Chapter-4  
Backward Castes -The Question of Mobilization

Though the powerful contradictions exist between social, economic and political system vs. the backward castes, the mobilization has got fragmented due to internal contradictions like heterogeneous character and social stratification, class differences and political accommodation of few backward castes elite to prevent alternative political platform and to marginalize the majority poor backward castes. But attempts are being made since pre-independence period to mobilize the backward castes through four instruments like (i) Caste associations, (ii) Federation of caste associations or Backward Castes association, (iii) Political parties and (iv) Non-party organizations. Caste associations, which came into existence during pre-independence period, while working for their caste interests helped in emergence of Backward Classes Associations. The Backward Classes Associations or federation of caste associations emerged in the post-independence period. This chapter analyses the trends and limitations of these organizations and political parties and non-party organizations in the Backward Castes mobilization.

In this context the approaches to the study of social mobilization developed by Rudolph and Rudolph Applied to the study of political mobilization in TamilNad, i.e., Fission, Fusion and Decompression model, Hardgrave\(^2\) study of the political mobilization of Nadars in three phases, such as the parochial, integrated and differentiated and Rajni Kothari\(^3\) model i.e., the secular, Integration and Ideological aspects or the associational, federal and


3 See Introduction in Rajni Kothari (ed), *Caste in Indian Politics*, Orient Lonman, New Delhi, 1970.
factional aspects are applied in the study of the role of caste in modern politics. The fourth instrument i.e., non-party organizations or grass roots level social movements is not discussed in these works, except Rajni Kothari discussed the rise of non-party or grass roots movements in some other work\(^4\) and relevant in the present context.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph the membership in a caste association is based both on birth and on choice: one must be born into a particular *jati* to qualify, but one must then choose to identify oneself with the association. The ascriptive element strongly suggests that there is a natural limit to the Para community's capacity to approximate a voluntary association. It can be argued that, however, far it may lead those who identify with it from the narrow confines of the traditional face-face community, which cannot lead them beyond ascriptive boundaries. The individual can never be fully free to define himself, to make his own destiny, nor can he/she, as a result, act politically in ways that are untainted by primordial group parochialism and selfishness.

Recent developments challenge this view. Ascription may not be so immutable; for India the choice may not be confined to having a society with or without some form of caste sentiment and structure. To be born with a social identity whose boundaries, norms, and culture are changing suggests that ascription is mutable. The changes that caste has and is undergoing are carrying it beyond traditional ascriptive definitions. These changes include internal differentiation (fission) and the operation of integrative institutions upon it; federation of castes (fusion) into larger associations that express shared interests, symbols, and norms; and the decompression of caste's village home.

Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr studied the political mobilization of the Nadars in three stages, such as the parochial, the integrated, and the differentiated political cultures. The parochial political culture of a caste is essentially that of tradition.

While sharing a common economic position, with little internal differentiation, the caste is nevertheless fragmented by the relationships of dependence, which divide its members into opposing factions. In the multi-caste village, the relationship between each caste is prescribed through caste ranking. A single caste village, while lacking the elaborate distinction of ritual usages, may be taken as functionally equivalent, in so far as the economic groups, (often him or herself endogamous sub-castes,) are hierarchically ranked and the structure of the village is characterized by factionalism of economically dependent client groups.

The integrated political culture represents a high degree of cohesion and solidarity within the caste. The breakdown of economic dependence on other castes and the extension of horizontal caste ties over a wide geographic area give the caste a new solidarity. In the first stages of the integrated culture, there continues to be high caste ranking and a minimal differentiation within the single caste itself. While the elaboration of caste ranking continues to act as an agent to enforce solidarity within the caste, under the impact of economic change, there gradually emerges internal differentiation. While a multiplicity of factors affects the differentiation, which arises within a caste in the process of change, such as education, communication exposure, and general conflict; the most salient factor in differentiation, however, is the economic. The integrated political culture often gives rise to the emergence of associations for the social, economic and political uplift of the community. Ironically, the association itself inevitably contributes to the disintegration of community solidarity insofar as its goals are attained.

Differentiation within the caste community fundamentally affects the elaboration of caste ranking. The traditional correspondence between economic position and ritual status loses all meaning, for within each community there becomes available an increasingly wide range of occupations and economic positions. The demands of deference to new economic status erode the hierarchy
of ritual purity. With the decline in the elaboration of the caste ranking and the increasing differentiation within each caste, the political culture of the community is affected accordingly, rendering a breakdown in the caste solidarity in favour of new inter-caste associations. As economic interests within the community are differentiated and as the political culture becomes increasingly secular, so the political identity of the individual reflects cross cutting vertical and horizontal ties and a plurality of commitments, associations, and interests. The loosened moorings of caste and tradition, while freeing the individual for the possibility of association along class lines, also renders him available to the flux of ambivalence, apathy and anomie. The differentiated political culture represents, decline in the former homogeneity of the community, but provides the foundation for the emergence of a political culture reflecting identities based on economic interests and growing political awareness.

In view of Rajni Kothari Secular aspect emphasizing caste as a stratification system in which distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals, caste as a system of conflict and interaction has received sparse attention. Yet the fact is that factionalism and caste cleavages, patterns of alignment and realignment among the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.

Integration aspect of the caste system is that it not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group in to which he is born but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration. This aspect is important in understanding the structural impact of democratic politics.

The ideological aspect is that the democratic politics of necessity led to such an involvement of the traditional structure and its leadership. Two results followed. The caste system provided structural and ideological bases to the
leadership for political mobilization, providing it with both a segmental organization and an identification system on which support could be crystallized. Second, the leadership was forced to make concessions to local opinion, take its cue from the consensus that existed as regards claims to power, articulate political competition on traditional lines and, in turn, organize castes for economic and political purposes.

With regard to the rise of grass roots level social movements or non-party movements, Kothari says that they came into existence due to the failure of political parties and bureaucracy in solving the problems of the poor, subaltern communities. These grass roots organizations are occupying the neglected space in the society. They are non-electoral organizations and renders voluntary service. The important issues taken by these organizations are concentrating on the issues like land, women, dalit, backward castes, and tribals. They work at the local areas while putting pressure on the system to react in favour of the poor.

Though three approaches are relevant, Rajni Kothari way of understanding of the role of various instruments of mobilization in modern period, theoretically, sounds. The brief summary of these approaches is as follows

In modern politics an individual alone cannot play the decisive role in shaping and sharing of the power and policies

To shape and share the power and policies group mobilization is pre-requisite for the modern democratic politics, therefore, caste providing numerical strength for the association

These associations might be ascriptive and parochial by nature but got the capacity to change itself and instruments for the change.

The common interests of the similar caste associations in terms of hierarchy, social status, economic position, functional equality, and occupational interdependence lead to coming together of the various caste associations and form as the federation of castes and to have a solidarity
Within the caste federations differences emergences due to education, communication, economic aspect etc will break solidarity for the rise of a political culture reflecting identities based on economic interests and growing political awareness and

Out of the new political awareness, the political leadership emerges with the structural and ideological base of the caste for mobilization to participate in the democratic politics, where political parties are the means.

When the political parties and institutions of the State neglect the subaltern people lead to the rise of the grass roots organizations or non-party movements.

In the light of these theoretical inputs, the strategical instruments of the backward castes mobilization in Andhra Pradesh are studied. These instruments are caste associations, federation of caste associations, political parties and grass roots organizations.

1. Caste Association:

According to Rajni Kothari Politics is a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of power for the realization of certain goals, and its process is one of identifying and manipulating existing and emerging allegiances in order to mobilize and consolidate positions. The important thing is organization and articulation of support through the organizations in which the masses are to be found. It follows that where politics is mass-based the point is to articulate support through the organizations. It follows that where the caste structure provides one of the principal organizational clusters along which the bulk of the population is found to live, politics must strive to organize through such a structure.

In view of Rudolph and Rudolph caste associations are the Para communities that enable members of castes to pursue social mobility, political power, and economic advantage. The emergence of caste associations capable of effecting structural and cultural changes that Marx saw. Particularly important
for the spread of new ideas and systems of interaction, improved means of communication, western education, and the subjective and objective effects of new economic opportunities associated with the growth of a market economy and the penetration of State economic activity. On the one hand, these forces undermined the hold of the traditional culture and social system as it was organized in relatively autonomous units; on the other hand, they created the conditions under which local sub-castes (Jatis) could be linked together in geographically extended associations. Opportunities outside the local *Jajmani* (patron-client) economy provided the material bases and new sensibilities that enables *Jatis*, or sections of them, to raise themselves. Caste associations linking the more advanced sections of similar jatis undertook to upgrade the position of the caste in the social hierarchy. They pressed for the extension of privileges and rights by adopting the attributes and emulating the behavior of higher castes and by turning to the State for recognition of their claims.5

When the caste associations turned to the State for furthering their purposes, their initial claims were aimed at raising caste status in terms of the values and structure of the caste order. But as liberal and democratic ideas penetrated to wider sections of the population, the aims of the Caste association began to shift from sacred to secular goals. Instead of demanding entry into temples, prestigious caste names, and "honorable" occupations and histories in the census, the associations began to press for places in the economy, new administrative and educational institutions and for political representation. Independence and the realization of political democracy intensified these new


6 Pauline Mahar Kolenda, "Toward a Model of the Hindu Jajmani system," Human organization, xx, spring, 1963, pp. 11-31

7 Rudolph&Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition political Development in India, Orient Long man, 1967, Delhi, p.31
concerns. Caste associations attempted to have their members nominated for elective office, working through existing parties or forming their own; to maximize caste representation and influence in State cabinets and other governing bodies; and use ministerial, legislative, and administrative channels to press for action relating to caste objectives in the welfare, educational, and economic realms. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the caste association in the contemporary era, however, has been its capacity to organize what appears to be a politically illiterate mass electorate. Doing so enabled it to realize in some measure its newly formed aspirations and to educate its members in the methods and values of political democracy.

The caste association is no longer an ascriptive association in the sense in which caste viewed as jati. It has carried features of the Voluntary association. Membership in caste associations is not purely ascriptive; birth in the caste is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for membership. One must also "join" through some conscious act involving various degrees of identification-ranging from providing financial support to an association's educational, welfare, or commercial activities, to attending caste association meetings, to voting for candidates supported by caste association leaders. The caste association has generally both a potential and an actual membership; when it speaks, it often claims to speak for a much wider group than its active followers. Although the purpose of caste is wide-ranging and diffuse, affecting every aspect of members' life paths, the functions and interests of caste associations have become increasingly specialized. The traditional authority and functions of the jati are declining, but the caste association's concern with control or influence those who hold political power and thereby allocate resources, opportunity and honor has revived and extended caste loyalties in changing contexts. At the same time, its followers tend in the early phases of the caste association to retain the more intense and exclusive loyalties and identities characteristic of ascriptive associations and to be, as a consequence, less subject to the crosscutting pressures
that affect members of more strictly voluntary associations. With the passage of
time and internal differential within the association, however, loyalties are
diluted and the membership becomes more amenable to political mobilization
from without.

