेण्याची संधी मिळेल.

अनुमति आणि मान्यता

या संशोधन अभ्यासास यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके यांनी परिनिरीक्षण करून नैतिक मान्यता (ethical approval) दिलेली आहे.

मला या अभ्यासासंबंधी काही तक्रार असल्यास काय करावे?

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/ या संकेत स्थळावर तक्रारीच्या प्रक्रियेविषयी सर्व माहिती उपलब्ध आहे

Contact Details- संपर्क

Researcher संशोधक: *Yashpal Jogdand,* Supervisor पर्यवेक्षक: *Prof. Stephen Reicher*

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sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk



Participant Consent Form Coded Data

Project Title

A Study of College Experiences among Indian students

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

Researcher(s) Name(s)

Yashpal Jogdand,
yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk

Supervisors Names

Prof. Stephen Reicher,
sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Coded Data?

The term 'Coded Data' refers to when data collected by the researcher is identifiable as belonging to a particular participant but is kept with personal identifiers removed. The researcher(s) retain a 'key' to the coded data which allows individual participants to be re-connected with their data at a later date. The un-coded data is kept confidential to the researcher(s) (and Supervisors). If consent is given to archive data (see consent section of form) the participant may be contacted in the future by the original researcher(s) or other researcher(s).

Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do and you are free to withdraw at any stage.

Material gathered during this research will be coded and kept confidentially by the researcher with only the researcher and supervisor having access. It will be securely stored on *surveygizmo* web server and a computer system for a period of 3 years.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.

I understand that my data will be confidential and that it will contain identifiable personal data but that will be stored with personal identifiers removed by the researcher and that only the researcher/supervisor will be able to decode this information as and when necessary.

I understand that my data will be stored for a period of 3 years before being destroyed

I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.

I agree to take part in the study

या अभ्यासात सहभाग घेण्यास माझी संमती आहे.

Yes

No

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research. If you decide at a later date that data should be destroyed we will honour your request in writing.

Signature

Date

विशेष सूचना

हा अभ्यास त्यामध्ये सहभागी होणाऱ्या कुठल्याही व्यक्तीचे वयक्तिक “मानसशास्त्रीय मूल्यमापन” करत नाही. या अभ्यासात विचारलेल्या कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर चूक अथवा बरोबर नाही. आम्हाला या अभ्यासात केवळ तुमच्या प्रामाणिक विचारांचा आणि भावनांचा प्रतिसाद अपेक्षित आहे. त्यामुळे मनावर कुठलेही दडपण न ठेवता या अभ्यासात भाग घ्या. तुम्हाला कुठल्याही प्रश्नासंबंधी शंका उद्भवल्यास निःसंकोचपणे संशोधकास विचारा. प्रश्नावलि मराठी आणि इंग्रजी दोन्ही भाषांमध्ये आहे.

सूचना: पुढील वृत्तांत हा सत्य घटनेवर आधारित असून ती घटना तुमच्यासारख्याच एका व्यक्तीसोबत घडली आहे. *हा प्रसंग विद्यापीठातल्या एका वर्गात बसलेल्या विद्यार्थ्यांसोबत घडला. जो वर्गामध्ये बसला असता, वर्गात दूसरा एक विद्यार्थी उशिरा आला / जो वर्गामध्ये उशिरा आला आणि प्राध्यापकाने त्यादिवशी लिहून आणावयास सांगितलेला निबंधसुद्धा तो उशिरा आलेला विद्यार्थी जमा करू शकला नाही.* कृपया पुढील वृत्तांत अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक वाचा आणि वाचत असताना असे समजा कि जणू काही हि घटना तुमच्याचसोबत घडते आहे. *कल्पना करा कि तुम्हाला या घटनेदरम्यान काय वाटेल, कुठले विचार मनात येतील, कुठल्या भावना जाणवतील.* संपूर्ण वृत्तांत अश्या पध्दतीने तुम्ही वाचल्यानंतर कृपया पान उलटा आणि पुढील पानांवरील प्रश्नावलीतील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या.

Instruction: *The following account is based on a true event that happened with a person just like you. The incident took place in a university with a student who was late for tutorial / **who was sitting in a tutorial and a tutee came late into the tutorial** and also failed to submit required assignment. Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, visualize yourself in the same situation. Imagine what you would be feeling and thinking during the event if it were happening to you. Then, after reading the account, go to the next page and answer the questionnaire items that follow.*

(तुम्ही वर्गामध्ये उशिरा प्रवेश करता. तुम्ही वर्गात प्रवेश केल्याबरोबर सांगता की वेळेवर झोपेतून उठता आले नाही म्हणून उशीर झाला आणि प्राध्यापकाची माफी मागता. वर्गात त्यादिवशी सांगितलेला निबंध पुरा करता आला नाही म्हणून सुद्धा तुम्ही माफी मागता / तुम्ही वर्गामध्ये बसलेले आहात. तुम्ही पाहता की एक विद्यार्थी वर्गामध्ये उशिरा प्रवेश करतो. वर्गात प्रवेश केल्याबरोबर तो उशिरा आलेला विद्यार्थी प्राध्यापकाला सांगतो की वेळेवर झोपेतून उठता आले नाही म्हणून उशीर झाला आणि प्राध्यापकाची माफी मागतो. वर्गात त्या दिवशी सांगितलेला निबंध पुरा करता आला नाही म्हणून सुद्धा तो माफी मागतो.)

प्राध्यापक (त्या विद्यार्थ्याकडे / तुमच्याकडे पाहत): “हे तुझं / तुम्हा दलित लोकांचं नेहमीचच! अगदी टिपिकल! इतक्या वर्षांमध्ये मी तुझ्याइतकं कोणी बेजबाबदार पहिलं नाही / दलितांसारखी दुसरी बेजबाबदार जात पहिली नाही. तुला / तुम्हा लोकांना वेळेची शिस्त नाही, तुमचं काम कच्चं आणि कुठल्याही गोष्टीसाठी तुमचा भरवंसा देता येणार नाही. हे खरोखर फार शोचनीय आहे. अजूनही तुला / तुम्हाला समजत नाही का की तू / तुम्ही आता विद्यापीठात वावरता आहात, बालवाडीत नाही! अरेरे किती दयनीय! तुला / तुम्हाला वाटतं इतरांनी तुमच्या पाठीमागे पळावे, तुमच्या लक्षात आणून द्यावे तुम्हाला वेळेला काय काम करायचे आहे, कुठं उपस्थित राहायचे आहे. अगदी कानामागचा मळ काढायचेही तुला / तुम्हा लोकांना कोणीतरी सांगायची गरज भासली तर मला मुळीच आश्चर्य वाटणार नाही. मी तुला / तुम्हाला प्रौढांसारखे वागवायला पाहतो आणि माझी अपेक्षा असते की तू एका प्रौढासारखे वागशील / तुम्ही प्रौढांसारखे वागाल. पण तुम्ही जर असेच वागणार असाल तर मग मलाही तुला एका लहान लेकराप्रमाणे / तुम्हाला लहान लेकरांप्रमाणे वागवावे लागेल. ते तुला हवे आहे का? आता जा आणि जागेवर बस.

(तुम्ही / तो विद्यार्थी जागेवर बसणार इतक्यात)

प्राध्यापक: “तुला काहीच म्हणायचे नाही का? माफी मागायचा साधा शिष्टाचारही अजून तूला कळत नाही का?”

विद्यार्थी (खाली मान घालून): “सॉरी.”

प्राध्यापक: “धन्य देवा! अगदी टिपिकल! आता तुला प्लीज आणि थँक यू म्हणायचेही मला शिकवायचे आहे तर!”

(You come into a tutorial late and give apologies for having overslept / You are sitting in a tutorial. You see that one of the tutees comes into the tutorial late and gives apologies for having overslept. You/ The tutee also apologize/s for not having done the required essay assignment)

Lecturer *(looking at you / tutee)*: "This is absolutely typical of you/ *you Dalit people*. In all my years, I have never come across anyone as useless as you/ *any castes as useless as you lot*. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't you / *you Dalits* understand that you are at a University, not a nursery? Quite pathetic! You are like a child /*children*. You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you like an adult/ *adults* and I expect you to behave like an adult / *adults*. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like a child/ *children*. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down."

(You/ Tutee are / is about to sit down)

Lecturer: "Don't you have anything to say? Haven't you yet learnt the manners to apologize even?"