Since modern means of transportation and communication have had the
effect of broadening caste consciousness and structures, binding together jatis
that had been relatively autonomous on to geographically extended associations,
caste associations today usually act as parallel administrative and political units-
States, districts, talquas, and municipalities whose office and powers of legislation
or decision making are the object of caste association efforts. Some caste
associations have even reached to substantial cross-regional constituencies.

Leadership in the caste association is no longer in the hands of those
qualified by heredity- the senior or more able members of the lineage, which
traditionally supplied jati leadership. The existence of association leaders is
conditioned by their ability to articulate and represent the purpose; they must be
literate in the ways of modern administration and the new democratic politics.
Men whose educational and occupational backgrounds assure these skills helped
to form caste associations and the more "democratic" of them occupy leadership
positions. The new leaders stand in a more accountable and responsible
relationship to their followers because their authority depends to a great extent
on their capacity to represent and make good the association's purposes.

Finally, at the organizational level, the caste association abandons the
latent structure of caste for the manifest structure characteristic of the voluntary
association. It has offices, membership, incipient bureaucratization, publications,
and a quasi-legislative process expressed through conferences, delegates, and

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8 For the most influential contemporary analysis of multiple group membership and crosscutting
pressures that arise from them, see David Truman, The Governmental process, New York, 1951.

9 Rudolph & Rudolph, Modernity of Tradition Political Development in India, Oriental Long man,
1967, Delhi, P.32
resolutions. On the other hand, the shared sense of culture, character, and status tends to create solidarity of a higher order than is usually found among more rigid voluntary associations where multiplicity of social roles and the plurality of member's values and interests tend to dilute the intensity of commitment and identification. The Para community contributes to fundamental structural and cultural change by providing an adaptive institution in which traditional and modern social features can meet and fuse.

The important implications from the above theoretical framework are that the caste associations are the instruments of organization, mobilization, and articulation. They are instruments to train the leadership and provide the financial support and other activities and also instruments of spreading ideas through its publications. In the line of these implications the changing profile of the caste associations in Andhra Pradesh is examined. For this purpose, deliberately three caste associations are chosen, such as Munnurukapu, Padmashali and Gouds or toddy tappers for the analysis.

Though there are many caste based associations, for instance the Yadav, Vaddera, the fishermen, Medara etc., these associations are not chosen to discussion due to non-availability of the literature. Another strong reason for choosing these caste associations is that they have long history of mobilization started much before independence, while taking part in the anti-jagirdari, anti-zamindari, and anti-colonial movements. Some of the castes in the backward castes are not yet started mobilizing, for example Neelishikaris, Kummari (pottery), Naibrahmin, Pusala, Uppari, Gajula, Pamulavallu, etc. Therefore, the backward castes may be classified into two categories one is mobilized and another one is non-mobilized castes. That is why here three castes, which have history of mobility, are taken for the illustration, for that matter under the heading of the role of caste associations in the social mobility one can take any caste including either upper caste associations or lower caste associations, but here in this context only backward castes are relevant.
Munnurakapus are, basically, agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers and listed now in the backward classes, consisting a major section of the population in Telangana. Their presence in the remaining other two regions is almost nil. According to the census of 1910 in the Nizam State, their population was 1,83,356. At a time when the people’s level of consciousness was at its lowest ebb on account of the regimentation of the monarchic-cum-feudal order, a set of dedicated leaders worked strenuously for the cause of toiling masses in general and Munnurkapus in particular. This included Bojjam Narasimhulu, Tunga Sambaiah and Erram Satyanarayana, who responded to the then contemporary conditions and movements.

In fact, Bojjam Narasimhulu could really be regarded as one of the most distinguished founding fathers of the Munnurkapu movement in particular and Backward Castes movement in general in the state of Hyderabad. He joined the Congress party in 1920 to fight against the colonial /Nizam rule and also worked throughout his life for the social, economic and political advancement of the Munnurkapu.

The genesis of the Munnurkapu movement in the erstwhile Hyderabad state can be traced back to the first conference on 31st May - 1st June 1935 at Hyderabad. The first Munnurkapu conference concerned itself with social, educational backwardness, economic deprivation and social evils like dowry system, child marriages, indiscriminate pomp in spending money, drinking, enforced widowhood etc. The Conference also addressed itself to the spread of literacy and improvement of economic position. The Munnurkapu movement started a process of socialization of their caste. It worked in unison with the Nizam Rashtra Andhra Maha Sabha Movement.

With the initiation of Bojjam Narasihmulu, Munnurkapus raised donations and helped construction of "Munnurkapu Bhavan" and set up Munnurkapu Trust Fund at Hyderabad to provide the hostel facilities, scholarships, books etc for the Munnurkapu students. The regular meetings and training camps for their caste were also conducted in the Bhavan. While working for the reforms among Munnurkapus he also took the initiative to start the Hyderabad state Backward Classes Association in 1954. His whole life was, thus dedicated to the cause of the liberation of the country, backward castes in general and Munnurkapu in particular for the awakening and organizing them.

Due to the efforts of Munnurkapu Association in social reform, education facilities, training camps, spreading ideas through media and continuous motivation, a large section of them entered the politics, business, real estate, finance, bureaucracy, academics etc in the post-independent period. In politics, the Munnurukapus occupied top position among the backward castes in Telangana region such as village sarpanches, Mandal Presidents, Zilla Parishad Chairmen, M.L.As and M.Ps of the Congress, TeluguDesham and other parties. Shiva Shankar rose to the level of Union minister, Governor and at present the president of the All India Congress Committee Other Backward Classes Cell and Hanumantha Rao is the secretary of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) and D. Srinivas, the Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) president.

Almost contemporaneous to this is, another leading backward castes, weavers of the state organized Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham. One of the prominent fighters and stalwart backward castes movement leaders, Konda Laxman Bapuji started taking active part in the affairs of the Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham right from 1939 onwards. Konda Laxman came into contact with the Padmashali Youth Organization, the caste, with the other Backward Castes were subjected to various kind of atrocities by the then authorities, particularly in the extraction of the forced labour by the Vatandars, Zamindars and also by the Government officials. Konda Laxman with the help of a few
workers, started organizing Padmashali Youth even touring on bicycles in the districts, deriving immense support from the silent spade work, that was being done by Guntaka Narasaiah Panthulu. That was the beginning of a new awakening among the Padmashalis and a new experience for Konda Laxman as well. Since then he has actively participated in many conferences, including the conferences of all India Padmashali Mahasabha held at Solapur on 16th-18th May 1941. During this period an All-India Padmashali Yuvajana Conference was also held. Laxman for taking leading part in these conferences was elected a member of the working committee of the All-India Padmashali Yuvajana Mahasabha. In the same year he presided, for the first time, over the Padmashali Yuvajana Sabha at Nizampet in Sangareddy taluq of Medak district. In 1943, he had actively participated in the Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham conference, held at Tulja Bhavan, Kachiguda, at Hyderabad. In 1944, he presided over the first Padmasliali Kashta Nirvana Sabha in Mortad, Armoor taluq of Nizambad district. It was during this session that Konda Laxman as the president of the conference, gave a lead to the delegates and called upon them to chalk out a programme for the Sangham with the main aim of introducing social reforms and securing and safeguarding their social rights and privileges, with particular emphasis on educational problems and economic uplift of the community as a whole.

In the year 1945, Konda Laxman was chosen as the president of the Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Maha Sabha in the conference held on 4th-6th May 1945, at Sirisilla in Karimnagar district, where a three-folded programme as spelled out viz., social and cultural uplift, economic uplift and educational uplift. Again a conference of the Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Malta Sabha was held at Warangal on 26th and 27th April 1946, presided over by Konda Laxman Bapuji

when the three-folded programme was reiterated and reaffirmed. Under the conditions then prevailing in the Nizam State, even the leaders of political parties and others in social and literary fields like Madapati Hanumantha Rao were encouraging even caste organizations, to awaken all sections of people and communities to assert their individual freedom.

Consequent on the new lead given by Konda Laxman Bapuji to the weavers as president of the Padmashali movement, greater attention was given to the problems facing the poor weavers, who were experiencing great hardship to earn their meager livelihood due to the controls on the yarn. As Padmashali was one of the fourteen or fifteen weaver's caste in the state, Laxman Bapuji thought it better and advisable in bringing the weavers of all castes under one organization. In the quest for a ready solution for them to better their lot, in the year 1943, he started a separate organization, which was then known as *Nizam Rashtra Handloom Weaver's Association*, of which he was the first president. Soon local committees were promoted at the Taluq and District levels. The association saw to it that the deserving got their yarn quota and also successfully put an end to the malpractices in the distribution of the controlled yarn\(^\text{12}\). Besides the weavers found a movement of their own and association was in a position to make demands to the Government for the distribution of yarn to them through the Weaver's Association, which the Government, as expected, turned down.

Konda Laxman Bapuji took up the responsibility of organizing a conference of the All India Padmashali Mahasabha at Sindhawai in Chanda District Central Provinces and paid frequent visits to Nagapur and other important centres, besides Bombay, Pune and Sholapur. Along with this conference, the conferences of All India Padmashali Youth, and All India Padmashali were also held. Thus Padmashali movement in the Nizam State

\(^{12}\) Ibid. p. 16.
could successfully mobilize the members of the weaving community from all parts of the country.

After the Police Action, the State Handloom Weaver's Association could claim magnificent achievements to its credit such as organizing primary weavers co-operative societies at grass-root level, establishment of HYCO and a Padmashali Hostel in the city of Hyderabad.

It was through Konda Laxman's concerted efforts that the Hyderabad State Government included all the weaver castes, consisting of fifteen communities in the list of Backward Classes, for the purpose of providing educational facilities, etc. He also encouraged different Backward Castes to organize and establish their own hostels for the poor students. He had actually participated in the activities, more or less of all the BC Hostels, including Gouda Hostel, Kurma Hostel, Bhavasar Kshatriya Hostel, Viswakarma Hostel and Gangaputra Community Hall and others-all located in Hyderabad.

The Padmashali movement is successful so far as weavers' cooperatives and caste-based hostels are concerned. Due to the efforts of the caste association in social reform to eradicate the social evils and education many people came up in the business and education and employment than any other backward caste, but in politics their performance is not up to the mark. Since, they have got a lot of sentiments towards Hinduism, most of them are in the BJP, and therefore, Narendra elected as M.P and Vanam. Jhansi Rani is the President of the state women wing of BJP. Now a days, Padmashalis are the rapidly marginalizing caste due to the decline of weaving industry.

Another important occupational community, which has been organizing since long time is the Gouda association. There are distinct caste-based organizations, which are working for the welfare of the Gouds\(^{13}\) (toddy tappers).

These are (1) Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers & Workers Federation (APTTWF), which came into existence in 1950s politically nurtured by Communist Party of India; (2) Council for the Protection of the Rights of the Toddy Tapping Professional &Industrialists (CPTTPI), with the backing of Swantantra Party and Krushikar Lok Party in 1950s; (3) Goud officials & Professionals Association (GOPA) in 1980s.

As an occupational caste group in Andhra Pradesh toddy tappers have different caste names such as Ediga, Gouda, Srisaina, Settibaliya, Yatha\textsuperscript{14} etc. Their counter parts in TamilNad, Karnataka and Kerala are known as Nadars, Edigas and Izhavas respectively. The tappers are the largest group among the backward castes. According to the estimations of the AP Toddy Tappers Associations the toddy tappers, demographically, constitute about 6% of the total population of Andhra Pradesh. The tappers lived in social structure located somewhere between Shudras and the outcastes or the untouchables. They occupy the last place along middle caste ladder. They have been described as "poor, but are not paupers, known to be rude and unlettered, yet, by many degrees, removed from a savage stage"\textsuperscript{15}. In their oppressive routine, the majority of toddy tappers climbed, as many as 40 trees twice a day during the six months season, extracted toddy, which would then be made into jaggery/sugar are different forms of desserts and marketed in the form of drink. The tappers are concentrated predominantly in Telangana region. In other parts of the state, such as coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, they are scattered in every village. They took the brunt of social disabilities of their community. They were forced to reside out side the village itself in a street and were refused the service of washer man and barbers. Economically dependant tappers pay three types of taxes; tax


\textsuperscript{15} Hard grave, Jr. Robert. L, \textit{Political Participation and Primordial Solidarity: The Nadars of Tamilnadu}; Rajni Kothari (ed), Caste in Indian Politics, Orient Long man, New Delhi, 1986. p. 100,
on drawing the tree, sales tax to the government and tree tax to the landlord and also bribes (Mamuls) to the excise department and local goons. The tappers climbed the palmar trees during the tapping season and worked as agricultural labourers during the rest of the year\textsuperscript{16}. 

It must be mentioned that even in places where they are large in number their condition is worse than their counter parts of the two other regions. They serve the landed families. Individual surveys reveal that their condition remains unchanged over the years. The Toddy Tappers Associations has been making intensive efforts to politically sensitize and mobilize them. In mid-twentieth century a mass movement, led by the Communist Party of India, brought into its fold a good number of toddy tappers in Telangana region primarily fought against the Nizam's feudal domination, the Zamindars domination and colonial rule in coastal and Rayalaseema areas. Perhaps, this is the reason why still an overwhelming majority of toddy tappers continue to support the Communist Parties, especially in Telanagana region\textsuperscript{17}. They saw the Communist Parties as their protectors, and in that they perceived the possibilities for economic change and advancement. Increasingly, with the support of Communist Parties the tappers could secure at least some benefits. Further through their economic position had not greatly improved; the ideology of the Communist Party had given the tappers a ray of hope for improvement from their sufferings under the dominance of the landlords during the Nizam rule. Despite economic subservience, the tappers appear to have found a new unity through the organization of the Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers &Workers Federation, and AP Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists Association. Further, education appears to have enabled rise of the toddy tappers into business classes.


\textsuperscript{17} Ramabrahmam and Venkatesu.E, opt, cit, p. 250.
It gave them a sense of economic independence. Laying of roads and other communication facilities appear to have broken down the barriers of spatial distance; the increasing interaction within the caste over a wide geographic area erased distinction between the endogamous sub-castes into which the community had been divided. This incidentally also paved the way for the formation of caste associations for political mobilization.

With the formation of AP Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation and Council for the Protection of the Toddy Tapping Professionals and industrialists began resisting the phase of the exploitative excise policies, such as monopoly phase, the commercial phase, the phase of reduction of indigenous liquor, of the Colonial government in the old Madras Presidency and, for instance the nazarana, the contract phase, the amani phase of the Nizam's government. The colonial and Nizam's excise policies left the toddy tappers underdeveloped, backward, underprivileged, marginalized, illiterate and agricultural labourers' etc. The policies were formulated in a manner through which the rulers, the Zamindars, jagirdars, the landlords, the contractors and the excise staff got unduly enriched at the cost of an ordinary tapper. Even though, the rulers and the policies had been subjected to constant review, the position of the poor toddy tappers had remained unchanged even today in the rural areas. They had a highly impoverished, miserable, helpless and low standard of life. The roots of political mobilization of the deprived tappers can, therefore, be seen in the exploitative policies pursued by the Colonial State.

The movement of the toddy tappers can be explained in two folds (a) to liberate them from the exploitation of the feudal domination and age old colonial and feudal policies by massive mobilization, and (b) the incremental approach, i.e., to improve their low economic status and accommodate them in power-sharing gradually in the post-independent political process.

18 See for details, Venkatesu.E, opt, cit M.Phil thesis.
An attempt is made to study these two in regard to the mobilization aspect of the movement and the political accommodation. It calls for presenting the genesis, growth, and internal dynamics of the movement and the state response to such processes.

The earlier part of this association, referring to the position of the toddy tappers in the Colonial Madras Presidency and Nizam's region, contain information as to how, through different policies they were exploited. Meanwhile, as a response to their plight, leadership emerged, which articulated the conditions and worked for greater politicization of the community and spearheaded the movement focusing on the issues.

Free India created an atmosphere for mobilization of toddy tappers. They reacted to their oppressive conditions by forming an association based on caste identity first in Telangana in 1930s Coastal Andhra in 1940s. The formation of the Goud Sangham is especially noteworthy. Formed in 1955 in the Hyderabad State with the toddy tappers of Nalgonda, Khammam, Warangal, and Karimnagar. The Andhra Toddy Tapers and Workers Federation actively worked during the same period. Initially there were not many interactions among the caste associations of Andhra and Telangana. Soon after Independence, the toddy tappers transcended their caste identity and felt the need to organize more on the issue of the rights of the toddy tappers to begin with and then on their caste solidarity. The euphoria of the radical left movement in Telangana and nationalist movement in the Madras Presidency further added to the consolidation of the political organization of the leadership irrespective of the party affiliations. All those who felt victimized joined together setting aside their regional and ideological stances.

It must, however be stated in this context that there was resistance to the moves for mobilization from power brokers and contractors within the Goud community for a state level organization, as they perceived it a threat to their control and leadership then. Despite this, the leaders belonging to the Telangana
and Andhra attended a meeting in 1956 in Hyderabad. In which two significant decisions were taken. Firstly it was decided to unite the two regional associations of toddy tappers of Telangana and Andhra and secondly, it was decided to hold the first state level conference of the newly constituted Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation at Garla of Khammam district in 1957.

The conference, (held in 1957) at Khammam, set the agenda phase. It came out with specific demands, including the abolition of auction system, group auctioning of societies, sanctioning of toddy shops to villages, lifting of prohibition, land patta, educational facilities to the kin of the toddy tappers, and the publication of the excise laws.

A parallel development at the same time deserves mention here. Under the leadership of Sardar Gouth Lachchanna an organization called "Council for the Protection of the Rights of the Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists" came into existence. Following the strategy of petition, the Council ventilated the grievances of its members with a mandate to help its entrepreneurial class.

These associations continuously put the pressure on the government through petitions, memorandums, dharnas, demonstrations, public meetings and formation of the all India Toddy Tappers & Workers Federation in 1970 to demand the State and Central governments to make policies on (a) tree for tapper scheme and toddy tappers co-operative societies, (b) welfare measures, (c) ex-gratia for those who fall down from the trees, (d) providing employment opportunity, (e) old age pension, (f) maternity allowance to the woman workers, (g) providing fund and insurance coverage, (h) a separate machinery for regulating and implementing the programmes and their welfare measures.

In response to the massive mobilization of the toddy tappers, the Government of Andhra Pradesh abolished the Harraj (auction) system. Political compulsions than welfare of the toddy tappers appear to have prompted the Congress in AP to abolish the Harraj system. Realizing the strong base for the
TDP-left combine among the toddy tapers, the Congress in AP tried to wean away considerable number of Gouds from their hold by abolition of Harraj system in 1993.

The TDP as a political strategy since 1995 has been continuing its political patronage of the toddy tappers. The following decisions reflect this trend. The strategy is to nurture its political constituency.

(A), Hike in the ex-gratia

(B), Bringing all sub-castes of the toddy tappers community under an umbrella caste called 'Goud' through an executive order

©, Allocation of five acres of land to the tappers co-operative societies to grow the trees.

The toddy tappers achieved some of their demands due to continuous organized efforts by the committed and articulate leaders and support of the political parties. But at this juncture, where the globalization rapidly marginalizing the caste based occupations and destroying the sources of livelihoods without alternative sources, therefore, now the mobilization of the toddy tappers should be to counter globalization, while aligning with similar traditional occupational groups to protect their rights.

In addition to the major caste organizations, such as Munnurkapu, Padmashali and Gouds, the other Backward Castes have successfully organized their own associations. Some of the associations are: National Association of Fishermen, Andhra Pradesh unit, Sree Nayee Brahma Sabha, Andhra Pradesh Mudiraj Association, A.P; Vishwa Brahman Sangham, A.P; Rajaka Sangham (Washer men Association), A.P; Surbhash Association, etc. All these individual organizations have been struggling for protection of their occupational rights and they have been serving as agencies of recruitment of political elite from time to time.

It seems from the above analysis of the role of caste associations in the social mobilization of their caste people that the first generation of leaders, who
were influenced by the contemporary movements have realized about the social deprivation of the lower castes or their caste fellows, therefore, they have started the caste associations for the organization, hostels for their students, trusts for the scholarships and other financial activities. Based on these activities of the caste associations, later, the government of Andhra Pradesh adopted providing hostel and scholarship facilities as part of the social welfare policy.

These caste associations also, from the very beginning demanding for the protection of their economic base by forming the occupational cooperative societies for all those castes, which are practicing the traditional occupations, and these are the caste associations, which contributed to the emergence of the federation of caste associations such as the backward caste Associations. These organizations are playing their own role in the consolidation of the Backward Castes Movement, while developing their own individual identities. The Backward Caste Associations have been playing the role of preparing its people to participate in the newly emerged democratic political system by organizing, mobilizing, articulating their interests and participate in the political process as voters, pressure group organizers, and contenders in the elections.