You/ *Tutee* *(hanging head)*: "Sorry"

Lecturer: "Good Lord, typical - next I am going to have to teach you to say please and thank you."

Questionnaire प्रश्नावली

A) Please answer following questions about the incident you have just read **without looking back**.

तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या घटनेसंबंधी पुढील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे कृपया **मागे न पाहता** द्या.

1) Who were you in the classroom incident?

वर्गामधे घडलेल्या घटने दरम्यान तुम्ही कोण होता? कृपया योग्य उत्तराचा क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करा.

i) The student who comes late into the tutorial. वर्गात उशिरा आलेला विद्यार्थी	1
ii) The student who was already sitting in the tutorial. वर्गामध्ये अगोदरच बसलेला विद्यार्थी	2
iii) The lecturer of the tutorial. वर्गातला प्राध्यापक	3

2) Please choose the exact wording used by the lecturer in the above incidence-

कृपया प्राध्यापकाने उपरोक्त घटनेदरम्यान वापरलेले तंतोतंत वाक्य ओळखा- कृपया योग्य उत्तराचा

क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करा.

i) "हे तुझं नेहमीचच! अगदी टिपिकल! इतक्या वर्षांमध्ये मी तुझ्याइतकं कोणी बेजबाबदार पहिलं नाही. तुला वेळेची शिस्त नाही, तुझं काम कच्चं आणि कुठल्याही गोष्टीसाठी तुझा भरवंसा देता येणार नाही." "This is absolutely typical of you. In all my years, I have never come across anyone as useless as you. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor and you just can't be relied upon."	1
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<p>ii) “हे तुम्हा दलित लोकांचं नेहमीचच! अगदी टिपिकल! इतक्या वर्षांमध्ये मी दलितांसारखी बेजबाबदार जात पहिली नाही. तुम्हा लोकांना वेळेची शिस्त नाही, तुमचं काम कच्चं आणि कुठल्याही गोष्टीसाठी तुमचा भरवंसा देता येणार नाही.”</p> <p>"This is absolutely typical of you Dalit people. In all my years, I have never come across any castes as useless as you lot. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor, and you just can't be relied upon."</p>	2
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C) For each of the following terms, please use the scale below to rate **how you would have felt during the incident** that you have just read about.

पुढील प्रत्येक संज्ञांसाठी, कृपया खाली दिलेले परिमाण वापरून तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या **घटनेदरम्यान तुम्हाला कसे वाटेल** याचे मूल्यांकन करा आणि योग्य वाटणाऱ्या उतराचा क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करा.

	Not at all बिल्कुल नाही		Somewhat थोडेबहुत			Extremely अत्यधिक	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Guilty अपराध भाव जाणवेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Flawed दोषपूर्ण वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Belittled हीन म्हणून वागवल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy आनंदी वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weak कमजोर वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helpless असहाय वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Devalued अवमूल्यित केल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Remorseful पश्चाताप वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ashamed लज्जित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgraced कलंकित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Powerless	शक्तिहीन वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shame	शरम वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Angry	क्रोधित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Outraged	नियंत्रणाबाहेर प्रक्षोभित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Insulted	अपमानित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Thankful	कृतज्ञ वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Furious	भयंकर संतप्त वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Glad	हर्षित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Angry at being ashamed		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
लाजवल्याबद्दल क्रोधित वाटेल								
Angry as well as ashamed at the moment		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
एकाच वेळी रागही जाणवेल आणि लाजही वाटेल								
Disrespected	अनादर/ बेईज्जत वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dishonoured	अप्रतिष्ठीत/असम्मानित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Degraded	किंमत कमी केल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Humiliated	मानखंडणा वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relieved	चिंतामुक्त वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Violent	हिंसक व्हावेसे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aggressive	आक्रमक व्हावेसे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Irritated	तीव्र चीड वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

D) Please indicate **how likely** it is that you would **feel** the following after the classroom incident-

कृपया वर्गातील घटनेनंतर तुम्हाला पुढील गोष्टी वाटणे कितपत संभवणीय आहे ते योग्य वाटणाऱ्या उतराचा क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करून नमूद करा.

E) Using the scale provided, please tell us **how willing** you would be **to engage in following actions against the lecturer-**

	Not Very likely		Somewhat likely			Very likely	
	असंभवणीय		थोडेबहुत संभवणीय			अतिशय संभवणीय	
Have a strong desire to see the lecturer suffer. प्राध्यापकाला त्रासामधे बघण्याची तीव्र इच्छा होईल.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Take great pleasure if something terrible were to happen to the lecturer. प्राध्यापकासोबत काही भयंकर घटना घडल्यास प्रचंड आनंद होईल.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

कृपया दिलेले परिमाण वापरून, तुम्ही प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध पुढील कृती करण्यासाठी कितपत इच्छुक असाल ते आम्हाला सांगा.

1. Go to see the college principal to protest against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाच्या निषेधार्थ महाविद्यालयाच्या प्रिन्सिपलला जावून भेटणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

2. Write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities.

विद्यापीठातल्या पदाधिकाऱ्यांना प्राध्यापकाविरोधात तक्रारीचे पत्र लिहिणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

3. Let down the tyres on the lecturer's vehicle.

प्राध्यापकाच्या गाडीचे टायर पंक्चर करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

4. Write insulting things about the lecturer on the college noticeboard

प्राध्यापकाबद्दल बदनामीकारक मजकूर कॉलेज नोटीसबोर्डवर लिहिणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

5. Visit the vice chancellor of the university as a member of the student delegation to protest against the lecturer.

विद्यार्थी प्रतिनिधिमंडळाचा सदस्य म्हणून प्राध्यापकाचा निषेध करण्यासाठी विद्यापीठाच्या उपकुलगुरूला भेटायला जाणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

6. Participate in a sit-down protest against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाविरोधातील धरणे आंदोलनात सहभाग घेणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

अतिशय अनिच्छुक

अतिशय इच्छुक

7. Participate in a black armband protest against the lecturer.

प्राध्यापकाविरोधात काळी रिबिन हाताला बांधण्याच्या सामूहिक आंदोलनात सहभाग घेणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

8. Participate in a classroom walkout against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाविरोधातील क्लासरूम वॉकआउट अर्थात वर्गत्याग करण्याच्या सामूहिक आंदोलनात सहभागी होणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

9. Organise with others to lodge a police complaint under SC/ST prevention of atrocities act against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकाविरोधात एससी/एसटी अत्याचार प्रतिबंधक (अट्रोसिटी) कायदया अंतर्गत पोलिसांमध्ये तक्रार करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

10. Participate with others in causing damage to the college property to protest against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकानिषेधार्थ कॉलेजच्या मालमतेचे नुकसान करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

11. Participate in collective boycott of exams against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकानिषेधार्थ परीक्षेवर सामूहिक बहिष्कार टाकणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing
अतिशय अनिच्छुक अतिशय इच्छुक

F. Please indicate to what extent you agree / disagree with following statements.

कृपया पुढील विधानांशी तुम्ही कितपत सहमत किंवा असहमत आहात ते नमूद करा.

1. I view myself as a Dalit

मी स्वतःला एक दलित म्हणून पाहतो.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
खंबीरपणे असहमत खंबीरपणे सहमत

2. I am glad to be a Dalit.

मी एक दलित आहे याचा मला आनंद आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
खंबीरपणे असहमत खंबीरपणे सहमत

3. Being a Dalit is an important part of how I see myself.

माझे दलित असणे हे मी स्वतःला कसे पाहतो याचा महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

खंबीरपणे असहमत

खंबीरपणे असहमत

4. I identify with other Dalits.

मी इतर दलितांशी एकरूप आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

खंबीरपणे असहमत

खंबीरपणे असहमत

5. I feel strong ties with other Dalits.

मला वाटते मी इतर दलितांशी अतिशय घट्टपणे जोडलेला आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

खंबीरपणे असहमत

खंबीरपणे असहमत

Information about yourself

स्वतःबद्दल माहिती:

- Age वय:
- Sex लिंग:
- Caste जात :
- Religion धर्म:

- Category प्रवर्ग : **SC/ ST/ NT/ OBC/ GEN** (Please tick one)
- Education शिक्षण :
- Father's occupation and education वडिलांचा व्यवसाय आणि शिक्षण :
- Mother's occupation and education आईचा व्यवसाय आणि शिक्षण :
- Annual family income कुटुंबाची वार्षिक मिळकत :

Do you have any more comments regarding the incident or your feelings and reactions during it? Please write them on the space provided below.

तुम्हाला वर्गात घडलेल्या प्रसंगासंबंधी, किंवा त्या दरम्यान वाटलेल्या भावना किंवा तुमच्या प्रतिक्रियेविषयी काही सांगायचे आहे का? कृपया तुमची मते खाली दिलेल्या रिकाम्या जागेत लिहा.

*****THANK YOU*****

Appendix 3: Materials Referred in Chapter VI

Appendix 3_a: Study 4 Ethical Approval

Appendix 3_b: Study 4 Questionnaire

Appendix 3_c: Study 5 Ethical Approval

Appendix 3_d: Study 5 Questionnaire

Appendix 3a



University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

11 October 2012

Ethics Reference No: <i>Please quote this ref on all correspondence</i>	PS9188
Project Title:	Examining the consequences of resistance vs. compliance during humiliating events
Researchers' Names:	Yashpal Jogdand, Professor Stephen Reicher
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee meeting on the 3rd October 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form	10/10/2012
2. Advertisement	10/10/2012
3. Participant Information Sheet	10/10/2012
4. Consent Form	10/10/2012
5. Debriefing Form	10/10/2012
6. Vignettes and Questionnaire	10/10/2012

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Prof. S. Reicher (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee

UTREC Convenor, Mansefield, 3 St Mary's Place, St Andrews, KY16 9UY
Email: utrec@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462866
The University of St Andrews is a charity registered in Scotland: No SC013532

Study 4: Questionnaire

*The following account is based on **a true event** that happened with a person just like you. The incident took place in a university with **a student who was late for tutorial** and also failed to submit required assignment. Please **read** the following account **very carefully** and, as you do, **visualize yourself in the same situation**. Imagine what you would be **feeling and thinking during the event** if it were happening with you. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page and answer the questionnaire items that follow.*

(You come into a tutorial late and give apologies for having overslept. You also apologize for not having done the required essay assignment)

Lecturer (looking at you): "This is absolutely typical of you students. In all my years, I have never come across a year as useless as you lot. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't you students understand that you are at a University, not a nursery? Quite pathetic! You are like a children. You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you like adults and I expect you to behave like adults. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like children. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down."

(You are about to sit down)

Lecturer: "Don't you have anything to say? Haven't you yet learnt the manners to apologize even?"

You *(hanging head)*: "Sorry"

Lecturer: "Good Lord, typical - next I am going to have to teach you to say please and thank you."

You: "enough...that's enough now! I have already apologized to you. This is extremely rude! I understand it was my fault but you can't behave like this."

Or

You: "I really am sorry. It won't happen again. I will make sure I am on time in the future."

A. Please answer the following questions about the incident you have just read about.

1. To what extent do you think you expressed yourself to the lecturer during the incident?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

2. To what extent do you think you were successful in challenging the lecturer during the incident?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

B. To what extent do you think the treatment you received from the lecturer during the event was -

1. Fair?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

2. Illegitimate?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

3. Undeserved?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

C. For each of the following terms, please use the scale below to rate how you would have felt during the incident that you have just read about.

1. Irritated

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

2. Helpless

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

3. Joyful

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

4. Insecure

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

5. Degraded

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

6. Powerless

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

7. Angry

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

8. Guilty

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

9. Humiliated

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

10. Flawed

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

11. Furious

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

12. Confident

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

13. Disrespected

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

14. Happy

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

15. Outraged

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

16. Disgraced

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

17. Proud

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

18. Ashamed

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

19. Put down

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

20. Assertive

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much

D. Please consider your membership in the group of students and respond to the following statements.

1. I feel I am a useless member of group of students.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

2. Others can depend on me for protecting honour of students.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

3. I don't have much to offer to group of students.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

4. I am a worthy member of group of students

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

E. Using the scale provided, please tell us how willing you would be to engage in following after the incident-

1. Get involved in social activities with other students in the class.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

2. Hide away from other students in the class.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

F. Using the scale provided, please tell us how willing you would be to engage in following actions against the lecturer-

1. Go to see the Head of the Department to protest against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

2. Write a letter of complaint to the university authorities.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

3. Contact the student representative to protest against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

4. Support the student delegation to visit the Head of Department to protest against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

5. Sign a protest petition against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

6. Participate in a sit-down protest against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

7. Participate in a classroom walk-out against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

8. Participate in collective boycott of assessment against the lecturer.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

G. Do you have any more comments regarding the incident or your feelings and reactions during it? Please write them in the box provided below.

Please provide following information:

1) Age*

Gender*

Male

Female

No Answer

Nationality:

Please select the category which best defines your ethnic group

White British

Other white

Indian

Pakistani

Bangladeshi

Other Asian

Black Caribbean

Black African

Other Black

Chinese

Other

Would rather not say

***** Thanks*****

Appendix 3c



University of St Andrews
from first to foremost

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

Project Title	Examining the consequences of resistance vs. compliance during humiliating events
Researchers' Name	Yasphal Jogdand, Professor Stephen Reicher
Supervisor	Professor Stephen Reicher
Department/Unit	School of Psychology & Neuroscience
Ethical Approval Code (Approval allocated to Original Application)	PS9188
Original Application Approval Date	10 October 2012
Amendment Application Approval	29 October 2012

Ethical Amendment Approval

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which was considered by the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee on the 29th October 2012. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form 29/10/2012
2. Questionnaire & Conditions 29/10/2012

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years from the original application only. Ethical Amendments do not extend this period but give permission to an amendment to the original approval research proposal only. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply. You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs Professor S. Reicher (Supervisor)
School Ethics Committee



प्रकल्प शीर्षक

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

हा अभ्यास कशा संबंधी आहे?

आम्ही आपणाला भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव अभ्यासणाऱ्या या संशोधन प्रकल्पात आमंत्रित करतो. हा अभ्यास स्कूल ऑफ सायकॉलॉजी अँड न्यूरोसायन्स, यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके अंतर्गत माझ्या Ph.D. प्रबंधासाठी घेण्यात येत आहे.

मला भाग घ्यावाच लागेल का?

हे माहिती पत्र तुम्हाला भाग घेण्याविषयीचा निर्णय घेण्यासाठी तयार केलेले आहे. हे फक्त आणि फक्त तुमच्या मनावर आहे की तुम्हाला भाग घ्यावयाचा आहे किंवा नाही. जरी तुम्ही भाग घेतला तरी तुम्ही त्यातून कधीही, कुठलेही कारण न देता, माघार घेवू शकता. याशिवाय तुम्हाला अडचण असल्यास तुम्ही कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर नाकारू शकता.

मला काय करावे लागेल?

तुम्हाला महाविद्यालयीन वर्गामधे घडलेली एक घटना वाचावी लागेल आणि त्यासंबंधी काही प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्यावी लागतील. आमच्या अंदाजानुसार तुम्हाला यासाठी जास्तीत जास्त 20-30 मिनिटे लागतील.

माझा सहभाग हा अनामिक (Anonymous) आणि गोपनीय (Confidential) राहिल का?

तुमचा प्रतिसाद हा अनामिक राहिल आणि डाटा (data- संकलित केलेली माहिती) अतिशय काटेकोरपणे गोपनीय ठेवला जाईल फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना तो उपलब्ध असेल.

डाटा संग्रह आणि विनाश

संकलित केलेला डाटा फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना उपलब्ध असेल. तुमचा डाटा नष्ट करण्यापूर्वी अधिकाधिक तीन वर्षे संग्रहीत ठेवला जाईल. हा डाटा अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक एका संगणकात संग्रहीत करण्यात येईल.

या संशोधन अभ्यासात सापडलेल्या परिणामांचे काय होईल?

परिणाम प्रकाशनाकरिता वापरण्यात येतील. परंतु, प्रकाशित झालेला डाटा हा ओळखता येणार नाही.

मला या संशोधनात सहभागी होवून काय मिळेल?

तुम्हाला या संशोधनात सहभाग घेवून प्रत्यक्षात कुठलाही आर्थिक लाभ होणार नाही. परंतु, तुमच्या सहभागाने तुम्ही भारतीय राष्ट्र आणि समाज यांविषयीच्या अत्यंत महत्वाच्या समस्येची उकल करण्यात मदत कराल.

सहभाग घेण्यात काही संभाव्य जोखम आहे का?