2) Federation of Caste Associations:

The concept of federation of caste associations refers to a grouping together of a number of distinct endogamous groups into a single organization for common objectives, the realization of which calls for a pooling together of resources or numbers, or both. By and large, the objectives pursued are secular associational, although the employment of traditional symbols for evoking a sense of solidarity and loyalty towards the new form is not uncommon. The traditional distinctions between the federating groups are on the whole retained, but the search for a new organizational identity and the pursuit of political objectives gradually lead to shift in-group orientations. A caste federation is, therefore, to be distinguished from a caste association both because of the range of social reality that it covers, and because of its search for an inclusive rather
than a 'functional' identity. The former often takes a class or Varna form and cuts across the ascriptive identity of caste in its jati form. The caste federation is thus no mere agency of an endogamous group or groups set up for undertaking a specific task. Rather, it represents a new notion of caste organization based on real or supposed sharing of interests and status attributes, and gives rise to its own symbolism.

The formation and purpose of caste associations and federations have expanded the jati's boundaries and the ambit of caste fellowship. These developments have been accompanied by the propagation and spread by caste associations of norms that challenge the validity of established endogamous boundaries, most commonly by calling for their expansion to other hitherto endogamous groups within the jati, similar jatis, or fellow Varna members, rarely by calling for their destruction.

By pursuing the goals of social mobility, self-help, and political power, caste associations and federations have played a major role in the decompression of village life. Reaching out toward state and national legislative constituencies, Zilla parsiadi, Mandals and village panchayats, state secretariats and assemblies, and even the government in Delhi and the politics of the nation has educated and elevated caste consciousness. In attempting to share power and shape decisions in such contexts caste structure and norms have broadened. If the pursuit of political power has engaged the ambition of those enveloped in village and caste parochialism, it has also aroused their imaginations, led them to larger and more inclusive identities, and placed them in contexts of action that are structurally more specific but effectively less intense. The drift of power, profit, and honour away from the locality is not likely to make Indian villages into bedroom suburbs, but it is breaking their ancient monopoly on all aspects of life. It would be relevant here to discuss the social mobilization of the backward castes from 1949 to 2003 or from the demand for reservations to share in the political power. There is one major shift in the mobilization process of the
backward castes in post-independence period. The shift is in response to the change of political system, which was liberated from the colonial rule and incarnated as the democratic regime, therefore, the nationalist leaders from the backward castes realized that in order to get the lion's share in the new political system, it is essential to have a broad based organization of the backward castes to organize, mobilize, articulate and put the pressure on the rulers to make favorable policies. Demand for the policy making was absent during the pre-independence period, when the backward castes organized through the instrument of the caste association, which had mobilized its resources from the respective castes for the construction of the association's hostels, for the trusts and cooperatives and other activities. But in the post-independent period the backward castes associations demanding and fighting for the formulation of the policies through mobilizing the resources from their castes.

The Backward classes Mahasabha for the first time formed and conducted a meeting in 1949 at Guntur with the influence of self-respect movement led by Ramaswamy Naicker in TamilNad. Sardar Gouth Lacchanna, being a MLA of the ruling Congress party in the Madras Assembly, pioneered in establishing the Backward Classes Mahasabha. Lachhanna is closely associated with the anti-colonial and anti-zamindari movements and a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi and N.G. Ranga. He was the founder of the INTUC (a trade union affiliated to Congress party) in Andhra Pradesh. Like any other backward caste leader he also initiated the reform activities among the toddy tappers. But participated in burning of the toddy shops, when the call was given by Gandhi and Congress to ban the liquor during freedom movement, after independence he supported the cause of the tappers by starting Counsel for the Protection of the Rights of Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists. In the post-independence period he was in Congress, Swantantra, Janata, Lokdal and Bahujan Samaj party. He worked for some time as social welfare and labour minister in T. Prakasham Panthulu cabinet of Madras Presidency.
Lacchanna was elected as the president of the Backward Classes Mahasabha and Tulabandula Nageswara Rao was the general secretary. In the first conference itself the B.C Mahasabha demanded for the introduction of 'reservations\textsuperscript{19} in educational institutions, employment and scholarships for the students and free education till the end of high school for the backward castes, just like Madras government, where education and employment facilities are provided to those who were denied the basic human rights for centuries together. Lacchanna not only confined demanding the Government to introduce reservations for the backward castes but also organised the public meetings and awareness camps for the public support in the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency. Neither the Andhra government, which did not form after the separation of Andhra in 1953, nor Andhra Pradesh Government came into existence in 1956, responded to the backward castes demands.

Similar organisations were existed in Telangana under the leadership of Konda Laxman Bapuji. Konda Laxman Bapuji immediately after his victory in the first General Elections as M.L.A held in 1952 started taking keen interest in organising the Backward Castes for their social, economic and educational progress. The experience he had gained during his election campaign in the backward areas of Adilabad district, where he saw for himself the pitiable plight of the hill-tribes and other Backward Castes, made him decide to mobilise all the disadvantaged castes for their common betterment. He was also minister for sometime. In Hyderabad State Bojjam Narasimhulu organised the backward castes. He was the first leader to organise Hyderabad Backward Castes Association and strove hard for its consolidation. In 1953, he was a co-opted member of the first all India Backward classes Commission headed by Kakasaheb Kalelkar and toured the entire state along with the Commission. Later he wrote a book on the problems of backward classes. He was the president of

the reception committee of the Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes Conference held in 1954 at Hyderabad. On 8th May 1954, the Hyderabad Backward Classes Association was started with Bojjam Narasimhulu as its first president. He was a member of the Standing Committee of all India Aboriginals Association.

In response to formation of Andhra Pradesh and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's, the then chief minister of the State, attitude of intolerance and looking down the weaker sections in general and backward castes in specific led to the merging of the four backward classes associations paving the way for emergence of the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (APBCA) after the formation of Andhra Pradesh with Andhra, Telangana and Hyderabad as the united state. Four of the Backward Class Associations, which merged into the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association, were Andhra Backward Classes Association (A. Bhagavantha Rao was president and Gouth Lacchanna was the secretary), Andhra Congress Backward Classes Association (Pragada Kotaiah was the president), Hyderabad Backward Classes Association (Bojjam Narasimhulu was the president) and Telangana Backward Classes Association (Konda Lakshman Bapuji). The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association was formed in 1957 with the initiative taken by Annam Viswantham irrespective of political parties.

The newly formed united Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (APBCA Association) is representing for the spirit of nationalism and democracy. All the first generation of the backward caste leaders directly participated in the anti-colonial movement and got the rich experience of organising their specific caste people to change themselves in response to the changed socio-economic conditions and they also elected as the representatives of the public. The anxiety of all these leaders in forming the APBCA Association was that to involve the backward caste people in the post-independent democratic political system.
When the newly formed APBC Association leaders met the chief minister Sanjeeva Reddy for his blessings, he asked the then social welfare minister D. Sanjeeavaiah to enquire that whether the association is formed for the welfare of the backward classes or for something else. The basic interest of Sanjeeva Reddy was that Lacchanna should not become the president of the APBC Association, because he is associated with the opposition group led by N.G. Ranga against Sanjeeva Reddy. Meanwhile, Lacchanna came to know the intentions of the chief minister and openly declared that he is not interested in becoming the president of the BC Association, even if the leaders propose his name. That is why the ex-mayor of Hyderabad had assumed the first president of the newly formed APBC Association.

In 1958, Lacchanna was invited to the first anniversary of the APBC Association, none-of the Congress BC leaders attended meeting, but they all supported Lacchanna to be elected as the president. In this anniversary itself he was elected as the president and once again demanded for the reservations in the government institutions.

The Chief Minister Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy instead of introducing the reservations for the upliftment of the backward castes started creating factions within the backward classes by forming another Andhra Pradesh Congress Backward Classes Association under the chairmanship of Konda Laxman Bapuji in 1959 and to defame Lacchanna among the backward castes. Therefore, it is Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was responsible for the planting of faction and caste politics in the state by creating political rivalry within the same groups.

Despite the hurdles created by Sanjeeva Reddy, in order to make the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association as part of the All India Backward Classes Federation (AIBCF), which was established in 1950, Gouth Lacchanna, as president of the APBC Association, participated in its convention at Delhi in 1959. Babu Jagjeevan Ram inaugurated the convention, the then union agriculture minister and chairman of the All India Backward Classes Association
Punjab Rao was the president and Gouth Lacchanna was the convenor. In this convention the extensive discussion took place on the first all India Backward Classes Commission, i.e. Kakakalelkar Commission.

The important resolutions of the convention were 1) the recommendations of the Kakakalelkar Commission that all women should be identified as the backward classes should be dropped. 2) The backward classes list should be announced and 3) Memorandum should be submitted to the union government. As convenor of the co-ordination committee Lachhanna and others met the union home minister Govind Vallab Pant and memorandum was submitted.

Lachhanna also participated in the all India Backward Classes Conference, which was held after seven years of gap, conducted by All-Indian Backward Classes Federation in 1966 at Delhi, which was attended by about 1000 delegates from all over the country. In this conference several speakers stressed that the Other Backward Classes are educationally and economically backward, therefore, the caste criterion should be adopted. They pleaded for the abolition of the *jajman* system in which the landlords exploited the artisan and serving castes and declared that the Brahmin-Baniya raj should end.

After a gap of six years from that of All-India Backward Classes Federation meeting in 1966 at Delhi, the Congress backward caste leaders of Andhra Pradesh in order to impress on the Central Government an "All India Backward Classes Conference-Rally" was organised on 22\textsuperscript{nd} February, 1972 at Hyderabad to which the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi was invited and a memorandum was submitted to do away with the discrimination between privileged and under privileged classes forever.

The Congress Backward Classes leaders of Andhra Pradesh such as Konda Laxman Bapuji and K. V. Keshavulu took initiative in mooting the idea of organising a South Zone Conference of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities in collaboration with Devraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka. Their efforts fructified and a South Zone Conference was held at
Bangalore on 28th October 1973, which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi. A large number of delegates from the Southern states-Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, Karnataka and Kerala- representing the weaker sections lent special significance to the conference. This is the first such Conference to be held and it is worth noting that all the weaker sections of the South Indian states have come together on a common platform to ask for a just allocation of the benefits of planning and development. The Conference devoted its time for evolving acceptable criteria for determining backwardness and device measures to help the B.C, S.C, STs., and Minorities reach a level of equality with the forward section of the community. It reiterated the demand that "the vast majority of the people belonging to the weaker sections and the party (Congress) cannot afford to ignore the strength of the weak as otherwise it would go the way the elephant did in the quick sand".