या अभ्यासात सहभागी होण्यात अतिशय अल्पतम जोखम आहे. परंतु, शक्यता नाकारता येत नाही की काही लोकांना महाविद्यालयातील घटना वाचून अस्वस्थ वाटेल. विशेषतः ज्यांना वर्गामधे काही कटू अनुभव आहेत त्यांना या अभ्यासात त्रास होण्याचा संभव आहे. यास्तव ज्यांना असे अनुभव असतील आणि ते आठवल्याने स्वतःला त्रास होईल असे वाटत असेल त्यांनी या अभ्यासामधे भाग घेण्याचे कृपया टाळावे. यदाकदाचित, तुम्हाला सहभागानंतर अस्वस्थ वाटले आणि तुमची त्याविषयी चर्चा करण्याची इच्छा असेल तर निसंकोचपणे संशोधकाशी संपर्क साधा (संपर्कासंदर्भात माहिती खाली देण्यात आली आहे.)

प्रश्न

सहभागाची संमती नोंदवण्यापूर्वी तुम्हाला तुमच्या सर्व शंकांचे समाधान करून घेण्याची संधी मिळेल.

अनुमति आणि मान्यता

या संशोधन अभ्यासास यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके यांनी परिनिरीक्षण करून नैतिक मान्यता (ethical approval) दिलेली आहे.

मला या अभ्यासासंबंधी काही तक्रार असल्यास काय करावे?

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/ या संकेत स्थळावर तक्रारीच्या प्रक्रियेविषयी सर्व माहिती उपलब्ध आहे

Contact Details- संपर्क

Researcher संशोधक: *Yashpal Jogdand,* Supervisor पर्यवेक्षक: *Prof. Stephen Reicher*

yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk
मोबाइल क्रं. 9403910955

sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk

Project Title



Participant Consent Form Coded Data

A Study of College Experiences among Indian students

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

Researcher(s) Name(s)

Yashpal Jogdand,
yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk

Supervisors Names

Prof. Stephen Reicher,
sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Coded Data?

The term 'Coded Data' refers to when data collected by the researcher is identifiable as belonging to a particular participant but is kept with personal identifiers removed. The researcher(s) retain a 'key' to the coded data which allows individual participants to be re-connected with their data at a later date. The un-coded data is kept confidential to the researcher(s) (and Supervisors). If consent is given to archive data (see consent section of form) the participant may be contacted in the future by the original researcher(s) or other researcher(s).

Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do and you are free to withdraw at any stage.

Material gathered during this research will be coded and kept confidentially by the researcher with only the researcher and supervisor having access. It will be securely stored on *surveygizmo* web server and a computer system for a period of 3 years.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.

I understand that my data will be confidential and that it will contain identifiable personal data but that will be stored with personal identifiers removed by the researcher and that

only the researcher/supervisor will be able to decode this information as and when necessary.

I understand that my data will be stored for a period of 3 years before being destroyed

I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.

I agree to take part in the study

या अभ्यासात सहभाग घेण्यास माझी संमती आहे.

Yes

No

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research. If you decide at a later date that data should be destroyed we will honour your request in writing.

Signature

Date

विशेष सूचना

हा अभ्यास त्यामध्ये सहभागी होणाऱ्या कुठल्याही व्यक्तीचे व्यक्तिगत “मानसशास्त्रीय मूल्यमापन” करत नाही. या अभ्यासात विचारलेल्या कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर चूक अथवा बरोबर नाही. आम्हाला या अभ्यासात केवळ तुमच्या प्रामाणिक विचारांचा आणि भावनांचा प्रतिसाद अपेक्षित आहे. त्यामुळे मनावर कुठलेही दडपण न ठेवता या अभ्यासात भाग घ्या. तुम्हाला कुठल्याही प्रश्नासंबंधी शंका उद्भवल्यास निःसंकोचपणे संशोधकास विचारा. प्रश्नावलि मराठी आणि इंग्रजी दोन्ही भाषांमध्ये आहे.

सूचना: पुढील वृत्तांत हा सत्य घटनेवर आधारित असून ती घटना तुमच्यासारख्याच एका

व्यक्तीसोबत घडली आहे. *हा प्रसंग विद्यापीठातल्या एका विद्यार्थ्यासोबत घडला जो वर्गामध्ये उशिरा*

आला आणि प्राध्यापकाने लिहून आणावयास सांगितलेला निबंधसुद्धा तो विद्यार्थी जमा करू शकला नाही. कृपया पुढील वृत्तांत अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक वाचा आणि वाचत असताना असे समजा कि जणू काही हि घटना तुमच्याचसोबत घडते आहे. **कल्पना करा कि तुम्हाला या घटनेदरम्यान काय वाटेल, कुठले विचार मनात येतील, कुठल्या भावना जाणवतील.** संपूर्ण वृत्तांत अशा पध्दतीने तुम्ही वाचल्यानंतर कृपया पान उलटा आणि पुढील पानांवरील प्रश्नावलीतील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या.

Instruction: *The following account is based on a true event that happened with a person just like you. The incident took place in a university with a student who was late for tutorial and who also failed to submit the required assignment. Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, visualize yourself in the same situation. Imagine what you would be feeling and thinking during the event if it were happening to you. Then, after reading the account, go to the next page and answer the questionnaire items that follow.*

(तुम्ही वर्गामध्ये उशिरा प्रवेश करता. तुम्ही वर्गात प्रवेश केल्याबरोबर सांगता की वेळेवर झोपेतून उठता आले नाही म्हणून उशीर झाला आणि प्राध्यापकाची माफी मागता. वर्गात त्यादिवशी सांगितलेला निबंध पुरा करता आला नाही म्हणून सुद्धा तुम्ही माफी मागता.)

प्राध्यापक (तुमच्याकडे पाहत): हे तुम्हा दलित लोकांचं नेहमीचच! अगदी टिपिकल! इतक्या वर्षांमध्ये मी दलितांसारखी दुसरी बेजबाबदार जात पहिली नाही. तुम्हा लोकांना वेळेची शिस्त नाही, तुमचं काम कच्चं आणि कुठल्याही गोष्टीसाठी तुमचा भरवंसा देता येणार नाही. हे खरोखर फार शोचनीय आहे.

अजूनही तुम्हाला समजत नाही का की तुम्ही आता विद्यापीठात वावरता आहात, बालवाडीत नाही! अरेरे किती दयनीय! अगदी काठोकाठ आळस दाटलाय तुम्हा लोकांत! तुम्हाला वाटतं इतरांनी तुमच्या पाठीमागे पळावे, तुमच्या लक्षात आणून द्यावे तुम्हाला वेळेला काय काम करायचे आहे, कुठं उपस्थित राहायचे आहे. अगदी कानामागचा मळ काढायचेही तुम्हा लोकांना कोणीतरी सांगायची गरज भासली तर मला मुळीच आश्चर्य वाटणार नाही. मी तुम्हाला प्रौढांसारखे वागवायला पाहतो आणि माझी अपेक्षा असते की तुम्ही प्रौढांसारखे वागाल. पण तुम्ही जर असेच वागणार असाल तर मग मलाही तुम्हाला लहान लेकरांप्रमाणे वागवावे लागेल. ते तुला हवे आहे का? आता जा आणि जागेवर बस.

(तुम्ही जागेवर बसणार इतक्यात)

प्राध्यापक: “तुला काहीच म्हणायचे नाही का? माफी मागायचा साधा शिष्टाचारही अजून तूला कळत नाही का?”

तुम्ही *(खाली मान घालून)*: “सॉरी.”

प्राध्यापक: “धन्य देवा! अगदी टिपिकल! आता तुला प्लीज आणि थँक यु म्हणायचेही मला शिकवायचे आहे तर!

तुम्ही: बस्स! खूप झालं आता. मी अगोदरच तुमची माफी मागितली आहे. हा तर उद्धटपणा झाला. मान्य आहे माझं चुकलं पण तुम्ही असे वागू शकत नाहीत.

Or

तुम्ही: सॉरी... खरंच सॉरी, पुन्हा असे होणार नाही. इथून पुढे मी वेळेवर सर्व काम करीन.

(You come into a tutorial late. You give apologies for having overslept. You also apologize for not having done the required essay assignment)

Lecturer (looking at you): "This is absolutely typical of you Dalit people. In all my years, I have never come across any castes as useless as you lot. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor, and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't you people understand that you are at a university, not a nursery! Quite pathetic! Nowadays you people have

become lazy! You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you all like adults and I expect you to behave like adults. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like a child. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down.

(You are about to sit down)

Lecturer: "Don't you have anything to say? Haven't you yet learnt the manners to apologize even?"