Though there is strong feeling of deprivation among the backward castes at the national level, the backward classes conventions have became occasional meetings rather than continuous movement to give the direction with the proclaimed aims and objectives and values with vision.

If this was the pattern of the activities of the backward caste leaders at the national level, at the state level different type of activities are taking place. The decision of the Andhra Pradesh High Court annulling the Government policy of giving reservations for the Backward Castes created a big stir in the Backward Castes Movement. The different Backward Castes Associations held a joint meeting on 27th May 1971 under the chairmanship of M. Govinda Chary at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad. The three stalwarts of the BC movement in the state, Gouth Lachhanna, Konda Laxman Bapuji and Bojjam Narasimhulu attended the meeting to form a Joint Action Committee to fight for the reservations in the Supreme Court.

20 Address by Devaraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka at South Zone Conference of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities held at Bangalore on 28th October 1973.
The Congress Government in the state led by Kasu Brahmananda Reddy wedded to the cause of the upliftment of weaker sections in the society, took initiative in organising a Backward Class Conference at Vijayawada. "Backward Classes Congress" was constituted under the chairmanship of A. Bhagavantha Rao, a prominent B.C leader of the state. It was treated as a wing of the Congress party and thus regarded as political organisations. The other organisation of the BCs known as Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Congress led by Konda Laxman Bapuji was claimed to be non-political organisation since members in this organisation hailed not only from different political affiliations but Government service as well.

Even during the regime of PV. Narsimha Rao as the Chief Minister of the State, a B.C Conference was held at Vijayawada in 1972 under the Chairmanship of Chadalawada Venkateswara Rao, M. P. as a part of the mobilisation of the weaker sections for undertaking ameliorative steps as well as to create his own BC leader in the state.

The next important milestone in the history of Backward Class Movement was that the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association held its fourth Conference on 10th-11th February 1979 under Chairmanship of Gouth Lacchanna, at Hyderabad to focus the attention of the Government on various problems concerning backward castes. The Conference held its meetings at Bojjam Nagar (Nizam College Grounds) Hyderabad. The Conference was well attended by members of all lower castes, such as Harijans, Girijans and other socially, educationally Backward Castes. The distinguished leaders who attended the conference included the then Deputy Prime Minister, Babu Jagan Jeevan Ram, the Union Minister of state for Home, Dhanik Lal Mandal, the Backward Classes Commission Chairman, B.P. Mandal, the Chief Ministers of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Karpoori Thakur and Ram Naresh Yadav respectively. Gouth Lacchanna in his presidential speech recalled the services of some prominent National leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Ram Manohar
Lohia, Periyar E. V. Rama Swamy Naicker, Anna Dorai, Tripuraneni Rama
Swamy Choudhary, C. Rajagopalachary, etc. He asserted that the injustices that
were perpetrated on weaker sections for about 5,000 years have now created
intensive problems to Harijans, Girijans, and Backward Classes. He observed
"the problem did not arise because the Backward Classes are uniting and
mobilising but it is the Indian society and its leadership that has created and
nurtured the problems for Backward Castes. The Backward Castes are now
getting united only with a view to solve the problems and pave way for all-
round development of Indian Society but not to complicate the issue".

In this Conference itself, Gouth Lacchanna held that mobilisation of all
Backward Classes on one common platform would do away with sectarian,
casteist tendencies and finally pave the way for the eradication of caste
ism. But it is certainly not meant to aggravate the caste menace. He demanded for social
equality and gave call to the backward classes to continue the movement in order
to realise the objective.

R. Krishnaiah started, another, Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Welfare
Association in 1970s as its president. Krishnaiah started with social welfare
scholarships agitation, while being a student in Osmania University, later there is
a wide spread feeling among the backward castes that he is being sponsored as
spokesperson of the BCs by successful Chief ministers of the State. From the
beginning association has been struggling for the interests of the backward
castes. The APBC Welfare Association has been concentrating on education,
employment and reservation in the political institutions. It has been fighting for
the protection of right to education and employment also. In order to make

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22 Ibid. P.2
aware of the backward castes about their rights, it has been organising training
camps, conferences, dharnas, and keep on submitting the memorandums to the
state and central Governments. It is also taking up the issues of the unemployed
of all categories like SCs, STs, BCs, and OCs. When we study the history of APBC
Welfare Association, it has solved many problems of unemployed even than the
backward castes such as recruitment for the teachers, nurses, excise constables,
enGINEERS, physically challenged, cheque power to the sarpanches etc. In solving
the problems of unemployed it has adopted the strategy of press notes, dharnas,
half-naked demonstrations, signature campaigns etc, through which the
organisation put the pressure on the government for the immediate action. The
organisation is actively working for not only the collective problems but in
lobbying the individual problems as well.

The APBC Welfare Association has got the committees of all the districts
in the state. It has BC Employees, Women, Youth and Students wings to work at
various levels. As far as elections are concerned the association campaigns for the
BC candidate and strongly believes in the slogan of the "BC votes for the BC
candidates". But the association is yet to take the decision on the issue if two
candidates happen to be backward castes; the organisation has no clarity on this
important issue. Krishnaiah is also lacking substantial ideological base in
criticising rulers and policies.

After defeat of the Congress in 1983 elections, the BCs within the party
got together and formed another Congress APBC Association and convention
was held under the chairmanship of the then union minister Shivashankar and T.
Balagoud was elected as the president, but the prominent Congress Backward
Classes leader Konda Laxman Bapuji did not attend this convention. The
convention demanded implementation of the Muralidhar Rao Commission
report for the backward classes.

In 1984 the AP Backward Classes Association led by Gouth Lacchanna
held the public meeting in Nizam College ground, the chief minister NT. Rama
Rao was the chief guest. In this public meeting also the backward classes leaders brought it to the notice of NTR that the recommendations of the Muralidhar Rao be implemented.

With the success of the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (Sangham) public meeting at Hyderabad, the other associations of backward classes led by Balagoud, Konda Laxman Bapuji decided to hold a BC conference at Tirupathi under the leadership of Lacchanna. The important resolution of the Tirupathi conference was to implement the Mandal Commission at the centre and Muralidhar Rao Commission at the state.

Samasanghrshana Samithi came into being in 1986, when the government of Andhra Pradesh, during N.T.Rama Rao period, announced to implement the recommendations of Muralidhar Rao Commission to increase backward classes reservations from 25% to 44%, and to lead the pro-reservation movement. As soon as Government announced increase in reservations, the anti-reservation agitation was started by the upper castes. In order to counter the anti-reservation movement the Samasanghrshana Samithi began to mobilise the backward classes all over the state to protect the reservations. The Navasanghrshana Samithi, which was leading the anti-reservation movement, got the support from political parties, bureaucracy, finance, media, and finally judiciary. Due to heterogeneous character of the backward classes, lack of support from the media, bureaucracy, political parties and finance, the pro-reservation movement might not be as strong as the anti-reservation movement but it was supported by the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, the Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha and other S.C, ST, and B.C employees Associations. With the verdict of the AP High Court against the backward classes, the anti-reservation movement was withdrawn. Whereas the Samasanghrshana Samithi appealed in the Supreme Court.

Another instance, which mobilized all the deprived castes, is the 1990 anti-Mandal agitation. This can be mentioned as the most significant period to come together and formed a broad pro-Mandal front, to fight for the cause of social justice, with various associations such as the Backward Classes, the Dalits, and Progressive Democratic forces. As part of solidarity of the other backward Classes the dalits and the progressive democratic forces distributed the pamphlets, booklets, conducted the seminars, public meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, dharnas and strikes for the protection of the democratic rights of the backward classes.

The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Federation came into existence in 1990s before the assembly and parliament elections under the leadership of Akurathi Mural Krishna and Jnaneshwar Mudiraj with slogan of the political power to the backward classes and disappeared after elections, when some of these leaders got positions in the mainstream political parties. There is another organization called Andhra Pradesh Backward Castes Federation led by Venkateswarlu Yadav and Vinjamuri Babu Rajak. The organization is active in Nellore and other coastal districts. It has been conducting the periodic meetings on backward castes issues and awareness and pro-BC candidate campaigns during elections.

In the Region of Rayalassemma, the Akhila Rayalaseema Backward Classes Association (ARBCA) came into existence in 2003 and affiliated to Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes United Front. A.P. Ramaiah Yadav active in Yadava Sangham and sometime in Anna TDP (HariKrishna) and NTRTDP (Lakshmi Parvathi). With the failure of these parties and his defeat in the elections as M.L.A forced him to form the association. Nagaseshanna Goud active in Gouda Sangham and worked for sometime in APBC Welfare Association (Krishnaiah) and fed up with its activities and joined in the ARBC Association. The important aims of the organization are proportional representation and need for the formation of separate backward castes political party in the state.
The Backward Classes United Front came into existence in the year 2003 on the occasion of completing hundred years of reservations to unite 93 backward castes. V.G.R. Naragoni is the convenor of the front is a Government employee by choice, activist in the left, dalitbahujan literary and cultural organisations and directly and indirectly the brain behind the Bahujan Samaj Party in the state. As far as his understanding of the social movements are concerned it is quite well. The important criticism of the BC United Front on the backward classes movement in the state since 1949 is that it has confined only to the reservations, it has no ideological base to autonomous character and limited to the educated middle class backward classes and finally either the organisations or the leaders are affiliated to political parties. That is why the BC United Front decided to prepare as many leaders as possible from the backward castes with the theoretical base of Mahatma Jothibha Phule, Narayana Guru, Periyar Rama Swamy Naicker, Ambedkar and Sardar Gouth Lachhanna. In order to unite the various castes of the backward classes the strategy is to form the committees at the village level. It says that there are backward castes people in each and every village but there are no backward castes association in every village. Another intention of the village level BC committees is that to practice the principle of the transformation of the vote bank, as an alternative strategy to increase the number of BC MLAs. The strategy is in response to failure of the State in introducing the reservations for the BCs in the Legislative bodies and political parties in giving the proportional seats to contest in the elections. The transformation of the vote bank means, suppose, if there is a candidate from any one of 93 BC castes on the BC United Front, the remaining BC castes should cast their votes to that particular candidate only. Even if there is a BC candidate on any dominant caste political party in the same elections, BCs should cast their votes to the BC Front candidate only\(^24\). This experiment is in the process, one has to wait and see for the results in future.

\(^24\) See for details BC United Front, bulletin no. 1., Hyderabad, March-April 2003.
In the history of backward castes movement, every decade has at least one significant event, for instance establishment of the Backward Classes Association in 1940s, merging of the various backward castes associations into Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association in 1950s after the formation of the state, Government decision to appoint the Backward Classes Commission in the state and rejection by the High Court in 1960s, decision to implement the reservations for the backward classes in the government education and employment institutions in 1970s, anti-reservation agitation against Muralidhar Rao in 1980s, decision to implement reservations in the central government employment for OBCs and proliferation of the BC media in 1990s with number of journals like B.C Today, Janavani, B.C Times, B. C Media, and B.C Garjana etc. The caste-based deprivation is recognised by the Telugu dailies such as Vaartha, Prajasakthi to have a discussion on the backward caste issues and an initiation to launch the ideological and autonomous backward classes movement in new millennium.

When we look at the associational aspect, there are two types within the backward castes associations, such as the Backward Castes Associations or the leaders are affiliated to the political parties, and the Backward Castes Associations committed for the cause and ideological struggle. The strategy of backward castes associations to influence decision making is through mobilising backward caste people to strengthen their identity and put the pressure on the rulers for policy matters through organising the meetings, inviting rulers to conventions, Dharnas and submission of the memorandums both at the state level and national level. Important demands of the Backward Castes Associations are combination of educational, employment, economic and political (see annexure-6). An analysis of the working of the Backward Classes organisations has proved that they have been acting as interest groups
performing the interest articulating functions and in tern moulding the policy of the Government from time to time. It is interesting to note that these community associations have been symbolising both tradition and modernity manifesting themselves into primordial structures as well as modern functional structures.

The Backward Castes, being an integral part of the body politic, is not lagging behind in responding to the demands of parliamentary democracy. Thus by their consistent political participation, right from the time of nation's struggle for independence could develop a considerable level of politicisation among themselves. This fact is better illustrated by ever-increasing number of political leaders hailing from Backward Castes elite and thus strengthening the base of the Backward Castes mobilisation. A deeper investigation in the dynamics of Backward Castes Movement has made it clear that the different backward classes organisations could bring about a spectacular process of socialisation among its members living in every nook and corner of the State. The Movement was not simply confined to urban areas only, but it could successfully reach the far off hamlets in rural areas.

The Backward Castes Mobilisation in the State of Andhra Pradesh, despite its humble beginning, has been gaining from strength to strength and today the Backward Castes constitute one of the most preponderant forces in the fast moving dynamics of the state politics. But at the same time, it is quite evident from the fact that any one of the distinguished leaders of the backward classes is not leading the state of Andhra Pradesh until today by setting aside the dominant caste leaders.

The first generation of the backward caste leaders correctly understood the changed political situation and also changed the nature of backward classes organisations, they were also successful in launching the united state level Backward Classes Association, but when they come to the process of consolidation from the grass root level the dominant caste political rulers are more successful in dividing, creating factions and fragmenting them.
However, a deeper diagnosis of the Backward Castes Movement in Andhra Pradesh reveals that it suffers from three-fold maladies, namely quest for a common identity, elitism, and leadership crisis. The Backward Castes movement is the handiwork of different castes and community organisations such as Munnur Kapu Association, Toddy Tappers Association, Padmashali Association, and Fishermen's Association etc. Each of these caste organisations developed their own individual identities, championing the cause of their own brethren, but paradoxically enough overlooked the evolution of a common identity for the Backward Castes Movement as such. Each individual caste association, while struggling for its own legitimate rights and existence must simultaneously identify itself with over all Backward Castes Movement. In doing so, they help the backward caste movement to strengthen and finally pave the way for political platform. Thus the need of the hour is evolution of a common identity for the Backward Castes Movement. The identity and ideology of the backward castes are important tools, which are helpful in consolidating the backward castes movement in the state. These two are still in the process of evolving to strengthen the movement since 1949, when the first Andhra Backward Castes Association was formed.

Lack of autonomous or independent backward castes movement from the time of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy to contemporary rulers of Andhra Pradesh, all most all the Chief Ministers always tried to divide the backward castes organisations. Every Chief Minister created his own BC leader and association to weaken the mainstream movement and to protect ruling class/ caste from the threat of the backward castes unity.

Another disturbing development among the backward castes in recent times has been an unhealthy growth of elitist tendencies, thus restricting the benefits of socio-economic development to a privileged few. This tendency has to be curbed by a process of democratisation of the movement, ensuring distributive justice to the underdog as well.
In recent times one more harmful aspect of the movement has been the rise of leadership crisis among the B.Cs organisations. Identity crisis of the leaders goes against the very spirit of the Backward Castes Movement seeking for equality. Introduction of power politics and group approach has led to factional politics in Backward Class Organisations. The best palliative for doing away factionalism in the Backward Class organisations is to put aside individual rivalries and each identifying himself with the movement of the downtrodden for the realisation of their common objectives.

One important limitation of the backward castes movement is that it never demanded for the implementation of the land reforms, therefore, the movement was unable to break the dominance of the landed dominant communities in the state politics, because the main device of the dominant communities in Andhra Pradesh is the land.

Another limitation of the backward castes mobilization is that in the process of globalisation, the entire Indian economy is getting privatised, which is big threat to the reservation policy of the weaker sections. That is why the backward classes movement is neither strongly opposing the privatisation process nor demanding for reservations in the private sector. The entire process of mobilization is limited to the demands of educated middle classes of the backward classes. Since it doesn't have the mass character, therefore, the backward classes in Andhra Pradesh are lagging behind in capturing the political power, when we compare with backward castes movement of TamilNad, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where they have captured the leadership of the political parties, but in Andhra Pradesh still the political parties sabotaging the backward castes rather than the latter capturing the former.

3) Political Parties:

The third and important instrument in the mobilisation of the backward castes is political party. In the adoption of modern institutions of representative government to traditional societies, political parties play the decisive role. In
every modern polity, which aspires to modernity, political parties are an indispensable link between the society and the institutions of government. In traditional societies undergoing modernisation and political development, political parties have the double task of providing stable government and of bringing new groups of people into the political process while orienting them toward the political and economic goals of the modern state. With the expansion of adult franchise, it has become inevitable to the political parties to mobilise the people around its ideology, principles and activities to get the support and votes in order to capture the state power.

In a democratic polity based on the system of representation, political parties formulate policies for the socio-economic and political development of the country's population. Parties put into practice the public opinion, which they have been instrumental in moulding and expressing. They help in the formulation and expression of a general will which is the core of democracy. Parties provide the institutional means of initiating, sustaining and accelerating change and of absorbing impact of change.

Political parties in India like several other third World countries form a complex network of national, regional and local interests. In a multiple-identity country like India, successful operation of the political parties lies in accommodating all sections of the society and fulfilling their interests. Now it is relevant here to examine how far the political parties are successful in mobilising, accommodating and fulfilling the interests of the backward castes, who constitute major part of the population in Andhra Pradesh.

The parliamentary political parties strategies, whether left, right and centre or national and regional in mobilizing the backward castes are in three ways to making them as the vote bank, control and create the loyal leaders from the backward castes; one is supporting the policy matters, second is providing party leadership and third is distribution of tickets. As a part of mobilization of the backward castes, the left parties started awakening the occupational groups
about their rights since Telangana armed rebellion. But the formation of occupational caste associations was begun way back to the Telangana armed rebellion and peasant movement in coastal Andhra. For example Hyderabad State weaver's association, Gouda association, Yadav association, in coastal Andhra there was Andhra region Gouda association and other caste associations. It indicates that the associations of occupational groups existed in the pre-independence period itself. These associations put pressure on the contemporary political parties to fight for their interests in the post-independent period. The Communist party gave them modern political shape by affiliating to the party like AP Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation and the AP Occupational and Professionals Association affiliated to the Communist Party of India. The geographical area of these occupational associations has been expanded with the formation of separate Andhra pradesh. The Communist party extended its full-fledged support to these occupational groups in mobilizing, articulating and putting the pressure on the state to formulate the suitable policies, like occupational co-operative societies and they have been taking initiation in educating and mobilizing the occupational groups to oppose the globalisation process, which has been adversely hitting the traditional occupations. But the entire concentration of the left supporting occupational associations is limited to the economic demands only.

With regard to the question of reservations the CPI has been supporting special provisions for SC, STs and BCs. In 1957 manifesto it demanded implementation of the assurance given in the Constitution to SCs, STs and BCs. It also demanded the extension of the period of assurance.

After split in 1964, the CPI in 1967 election manifesto bestowed serious attention on the evil influence of casteism and communalism. It strongly believed a powerful ideological campaign and education alone could attack and eradicate the very roots of casteist thinking in all layers of the society. Remnants of a caste,
the party felt, are a hindrance to the solidarity of the working class as a standard bearer of the future society of democracy, equality and socialism.

In its 1971 election manifesto, the CPI pleaded for the amendment of the special provisions relating to the rights of SQ STs and BCs to make them more comprehensive and effective for enduring their all-round development. Condemning discrimination and atrocities on weaker sections as disgraceful and scandalous, the party pleaded for the special measures for removal of social disabilities. In 1980 manifesto it favoured the appointment of a high power panel consisting of the members of SC, ST, and backward castes to ensure the benefits of various fiscal policies of the Government to the weaker sections.

The CPI along with the CPM vehemently condemned the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat in 1981. It explained at length why the policy of reservation was originally adapted in order to alleviate some of the inequalities and handicaps from which SCs, STs and certain other backward communities suffered due to the remnant of an age old and outmoded socio-economic system. Supporting the present policy of reservations, the party, however, is convinced that "reservation, while it serves to build confidence among the various, communities, cannot by itself solve the problems of uplifting the socially and economically handicapped communities. The fact that the SCs and STs continued to languish and live in degradation and backwardness even thirty years after the policy of reservation began shows that reservation by itself is no solution.... It is essential to bring about far-reaching soci-economic transformation... that this is a task that successive bourgeoisie Governments in our country have ignored..."25 The CPM have more or less, views similar to the CPI.

When the National Front at the centre announced for the implementation of 27% reservations for the Other Backward Castes in 1990, the CPI was the first to come out in defence of the reservations. The CPI (M) central committee has

25 New Age, April 26, 1981.
taken two weeks to formulate its pro-Mandal stand with the internal differences among the leaders. Interestingly enough, none of these left parties had the Mandal Commission Report in their election manifesto.