You (hanging your head): "Sorry"

Lecturer: "Good Lord, typical - next I am going to have to teach you to say please and thank you."

You: "enough...that's enough now! I have already apologized to you. This is extremely rude! I understand it was my fault but you can't behave like this."

Or

You: "I really am sorry. It won't happen again. I will make sure I am on time in the future."

.....

Questionnaire प्रश्नावली

(A) Please answer following questions about the incident you have just read. तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या घटनेसंबंधी कृपया पुढील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या.

	Not at all much बिल्कुल नाही अत्यधिक		Somewhat थोडेबहुत			Very	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<p>Do you think you expressed your mind to the lecturer during the incident?</p> <p>वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान प्राध्यापकाला तुम्ही मनातलं स्पष्टपणे बोलून टाकलं असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?</p>							
<p>Do you think you were successful in challenging the lecturer during the incident?</p> <p>वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान तुम्ही प्राध्यापकाच्या वर्तनाला आव्हान देण्यात यशस्वी झालात असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?</p>							
<p>Do you think the treatment you received from the lecturer during the event was wrong?</p> <p>प्राध्यापकाने वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान तुम्हाला दिलेली वागणूक चूक होती असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?</p>							
<p>Do you think the treatment you received from the lecturer during the event was unjust?</p> <p>प्राध्यापकाने वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान तुम्हाला दिलेली वागणूक अन्यायपूर्ण होती असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?</p>							
	Not at all बिल्कुल नाही		Somewhat थोडेबहुत			Very much अत्यधिक	
<p>Do you think the treatment you received from the lecturer during the event was undeserved?</p>							

वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान प्राध्यापकाने तुम्हाला दिलेली वागणूक अतिशय गैरवाजवी होती असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?							
Do you think the treatment you received from the lecturer during the event was illegitimate? वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान प्राध्यापकाने तुम्हाला दिलेली वागणूक अनुचित स्वरूपाची होती असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(B) For each of the following terms, please use the scale below to rate *how you would have felt during the incident* that you have just read about.

पुढील प्रत्येक संज्ञांसाठी, कृपया खाली दिलेले परिमाण वापरून तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या घटनेदरम्यान तुम्हाला कसे वाटेल याचे मूल्यांकन करा आणि योग्य वाटणाऱ्या उतराचा क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करा.

	Not at all बिल्कुल नाही	Somewhat थोडेबहुत					Extremely अत्यधिक
Guilty अपराध भाव जाणवेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Flawed स्वतःत काहीतरी कमी आहे असे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Belittled हीन म्हणून वागवल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy आनंदी वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weak कमजोर वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helpless असहाय वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Devalued अवमूल्यित केल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Remorseful पश्चाताप वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ashamed लज्जित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgraced कलंकित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Powerless शक्तिहीन वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Shame	शरम वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Angry	क्रोधित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Outraged	नियंत्रणाबाहेर प्रक्षोभित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Insulted	अपमानित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Confident	आत्मविश्वास वाढल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Furious	भयंकर संतप्त वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Joyful	हर्षित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disrespected	अनादर/ बेईज्जत वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dishonoured		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	अप्रतिष्ठीत/असम्मानित वाटेल							
Degraded		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	किंमत कमी केल्यासारखे वाटेल							
Humiliated	मानखंडणा वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Assertive	स्वतः दृढ/ठाम असल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Proud	अभिमान वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Irritated	तीव्र चीड वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(C) You have indicated the emotions you would have felt during the incident. Please explain the causes behind feeling/ not feeling following emotions- वरील प्रश्नामध्ये तुम्ही घटनेदरम्यान वाटू शकणाऱ्या भावनांचा निर्देश केला आहे. कृपया खाली दिलेल्या भावनांसंदर्भात त्या वाटण्या/ न वाटण्यामागचे तुमचे कारण कृपया दोन ओळीत स्पष्ट करा.

1) Shame लाज:

2) Anger क्रोध:

(D) Please consider your membership in Dalit group and indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements

कृपया तुमची दलित समाजामधली सदस्यता लक्षात घेवून पुढील विधानांशी तुम्ही कितपत सहमत किंवा असहमत आहात ते नमूद करा.

1. I am a worthy Dalit. मी एक सच्चा दलित आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

2. I don't have much to offer to Dalit group. माझ्याकडे दलित समाजाला देण्यासारखे काहीही नाहीये.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

3. I feel I am a useless member of Dalit group.

मला वाटते की मी दलित समाजासाठी एक निरुपयोगी माणूस आहे.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

4. I feel that I behaved as a true Dalit during classroom incident.

मला वाटते वर्गातील घटनेदरम्यान मी एका सच्चा दलिता प्रमाणे वागलो.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

4. I think my behavior during classroom incident reflected true meaning of Dalitness.

माझ्या मते वर्गातील घटनेदरम्यानचे माझे वर्तन दलित असण्याचा खरा अर्थ दर्शविते.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

5. My behavior during the classroom incident increased the honor of Dalit group.

मला वाटते की वर्गातील घटनेदरम्यानच्या माझ्या वर्तनाने दलित समाजाची मान उंच झाली.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

(E) Using the scale provided, please tell us how willing you would be to engage in following after the incident-

कृपया दिलेले परिमाण वापरून, **वर्गातील घटनेनंतर** तुम्ही पुढील कृती करण्यासाठी कितपत इच्छुक असाल ते आम्हाला सांगा.

1) Get involved in social activities with other Dalits.

इतर दलितांसमवेत सामाजिक कार्यात सहभागी होणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

2) Hide away from other Dalits.

इतर दलितांपासून लपून राहणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

(F) Using the scale provided, please tell us **how willing** you would be to engage in following actions against the lecturer-

कृपया दिलेले परिमाण वापरून, तुम्ही **प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध** पुढील कृती करण्यासाठी कितपत इच्छुक असाल ते आम्हाला सांगा.

1. Go to see the college principal to protest against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाच्या निषेधार्थ महाविद्यालयाच्या प्रिन्सिपलला जावून भेटणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

2. Write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities.

विद्यापीठातल्या पदाधिकाऱ्यांना प्राध्यापकाविरोधात तक्रारीचे पत्र लिहिणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

3. Contact Student representative to protest against the lecturer.

विद्यार्थी प्रतिनिधिमंडळाचा एक सदस्य म्हणून प्राध्यापकाचा निषेध करण्यासाठी विद्यापीठाच्या उपकुलगुरूला भेटायला जाणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

4. Participate in a sit-down protest against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाविरोधातील धरणे आंदोलनात सहभाग घेणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

5. Sign protest petition against the lecturer.

प्राध्यापकाच्या विरोधातील सामूहिक निवेदनावर सही करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

6. Participate in a classroom walkout against the lecturer

प्राध्यापकाविरोधातील क्लासरूम वॉकआउट अर्थात वर्गत्याग करण्याच्या सामूहिक आंदोलनात सहभागी होणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

7. Organise with others to lodge a police complaint under SC/ST prevention of atrocities act against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकाविरोधात एससी/एसटी अत्याचार प्रतिबंधक (अट्रोसिटी) कायदया अंतर्गत पोलिसांमध्ये तक्रार करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

8. Participate with others in causing damage to the college property to protest against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकानिषेधार्थ कॉलेजच्या मालमतेचे नुकसान करणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

9. Participate in collective boycott of exams against the lecturer.

इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकानिषेधार्थ परीक्षेवर सामूहिक बहिष्कार टाकणे.

Very Unwilling 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very Willing

(G) Information about yourself

स्वतःबद्दल माहिती:

- Age वय:
- Sex लिंग:
- Caste जात :
- Religion धर्म:
- Category प्रवर्ग : **SC/ ST/ NT/ OBC/ GEN** (Please tick one)
- Education शिक्षण :
- Father's occupation and education वडिलांचा व्यवसाय आणि शिक्षण :
- Mother's occupation and education आईचा व्यवसाय आणि शिक्षण :

➤ Annual family income कुटुंबाची वार्षिक मिळकत :

(I) Do you have any more comments regarding the incident or your feelings and reactions during it? Please write them on the space provided below.

तुम्हाला वर्गात घडलेल्या प्रसंगासंबंधी, किंवा त्या दरम्यान वाटलेल्या भावना किंवा तुमच्या प्रतिक्रियेविषयी काही सांगायचे आहे का? कृपया तुमची मते खाली दिलेल्या रिकाम्या जागेत लिहा.