The Congress government's opposition to preferential treatment for the OBCs created arenas of conflict at the level of both state and society. The Congress party in the initial years of independence did not pay attention to the problem of reservation. The party in 1952 election manifesto simply reaffirmed its commitment to the advancement of SCs, STs and BCs. "The work taken up by Gandhi", the manifesto said, "must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others". In the 1962 election manifesto, for the first time, the Congress toyed with the idea of economic backwardness as a basis for special provisions. The base for giving particular attention, the Congress felt, should be that of economic backwardness. The low-income groups, irrespective of castes and communities should receive special consideration. The Congress through its manifesto in 1971 appealed to the voters to give it a clear mandate to defend secularism, guard the interests of the weaker communities, particularly SCs, STs and OBCs, so that they may attain equality of opportunity and fraternity ensuing the dignity of the individuals. In 1972 the Congress pledged a new to a socialist, peaceful and democratic, which embraces all the people and permeates all spheres of national life. It proclaimed that it was "the only party which has the capacity to achieve a socialist revolution". Socialist Revolution included in it the desire of the party to take special care to promote the education, employment and welfare of the weaker sections particularly SCs, STs, and BCs.

After the emergency the Congress pledged to continue its crusade against the social disabilities and work unremittingly to raise the living standard and social statues of SCs, STs. It is categorically stated "any discrimination is wholly repugnant to the vision of a free and equal society bestowed on us by our leaders, like Gandhi and Nehru".
Before the 1980 Lok Sabha elections after the downfall of Charan Singh Government the issue of continuation of reservation of seats in legislatures attracted the attention of many people. The Congress unhesitatingly expressed its readiness to take immediate steps to amend the Constitution so as to extend reservations for further period. For the welfare of weaker sections the party pledged to renew 20-point economic programme, which was hijacked by the ruling caste in the name of the poor the landless, the artisans, handloom weavers and a host of other weaker and socially depressed sections.

The Janata Government constituted the Mandal panel in 1979. But the Commission submitted its Report in 1980 to the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi as the Janata coalition had collapsed. The two successive Congress Governments did not take any action on the Report. The Congress Governments were unwilling to implement it as they enjoyed electoral support of twice-born castes along with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Congress did not have much of support among the OBCs hence it was not under pressure to implement the Report, though there were sporadic demands from the OBCs. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it. The Janata Government constituted the Mandal panel in 1979. But the Commission submitted its Report in 1980 to the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi as the Janata coalition had collapsed. The two successive Congress Governments did not take any action on the Report. The Congress Governments were unwilling to implement it as they enjoyed electoral support of twice-born castes along with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Congress did not have much of support among the OBCs hence it was not under pressure to implement the Report, though there were sporadic demands from the OBCs. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it.

In the context of politics of Andhra Pradesh the Congress Party has long history of national movement and the ruling party in the post-independent period, specifically with separation of Andhra in 1953 and the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. Till 1978, when Indira Gandhi adopted the policy of patronising the weaker sections to replace the landed community in the state, the political power was in the hands of single caste Reddy (details are discussed in the third chapter). Therefore, the Congress party had no specific policy towards the backward classes to mobilise, accommodate and fulfil their interests. Throughout this period the Congress party exclusively concentrated on the ex-

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Zamindars, landed rich peasantry, urban middle class and businessmen, minorities and the dalits. Due to defeat of the Congress party after emergency in 1977, rise of Janata party to capture the power at the centre with the social base of backward classes in north India, opposition tendencies within the Congress party against Indira Gandhi by the landed dominant community leaders led to the adoption of the patronising of the weaker sections in to the party and power structure in 1978. The Congress party neglected the backward classes to the maximum extent and it has maintained distance and by the time Congress party realised about the backward classes it lost power in the state.

The Janata party was an amalgam of the ideas of leaders and supporters of the many parties that joined together to form it. The constituent units of the Janata party contested the 1977 Lok Sabha elections on a common election symbol and issued a common election manifesto. The moving spirit in the formation of Janata party and in its great success in Lok Sabha elections was Jayaprakash narayan, who was treated as the "messiah". The party favored the establishment of a civil rights commission, an independent and autonomous body, competent to ensure that minorities, SCs, STs and other backward classes do not suffer from discrimination or inequality. Lamenting at the miserable conditions of the weaker sections in the post-independent period it promised preferential opportunities for education and self-employment to these sections. It favoured 25%-35% of all appointments to Government services for backward classes as recommended by kakakalelkar Commission. It pledged to formulate a special program within a framework of five-year plan for the substantial advancement of SC, ST, and BCs. It was also for special machinery to implement the program and ensure fulfilment of Constitutional guarantees. It was during the Janata party Government at centre the second Backward Classes Commission was appointed to suggest the measures for the upliftment of the backward classes under the chairmanship of BP. Mandal. After ten years gap of its submission, again it was Janatadal leading coalition at the centre announced to
implement one of the Mandal Commission's recommendations i.e. 27% reservations in the recruitment of the central services.

In 1980 the Janata party sought a mandate to finish the unfinished tasks: Giving the people bread and liberty, giving the country stability with freedom. The party while listing its achievements affirmed that the concessions and facilities provided in the Constitution for the weaker sections including reservation of seats in Parliament and state legislatures should be continued as long as social discrimination remained.

The rise of Telugudesham Party in state politics with the vote bank of backward classes under the leadership of kammas with the identity of regional autonomy in 1983 is a new wave in the state politics. The populist policy agenda of the Telugudesham party attracted the large chunk of the backward castes population in 1983 elections. Victory of the TDP in Andhra Pradesh politics and its policies like abolition of the age old village level patel, patwari system, introduction of the Mandala system in the three tier panchayat raj institutions in the place of taluques/firkas for the decentralization of the administration, Rs 2/- k.g rice, Janata cloths, construction of the pucca houses for the weaker sections, etc gave a sense of satisfaction to the backward classes.

The Telugu Desham took the lead in mobilizing OBCs who are disillusioned with their exclusion from leadership positions in local organizations. Although the differences between upper castes and OBCs were not a major political issue in the 1983 election campaign, it was an important election for BCs because, for the first time, they got an opportunity to challenge Reddy dominating Congress supremacy. The BCs did not see for themselves a future in the Congress which was increasingly becoming 'socially conservative. During the time of NT Rama Rao, Telugudesham Party, announced for the

implementation of the Muralidhar Rao Commission, it recommends for the increase of reservations from 25% to 44% for the backward classes, and reservations in the local body institutions. That is why today we can see the backward classes representatives from village level ward members to chairmen of the Zilla Parishads. But even the TDP is also not successful in providing the proportional representation to the backward classes in the distribution of Assembly and Parliament elections.

Almost, every political party in its agenda talks about the weaker sections welfare and development. It is inevitable to the political parties to have weaker sections agenda due to the numerical strength and vote bank, which decides the direction of democracy in the country. As vote bank backward classes are needed for every political party, but when it comes to the distribution of power, they are thrown-out and the domination of the upper castes is being perpetuated. This phenomenon will be examined with the illustrations.

The illustrative analysis is based on an empirical survey conducted by V.G.R. Naragoni\textsuperscript{28} in 257 out of 294 assembly constituencies, except Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts, (Since survey is not conducted in these districts the total number of seats are not added to total) in 1985 and 1989. In 1999 for all 294 assembly constituencies are surveyed. Out of 257 assembly constituencies in 20 districts, the Congress party gave 86 tickets to Reddy community in 1985, 87 in 1989, and 80 in 1999\textsuperscript{29} (in the first list more than 120 tickets are given to Reddy community due to the pressure from above and below, their number reduced to 80). The Reddy community on all the parties in these three elections won 95, 72 and 75 seats in three elections respectively.

\textsuperscript{28} Naragoni, V.G.R, Rajakiya Antaranithanamlo BC lu (Backward Classes in Political Untouchability), B.C Garjana, February 2000, pp.36-39.

\textsuperscript{29} For 1985 and 89 only 257 out of 294 are surveyed and in 1999 all 294-assembly constituencies are surveyed, these 257 and 294 should be kept in mind when reading about the numerical strength of the castes on various political parties.
Table 1 shows the distribution of tickets by various political parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Caste/Community</th>
<th>Distribution of tickets on Congress Party</th>
<th>Distribution of tickets on TDP &amp; Alliance</th>
<th>Total No. of Seats won on all parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reddy</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamma</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other FCs</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCs</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC/STs</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36+8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Congress party for Kammamas 27, 35 out of 257 and 27 out of 294 are given in three elections.

Bahujan Samaj Party in the state: The Bahujan Samaj Party (hereafter BSP) was started in the state in 1989 with combination of the SC, ST, and BCs. The ideology of the BSP is very powerful in attracting and to shake the ruling and opposition dominant caste political parties. The slogans like 'votes are ours seats are yours', '80% seats to the 80% population had raised the hopes among the lower castes. When it comes to the reality, the performance of the BSP was very poor. The BSP contested 77 assembly seats in 1989 could not secure even a single seat.

The entry of BSP into state politics in a big way during the 1994 assembly elections, once again, raised hopes of a third force in the state. BSP supreme Kanshi Ram generated initial euphoria among the SCs, STs, and OBCs by raising the slogan of political power to 'bahujans' (majority). There was anticipation that the BSP would be able to cut into the fortunes of both the Congress (I) and the
TDP. It could not win a single seat though it contested for 218 assembly constituencies. In fact, all candidates, except one lost their deposits. Only 12 candidates could secure more than 5,000 votes.

From the above analysis of the role of political parties in mobilising the backward castes reveals that it is the social basis of the parties, which has decided whether the backward castes be accommodated or extended the support for the policies rather than the democratic principle of the proportional representation. Though the Communists from the beginning supported the reservations, they have neither taken it as an agenda for the campaign among the rural backward castes nor encouraged the leadership from them. Since the time of initiation of the Congress party, representing for the interests of the upper class and castes and neglected the backward castes in the party and power. With the rise of backward castes in north India, the Janata and Janatadal inevitably taken the pro-backward castes stand to defeat the Congress and BJP. The rise of Telugu desham party under the leadership of Kammas is the long pending overdue of becoming chief minister of the state. Since the Kamma community is confined to coastal Andhra only, it is difficult to win over the Reddy castes in Telangana and Rayalaseema that is why some of the backward caste elites are accommodated. The Bahujan Samaj Party miserably failed in making any demarcations in the politics of Andhra Pradesh.

Despite all efforts of the political parties to marginalize the backward castes, a minor section of the BC elites are made to protect the interests of the upper caste rulers from the threat of forming an alternative political platform by the neglected BCs. The marginalized majority backward castes, whose interests are not taken into consideration, are getting attracted towards the grass roots movements, which came into existence in 1970s. It seems that there is a clear class division within the backward castes; the rich and elites are accommodated in the parliamentary political parties and majority poor mass backward castes are attracted towards the grass roots movements since 1970s onwards.
With the partial accommodation of the backward castes in the ongoing political process of the state as discussed above by the post-independent democratic political system, based on the multi-party system and led by the provincial propertied dominant castes gave way to rise the non-party movements in the state. In order to protect the rights of the marginalized grass roots level people a number of social movements came into existence in the state.