***** THANK YOU *****

Appendix 4: Materials Referred in Chapter VII

Appendix 4_a: Study 6 & 7 Additional Scales

Appendix 4_b: Study 6 & 7 Questionnaire

Study 6 & 7: Additional Scales

I) Institutional support for protest by students

1. Institutional support for individual protest by students:

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *Strongly Agree*

- 1) The university authorities treat student complaints against faculty members fairly.
- 2) The university authorities will not hesitate to take action against the lecturer on the basis of a student complaint, if it is justified.
- 3) The university authorities usually ignore student complaints against faculty members. (R)
- 4) The university authorities will be negative towards anyone who complains about a lecturer. (R)

2. Institutional support for collective protest by students:

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *Strongly Agree*

- 1) The university authorities will respect students who take part in a legitimate collective protest.
- 2) The university authorities are sympathetic to the collective protests by students.
- 3) The university authorities treat collective protests by students as a nuisance and a matter of indiscipline. (R)
- 4) The university authorities believe in trampling down the collective protests by students. (R)

II) Meta-perceptions of Group Support:

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 *Strongly Agree*

1. Opinion Support:

- 1) I think other students do not feel the same way about the lecturer as I do. (R)

- 2) I think other students also disagree with the lecturer's behavior.

2. Action Support:

- 1) I think other students will not stand behind me if I were to take action against the lecturer. (R)

- 2) I think I will have support of other students for taking action against the lecturer.

- 3) I think other students will not join me if I were to take action against the lecturer. (R)

Study 6 & 7: Questionnaire



University of St Andrews

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

Project Title

Classroom Experiences among U.K. / Indian students

What is the study about?

We invite you to participate in a research project exploring classroom experiences among U.K. students. This study is being conducted as part of my PhD Thesis in the School of Psychology, University of St. Andrews, UK.

Do I have to take Part?

This information sheet has been written to help you decide if you would like to take part. It is up to you and you alone whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be free to withdraw at any time without providing a reason. You are also free to skip any of the questions.

What would I be required to do?

You will be requested to read a classroom incident and answer some questions related to it. We anticipate it will take approximately 20-30 minutes.

Will my participation be Anonymous and Confidential?

Your responses will be anonymous and only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data that will be kept strictly confidential.

Storage and Destruction of Data Collected

The data we collect will be accessible by the researchers and supervisor involved in this study only. Your data will be stored for a period of at least 3 years before being destroyed. The data will be stored in an unidentifiable format on a secure web server and a computer system.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results may be used in publications; however, none of the data published will be identifiable.

Will I be compensated for this study?

You will have chance to win a £35 Amazon voucher.

Are there any potential risks to taking part?

There are minimal risks to taking part in this study. However, there is a chance that reading the classroom incident study may be upsetting to some people. *Especially, people having history of traumatic experiences in the classroom may get affected. Therefore, if you have any of such experiences which you think would be very painful to remember, we advise you to refrain from participating in the study.* In any case, if you feel you have been affected by your participation at any point in the study and wish to discuss your concerns further, please feel free to contact the researchers (contact information is given in the Participant Debriefing Form).

Questions

You will have the opportunity to ask any questions in relation to this project before completing a Consent Form.

Consent and Approval

This research proposal has been scrutinised and been granted Ethical Approval through the University ethical approval process.

What should I do if I have concerns about this study?

A full outline of the procedures governed by the University Teaching and Research Ethical Committee is available at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/

Contact Details

Researcher: Yashpal Jogdand,

yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk

Supervisor: Stephen Reicher

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प्रकल्प शीर्षक

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

हा अभ्यास कशा संबंधी आहे?

आम्ही आपणाला भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव अभ्यासणाऱ्या या संशोधन प्रकल्पात आमंत्रित करतो. हा अभ्यास स्कूल ऑफ सायकॉलॉजी अँड न्यूरोसायन्स, यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके अंतर्गत माझ्या Ph.D. प्रबंधासाठी घेण्यात येत आहे.

मला भाग घ्यावाच लागेल का?

हे माहिती पत्र तुम्हाला भाग घेण्याविषयीचा निर्णय घेण्यासाठी तयार केलेले आहे. हे फक्त आणि फक्त तुमच्या मनावर आहे की तुम्हाला भाग घ्यावयाचा आहे किंवा नाही. जरी तुम्ही भाग घेतला तरी तुम्ही त्यातून कधीही, कुठलेही कारण न देता, माघार घेवू शकता. याशिवाय तुम्हाला अडचण असल्यास तुम्ही कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर नाकारू शकता.

मला काय करावे लागेल?

तुम्हाला महाविद्यालयीन वर्गामध्ये घडलेली एक घटना वाचावी लागेल आणि त्यासंबंधी काही प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्यावी लागतील. आमच्या अंदाजानुसार तुम्हाला यासाठी जास्तीत जास्त 20-30 मिनिटे लागतील.

माझा सहभाग हा अनामिक (Anonymous) आणि गोपनीय (Confidential) राहिल का?

तुमचा प्रतिसाद हा अनामिक राहिल आणि डाटा (data- संकलित केलेली माहिती) अतिशय काटेकोरपणे गोपनीय ठेवला जाईल फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना तो उपलब्ध असेल.

डाटा संग्रह आणि विनाश

संकलित केलेला डाटा फक्त या अभ्यासाचे संशोधक आणि पर्यवेक्षक यांना उपलब्ध असेल. तुमचा डाटा नष्ट करण्यापूर्वी अधिकाधिक तीन वर्षे संग्रहीत ठेवला जाईल. हा डाटा अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक एका संगणकात संग्रहीत करण्यात येईल.

या संशोधन अभ्यासात सापडलेल्या परिणामांचे काय होईल?

परिणाम प्रकाशनाकरिता वापरण्यात येतील. परंतु, प्रकाशित झालेला डाटा हा ओळखता येणार नाही.

मला या संशोधनात सहभागी होवून काय मिळेल?

तुम्हाला या संशोधनात सहभाग घेवून प्रत्यक्षात कुठलाही आर्थिक लाभ होणार नाही. परंतु, तुमच्या सहभागाने तुम्ही समाजातील अत्यंत महत्वाच्या समस्यांची उकल करण्यात मदत कराल.

सहभाग घेण्यात काही संभाव्य जोखम आहे का?

या अभ्यासात सहभागी होण्यात अतिशय अल्पतम जोखम आहे. परंतु, शक्यता नाकारता येत नाही की काही लोकांना महाविद्यालयातील घटना वाचून अस्वस्थ वाटेल. विशेषतः ज्यांना वर्गामध्ये काही कटू अनुभव आहेत त्यांना या अभ्यासात त्रास होण्याचा संभव आहे. यास्तव ज्यांना असे अनुभव असतील आणि ते आठवल्याने स्वतःला त्रास होईल असे वाटत असेल त्यांनी या अभ्यासामध्ये भाग घेण्याचे कृपया टाळावे. यदाकदाचित, तुम्हाला सहभागानंतर अस्वस्थ वाटले आणि तुमची त्याविषयी चर्चा करण्याची इच्छा असेल तर निःसंकोचपणे संशोधकाशी संपर्क साधा (संपर्कासंदर्भात माहिती खाली देण्यात आली आहे.)

प्रश्न

सहभागाची संमती नोंदवण्यापूर्वी तुम्हाला तुमच्या सर्व शंकांचे समाधान करून घेण्याची संधी मिळेल.

अनुमति आणि मान्यता

या संशोधन अभ्यासास यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ सेंट अँड्रूज, स्कॉटलंड, यूके यांनी परिनिरीक्षण करून नैतिक मान्यता (ethical approval) दिलेली आहे.

मला या अभ्यासासंबंधी काही तक्रार असल्यास काय करावे?

www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/complaints/ या संकेत स्थळावर तक्रारीच्या प्रक्रियेविषयी सर्व माहिती उपलब्ध आहे

Contact Details- संपर्क

Researcher संशोधक: *Yashpal Jogdand*, Supervisor पर्यवेक्षक: *Prof. Stephen Reicher*

yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk

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Project Title

A Study of College Experiences among Indian students

भारतीय विद्यार्थ्यांचे महाविद्यालयीन अनुभव: एक अभ्यास

Researcher(s) Name(s)

Supervisors Names



Participant Consent Form Coded Data

Yashpal Jogdand,
yaj@st-andrews.ac.uk

Prof. Stephen Reicher,
sdr@st-andrews.ac.uk

The University of St Andrews attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before signing this form. Your signature confirms that you are happy to participate in the study.

What is Coded Data?

The term 'Coded Data' refers to when data collected by the researcher is identifiable as belonging to a particular participant but is kept with personal identifiers removed. The researcher(s) retain a 'key' to the coded data which allows individual participants to be re-connected with their data at a later date. The un-coded data is kept confidential to the researcher(s) (and Supervisors). If consent is given to archive data (see consent section of form) the participant may be contacted in the future by the original researcher(s) or other researcher(s).

Consent

The purpose of this form is to ensure that you are willing to take part in this study and to let you understand what it entails. Signing this form does not commit you to anything you do not wish to do and you are free to withdraw at any stage.

Material gathered during this research will be coded and kept confidentially by the researcher with only the researcher and supervisor having access. It will be securely stored on *surveygizmo* web server and a computer system for a period of 3 years.

Please answer each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

I have read and understood the information sheet.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.

I understand that my data will be confidential and that it will contain identifiable personal data but that will be stored with personal identifiers removed by the researcher and that only the researcher/supervisor will be able to decode this information as and when necessary.

I understand that my data will be stored for a period of 3 years before being destroyed

I have been made fully aware of the potential risks associated with this research and am satisfied with the information provided.

I agree to take part in the study

या अभ्यासात सहभाग घेण्यास माझी संमती आहे.

Yes

No

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and your consent is required before you can participate in this research. If you decide at a later date that data should be destroyed we will honour your request in writing.

Signature

Date

विशेष सूचना

हा अभ्यास त्यामध्ये सहभागी होणाऱ्या कुठल्याही व्यक्तीचे व्यक्तिगत “मानसशास्त्रीय मूल्यमापन” करत नाही. या अभ्यासात विचारलेल्या कुठल्याही प्रश्नाचे उत्तर चूक अथवा बरोबर नाही. आम्हाला या अभ्यासात केवळ तुमच्या प्रामाणिक विचारांचा आणि भावनांचा प्रतिसाद अपेक्षित आहे. त्यामुळे मनावर कुठलेही दडपण न ठेवता या अभ्यासात भाग घ्या. तुम्हाला कुठल्याही प्रश्नासंबंधी शंका उद्भवल्यास निःसंकोचपणे संशोधकास विचारा. प्रश्नावलि मराठी आणि इंग्रजी दोन्ही भाषांमध्ये आहे.

सूचना: पुढील वृत्तांत एका सत्य घटनेवर आधारित असून ती घटना तुमच्यासारख्याच एका

व्यक्तीसोबत घडली आहे. *हा प्रसंग विद्यापीठातल्या एका विद्यार्थ्यासोबत घडला जो वर्गामध्ये उशिरा*

आला आणि प्राध्यापकाने लिहून आणावयास सांगितलेला निबंधसुद्धा तो विद्यार्थी जमा करू शकला

नाही. कृपया पुढील वृत्तांत अतिशय काळजीपूर्वक वाचा आणि वाचत असताना असे समजा कि जणू काही हि घटना तुमच्याचसोबत घडते आहे. **कल्पना करा कि तुम्हाला या घटनेदरम्यान काय वाटेल, कुठले विचार मनात येतील, कुठल्या भावना जाणवतील.** संपूर्ण वृत्तांत अशा पध्दतीने तुम्ही वाचल्यानंतर कृपया पान उलटा आणि पुढील पानांवरील प्रश्नावलीतील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या.

Instruction: *The following account is based on a true event that happened with a person just like you. The incident took place in a university with a student who was late for tutorial and who also failed to submit the required assignment. Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, visualize yourself in the same situation. Imagine what you would be feeling and thinking during the event if it were happening to you. Then, after reading the account, go to the next page and answer the questionnaire items that follow.*

(तुम्ही वर्गामध्ये उशिरा प्रवेश करता. वर्ग सुरू होवून जवळपास विस मिनिटे झाली आहेत. प्राध्यापक शिकवत असतात. तुम्ही वर्गात प्रवेश केल्याबरोबर सांगता की वेळेवर झोपेतून उठता आले नाही म्हणून उशीर झाला आणि प्राध्यापकाची माफी मागता. वर्गात त्यादिवशी सांगितलेला निबंध पुरा करता आला नाही म्हणून सुद्धा तुम्ही माफी मागता.)

प्राध्यापक (तुमच्याकडे पाहत): हे तुम्हा दलित लोकांचं नेहमीचच! अगदी टिपिकल! इतक्या वर्षांमध्ये मी दलितांसारखी दुसरी बेजबाबदार जात पहिली नाही. तुम्हा लोकांना वेळेची शिस्त नाही, तुमचं काम कच्चं आणि कुठल्याही गोष्टीसाठी तुमचा भरवंसा देता येणार नाही. हे खरोखर फार शोचनीय आहे. अजूनही तुम्हाला समजत नाही का की तुम्ही आता विद्यापीठात वावरता आहात, बालवाडीत नाही! अरेरे किती दयनीय! अगदी काठोकाठ आळस दाटलाय तुम्हा लोकांत! तुम्हाला वाटतं इतरांनी तुमच्या पाठीमागे पळावे, तुमच्या लक्षात आणून द्यावे तुम्हाला वेळेला काय काम करायचे आहे, कुठं उपस्थित

राहायचे आहे. अगदी कानामागचा मळ काढायचेही तुम्हा लोकांना कोणीतरी सांगायची गरज भासली तर मला मुळीच आश्चर्य वाटणार नाही. मी तुम्हाला प्रौढांसारखे वागवायला पाहतो आणि माझी अपेक्षा असते की तुम्ही प्रौढांसारखे वागाल. पण तुम्ही जर असेच वागणार असाल तर मग मलाही तुम्हाला लहान लेकरांप्रमाणे वागवावे लागेल. ते तुला हवे आहे का? आता जा आणि जागेवर बैस.

(तुम्ही जागेवर बसणार इतक्यात)

प्राध्यापक: “तुला काहीच म्हणायचे नाही का? माफी मागायचा साधा शिष्टाचारही अजून तूला कळत नाही का?”

तुम्ही *(खाली मान घालून)*: “सॉरी.”

प्राध्यापक: “धन्य देवा! अगदी टिपिकल! आता तुला प्लीज आणि थँक यु म्हणायचेही मला शिकवायचे आहे तर!

तुम्ही: “बस्स! खूप झालं आता. मी अगोदरच तुमची माफी मागितली आहे. हा तर उद्धटपणा झाला. मान्य आहे माझं चुकलं पण तुम्ही असे वागू शकत नाहीत.”

Or

तुम्ही: सॉरी... खरंच सॉरी, पुन्हा असे होणार नाही. इथून पुढे मी वेळेवर सर्व काम करीन.

(You come into a tutorial late. Twenty minutes of the tutorial has already passed. You give apologies for having overslept. You also apologize for not having done the required essay assignment)

Lecturer (looking at you): "This is absolutely typical of you Dalit people. In all my years, I have never come across any castes as useless as you lot. Your timekeeping is poor, your work is poor, and you just can't be relied upon. It really is pathetic. Don't you people understand that you are at a university, not a nursery! Quite pathetic! Nowadays you people have become lazy! You seem to expect someone else to run after you, reminding you what you need to do, where you need to be. I wouldn't be surprised if you need someone to tell you to clean behind your ears. I try to treat you all like adults and I expect you to behave like adults. But if you behave like this then I may have to treat you like a child. Is that what you want? Now go and sit down.

(You are about to sit down)

Lecturer: "Don't you have anything to say? Haven't you yet learnt the manners to apologize even?"

You (hanging your head): "Sorry"

Lecturer: "Good Lord, typical - next I am going to have to teach you to say please and thank you."

You: "enough...that's enough now! I have already apologized to you. This is extremely rude! I understand it was my fault but you can't behave like this."

Or

You: "I really am sorry. It won't happen again. I will make sure I am on time in the future."



प्रश्नावली

(A) Please answer following questions about the incident you have just read. तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या घटनेसंबंधी कृपया पुढील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या.

	Not at all		Somewhat			Very much	
	बिल्कुल नाही		थोडेबहुत			अत्यधिक	
Do you think you expressed yourself to the lecturer during the incident? वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान प्राध्यापकाला तुम्ही मनातलं स्पष्टपणे बोलून टाकलं असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do you think you were successful in challenging the lecturer during the incident? वर्गातल्या घटनेदरम्यान तुम्ही प्राध्यापकाच्या वर्तनाला आव्हान देण्यात यशस्वी झालात असे तुम्हाला कितपत वाटते?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(B) For each of the following terms, please use the scale below to rate **how you would have felt during the incident** that you have just read about.

पुढील प्रत्येक संज्ञांसाठी, कृपया खाली दिलेले परिमाण वापरून तुम्ही नुकत्याच वाचलेल्या **घटनेदरम्यान तुम्हाला कसे वाटेल** याचे मूल्यांकन करा आणि योग्य वाटणाऱ्या उत्तराचा क्रमांक चिन्हांकित (✓) करा.

	Not at all		Somewhat			Extremely	
	बिल्कुल नाही		थोडेबहुत			अत्यधिक	
1. Flawed स्वतःत काहीतरी कमी आहे असे जाणवेल.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Belittled हीन म्हणून वागवल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Made to feel small and insignificant तुम्ही लहान आणि क्षुद्र आहात असे वाटायला मजबूर केल्यासारखे वाटले	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Abased बेईज्जत वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Made to feel worthless तुम्ही तुच्छ आहात असे वाटायला मजबूर केल्यासारखे वाटले	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Devalued अवमूल्यित केल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Proud अभिमान वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Ashamed लज्जित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Disgraced शरम वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Angry क्रोधित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Outraged तीव्र चीड वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Insulted अपमानित वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Confident आत्मविश्वास वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Furious भयंकर संतप्त वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Wish to hide face चेहरा लपवण्याची इच्छा झाली.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Self-assured स्वाभिमान वाटेल.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Humiliated मानहानि जाणवेल.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Wish to disappear गायब/अंतर्धान होण्याची इच्छा झाली.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Assertive स्वतः दृढ/ठाम असल्यासारखे वाटेल	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

C. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following items regarding views of the university/college authorities. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज

पदाधिकाऱ्यांविषयी असलेल्या पुढील विधानांशी तुम्ही कितपत सहमत/ असहमत आहात ते नमूद करा.

1	The university authorities treat student complaints against faculty members fairly. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे विद्यार्थ्यांच्या प्राध्यापकाबद्दलच्या तक्रारी निष्पक्षपणे हाताळतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
2	The university authorities will not hesitate to take action against the lecturer on the basis of a student complaint, if it is justified. विद्यार्थ्यांची प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध तक्रार जर न्याय्य असेल तर विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध कार्यवाही करायला कचरत नाहीत.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
3	The university authorities usually ignore student complaints against faculty members. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे विद्यार्थ्यांच्या प्राध्यापकाबद्दलच्या तक्रारी सहसा दुर्लक्षित करतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
4	The university authorities will be negative towards anyone who complains about a lecturer. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे प्राध्यापकाबद्दल तक्रारी करणाऱ्या विद्यार्थ्यांविषयी नकारात्मक होतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
5	The university authorities will respect students who take part in a legitimate collective protest. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे न्याय्य सामूहिक प्रतिकारात भाग घेणाऱ्या विद्यार्थ्यांचा आदर करतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत

6	The university authorities treat collective protests by students as a nuisance and a matter of indiscipline. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे विद्यार्थ्यांच्या सामूहिक प्रतिकाराला एक डोकेदुखी आणि बेशिस्त वर्तणूक म्हणून हाताळतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
7	The university authorities are sympathetic to the collective protests by students. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी विद्यार्थ्यांच्या सामूहिक प्रतिकाराबद्दल सहानुभूती बाळगतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
8	The university authorities believe in trampling down the collective protests by students. विद्यापीठ/ कॉलेज पदाधिकारी हे विद्यार्थ्यांच्या सामूहिक प्रतिकाराला निष्ठुरतेने मोडून टाकण्यावर विश्वास ठेवतात.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत

D. Now please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following items regarding views of other students in the class/tutorial. इतर विद्यार्थ्यांच्या मताविषयी असलेल्या पुढील विधानांशी तुम्ही कितपत सहमत/ असहमत आहात ते नमूद करा.

1	I think other students will not stand behind me if I were to take action against the lecturer. मला वाटते वर्गातील इतर विद्यार्थी माझ्या पाठीमागे उभा राहणार नाहीत जर मी प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध काही कृती करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
2	I think other students do not feel the same way about the lecturer as I do. प्राध्यापकाविषयी जे मला वाटते, ते वर्गातील इतर विद्यार्थ्यांना वाटत नाही.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत

3	I think I will have support of other students for taking action against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध काही कृती करण्यासाठी वर्गातील इतर विद्यार्थी मला पाठिंबा देतील.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
4	I think other students also disagree with the lecturer's behavior. मला वाटते इतर विद्यार्थीही प्राध्यापकाच्या वर्तणुकीशी असहमत आहेत.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत
5	I think other students will not join me if I were to take action against the lecturer. मला वाटते इतर विद्यार्थी माझ्यासोबत सामील होणार नाहीत जर मी प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध काही कृती करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला.	1 Strongly Disagree खंबीरपणे असहमत	2 Disagree असहमत	3 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत असहमत	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Disagree थोडेबहुत सहमत	6 Agree सहमत	7 Strongly Agree खंबीरपणे सहमत

E. Using the scale provided, please tell us how willing you would be to engage in following actions against the lecturer- कृपया दिलेले परिमाण वापरून, तुम्ही

प्राध्यापकाविरुद्ध पुढील कृती करण्यासाठी कितपत इच्छुक असाल ते आम्हाला सांगा.

1	Go to see the College Principal to protest against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाच्या निषेधार्थ महाविद्यालयाच्या प्रिन्सिपलला जाऊन भेटणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
2	Write a letter of complaint against the lecturer to the university authorities. विद्यापीठातल्या पदाधिकाऱ्यांना प्राध्यापकाविरोधात तक्रारीचे पत्र लिहिणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
3	Contact the student representative to protest against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाच्या निषेधार्थ विद्यार्थी प्रतिनिधीशी संपर्क साधणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक

4	Let down the tyres on the lecturer's vehicle. प्राध्यापकाच्या गाडीचे टायर पंक्चर करणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
5	Write insulting things about the lecturer on the college noticeboard. प्राध्यापकाबद्दल बदनामीकारक मजकूर कॉलेज नोटीसबोर्डावर लिहिणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
6	Visit the vice chancellor of the university as a member of the student delegation to protest against the lecturer. विद्यार्थी प्रतिनिधिमंडळाचा एक सदस्य म्हणून प्राध्यापकाचा निषेध करण्यासाठी विद्यापीठाच्या उपकुलगुरूला भेटायला जाणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
7	Participate in collective boycott of assessment against the lecturer. इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकानिषेधार्थ परीक्षेवर सामूहिक बहिष्कार टाकणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
8	Participate in a black armband protest against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाच्या विरोधात काळी रिबिन हाताला बांधण्याच्या सामूहिक आंदोलनात सहभाग घेणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
9	Participate in a classroom walkout against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाच्या विरोधातील क्लासरूम वॉकआउट अर्थात वर्गत्याग करण्याच्या सामूहिक आंदोलनात सहभागी होणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
10	Sign protest petition against the lecturer. प्राध्यापकाच्या विरोधातील सामूहिक निवेदनावर सही करणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक

11	Participate in a sit-down protest against the lecturer प्राध्यापकाच्या विरोधातील धरणे आंदोलनात सहभाग घेणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
12	Participate with others in causing damage to the university property to protest against the lecturer. इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापकाच्या निषेधार्थ कॉलेजच्या मालमतेचे नुकसान करणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक
13	Organise with others to lodge a police complaint under SC/ST prevention of atrocities act against the lecturer. इतरांसोबत मिळून प्राध्यापका विरोधात एससी/एसटी अत्याचार प्रतिबंधक (अट्रोसिटी) कायद्यांतर्गत पोलीस स्टेशन मध्ये तक्रार करणे.	1 Very Unwilling अतिशय अनिच्छुक	2 Unwilling अनिच्छुक	3 Somewhat Unwilling थोडेबहुत अनिच्छुक	4 Neutral तटस्थ	5 Somewhat Willing थोडेबहुत इच्छुक	6 Willing इच्छुक	7 Very Willing अतिशय इच्छुक

(H) Information about yourself:

स्वतःबद्दल माहिती:

Age वय:

Sex लिंग:

Caste जात:

Education:

Category प्रवर्ग: SC/ ST/ NT/ OBC/ GEN (Please

tick one)

***** THANK YOU *****