4) Non-Party Organisations: Rise of the non-party movements, such as Naxalite, Civil Liberties, Dalit, Women, Dandora and in numerous civil society organisations like Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiah Foundation, Rural Development Trust, Deccan Development Society, Loksatta, the Self Help Group movement etc can be attributed to the negligence of the political parties and bureaucracy in solving the problems of larger mass of the society and these newly emerging organisations are occupying the space left by them. These movements and organisations are also called as the subaltern social movements or micro movements, which have questioned not only the provincial propertied castes and classes’ rule but also demanded for the structural changes in the existing socio, economic and political domain of the society.

The subaltern movements, active at the grass roots of the state politics for over three decades now, have been confronting the Indian state and the entrenched structures of local power on issues concerning local populations. They have created for themselves large local spaces generally vacated by political party organisations, which, over the years, have become devoted to pure electoral politics. These movements are now also locked in conflicts with the institutions and organisations representing the global economic and political power. The global structures, which have begun to penetrate local spaces without much mediation by way of either protection or control from the state's centralized institutions of planning and bureaucracy, have created for themselves another variety of local organisations including public affairs lobbies of international companies working on their behalf or collaborating with them.
The result is that local politics have become a variegated scene of conflict and collaboration with global economic structures as well as institutions of the Indian state.

Thus the new spaces for political action created at the local level by expansion of economic activity, on the one hand, and by the retreat of political parties, on the other, have been filled by a variety of political formations. These include the non-governmental development organisations, human rights organisations, organisations for the protection of the rights of women, lower castes. Tribals and children, and a variety of movements such as the ones for freeing the labour in social bondage and for protecting cultures and livelihood patterns of local populations (forest dwellers, fishermen, artisans, small and marginal farmers, and so on); the subjects of these organisations and movements are fast being eroded in the process of integration of the national economy and, in turn, the latter's integration into the world economy. A few survive this process in which the local, rural population are required to relocate their life and activity at a quick pace into the expanding mass culture of wage labour and consum ership; a few even prosper, but many fall by the wayside. Those with assets like land social privilege, and education find new opportunities for social mobility and acquisition of wealth, but many who lack these assets are being pushed into a state of socio economic deprivation, even destitution.

It is to this situation, experienced by people in different geographical locales and cultural milieus that the aforementioned organisations and movements are responding. A new breed of political actors leads them. These new actors made their home in the rural areas and tribal belts of India. Many of them left their careers in professions and political parties and have founded or joined people's organisations and movement groups. They usually locate their politics outside the party-electoral framework. Their politics are thus essentially of movements around issues that are of great concern to people in the local
communities in which they work. Some of the grass roots movements are as follows.

1) Naxalite Movement:

The Naxalite movement has got more than three decades of history in the country; still it is limited to the few pockets. Due to the existence of numerous groups within the Naxalite movement like People's War, Janasakthi, Prajaprathigatana, Bahujana sramika vimukti etc, pave the way for conflicts among them. The state is also taking it as the chance to dilute the groups and to curb the spread of the movement by killing the party workers. That is why there is a strong criticism (Keshav Rao Jadav) on the Naxalite movement that it has become 'war' between police Vs Naxalites. Another criticism from the dalit, adivasi and backward classes is that all those people who were killed in the movement are majority of them belongs to the lower castes of the society.

While fighting against the semi-feudal and semi-colonial Indian State, all the naxalite groups have recognised that the caste is one serious issue both at the ideological discourse and ground level fighting. As a part of it the people's war, Janasakthi groups supported the implementation of the Muralidhar Rao and Mandal Commission for the backward classes. In protest against the anti-reservation movement the naxalite movement organised the awareness camps, meetings, bandhs etc.

Despite its long history and sacrifice of thousands of the people still the Naxalite movement is unable to capture the state power, but they are running parallel government in some parts of the state, for instance Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nalamal forest area and also extending its hands towards the poorest of the poor and lower castes.

2) The Civil Liberties Movement: In order to protect the civil liberties, which are given in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Constitution of India from the violation of State, propertied classes, upper castes and the domestic violence, the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee came into existence in 1970s. The
prominent revolutionary poet Srirangam Srinivasa Rao was the founder president of the Committee. Since its inception the APCLC has been opposing State violence like fake-encounters, emergency imposed by Smt. Indira Gandhi, atrocities on the Dalits, Adivasis and women and other weaker sections. The APCLC is standing for the cause of the poorest of the poor in the society whether it is in the case of distribution of land, supporting of the reservations for the Dalits, Adivasis, Backward classes, Women etc.

3) Dalit Movement: The Dalit movement also got long history in the state but the powerful assertion of the movement started with the physical attacks on the dalits. The major events of such attacks are Madigas of Karamchedu in 1985 by the rich Kamma community during the time of Telugudesam rule, when N.T. Rama Rao was the Chief Minister. Another incident that forced the lower caste people to assert themselves is the Chundur in 1991 at the time of Congress rule, when N. Janardhana Reddy was the Chief Minister. The Dalit movement, which came into existence in the wake of Karamchedu, Chundur has created a powerful consciousness among the dalits and backward classes on their rights. The Dalit Mahasabha made a B.C (Chakali) as its President. It has strongly supported the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations to provide the reservations for the OBCs at the national. In order to protest against the anti-reservation movement the Dalit Mahasabha organised the demonstrations and public meetings all over the state. The Dalit Mahasabha also generated a powerful awareness among the dalits about the S.C, S.T atrocities Act, produced a lot of dalit literature, put a lot of pressure on the Central and State Governments to mobilise the funds and to introduce the favourable welfare policies and to strictly implement the reservation policy.

Though the Dalit Mahasabha put powerful ideological attack on the provincial dominant castes, but it has not rose to the stage to challenge them in the economic and political spheres by uniting dalit, adivasi, backward classes and minorities in the state.
4) Anti-Arrack Movement: The anti-arrack movement was the first one in the state led by women exclusively both urban and rural. In fact the anti-arrack movement was started in 1980s by the Naxalite movement in three phases. In the first phase Naxalite groups demanded for the reduction of the rates of the arrack, in the second phase for punishing the contractors by collecting funds. By 1990s the arrack created a situation in which women unable to breathe from financial problems of the family and physical attacks by their drink addicted husbands. In the initial stage the movement was started in Nellore district during Congress regime in the state. The Askharajyothi was the programme implemented for the rural illiterate woman in Nellore district, when K. Raju was the Collector, in this there was a story revealing that the women revolted against the liquor addicted husbands, which has influenced the rural dalit, backward castes woman.

Soon the movement attracted the intellectuals like Dr. K. Balagopal, Prof. Haragopal, Dr. Ilaiah, K.G.Kannabhiran, Shatragna and a number of progressive organisations like Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, AP Dalita Mahasabha in the state. The movement also attracted the largest circulating Eenadu Telugu daily to campaign. The movement got intensified all over the state. But there is criticism on Eenadu, since the paper belong to the kamma businessman and then in the state Congress party was in power and was dominated by the reddy community, therefore it had created a favourable atmosphere for the Telugu Desam, which is dominated by the coastal Andhra kammas to win in the forth coming Assembly elections.

The movement succeeded in banning the liquor in the state for a period of time and illiterate, poor, dalit, backward and middle class women proved that women could also lead a movement and change the public policy. At the time of anti-arrack-movement Telugu Desam Party promised to ban the liquor in the state. In 1994 Assembly elections the TDP capture the power with the vote bank of women and backward classes and put the ban on sale of liquor during NTR period. Due to the lack of political will of the Government to have liquor free
state, pressure from the liquor lobby and flow of illicit liquor from all sides of the borders of the state and corrupt, inefficient excise department miserably failed to control the flow of the liquor. Therefore, Chandra Babu Naidu Government lifted the ban on liquor in the state.

5) Dandora Movement: For the classification of existing scheduled caste reservations into A, B, C, D and E groups the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi, a social organisation, (hereafter MRPS) had emerged in the 1990s, soon it was capable enough to mobilise highly suppressed Madiga community in lakhs. The movement was succeeded in achieving its goal of classification of reservations through memondurams, petitions, dharnas, demonstrations, padayatras etc. After classification of the scheduled caste reservations into categories the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi formed a political organisation called Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi (MSS) demanding the proportional representation, power to the oppressed communities, distribution of land to the poorest of the poor lower castes, etc. The MSS was formed with a large number of proliferated caste associations like, MRPS, Lambadi Hakkula Porata Samithi, Gollakurmala dolu debba, Gouda mokudebba, Chakali’s Chakirevudebba etc. Though the MSS contested in the elections, it has hardly got the deposits in any constituency. There is an allegation on the MSS that it was formed on the advice of the Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu to disrupt the unification of the oppressed communities and alliance with any political party. Within a short time the MSS has got divided, while opposing attitudes of the Convenor Manda Krishna Madiga, into two groups. One is original Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi and second one is the Mahajana party. These two organisations are in the process of mobilising the suppressed communities of the society in their own way with the aim of capturing the political power.

6). Rise of Civil Society Organisations: The non-governmental organisations or civil society organisations came into existence in order to put pressure on the State, Corporate sector and civil society to take up the highly neglected issues by
the political parties and bureaucracy. The NGOs like Mamidipudi Venkataramaiah Foundation (MVF) has been working for the schooling of the child labour and building the pressure on the state to take the measures to eradicate the child labour. The child labours staying in the MVF camps for the bridge schools reveals that the children are from the marginalized communities of SCs, STs and BCs. Eradicating child labour means educating the lower caste children.

Loksatta is another organisation working for the democratic reforms in the country for the transparent, accountable, and responsive legislature, judiciary and executive. Loksatta is also advocating for the democratic principle of proportional representation. Ankuram Sangamam Poram is working for the co-operative movement among the dalitbahujans. With the success of the anti-arrack movement, for the social solidarity, economic sustainability and institutional strength, the Self Help Group (SHG) movement came into existence. Subsequently the United Nation's Development Program (UNDP) extended its support to the SHG movement in the state for the empowerment of women. Now the SHG movement is scaled up all over the state for the poorest of the poor women of the lower castes. But there is a criticism on the SHG movement that they are sabotaged for the political interests of the ruling party.

With the retreat of the state from the welfare activities in the globalisation process, the role of civil society organisations has been increasing. But few of them are working with commitment and dedication and majority are the fraud and manipulating for the financial support from the state, international donors and the corporate sector, which is talking about the social responsibility.

Despite all the limitations the grass roots organisations have been, basically, focusing on the neglected issues of the poorest of the poor backward, dalit, Adivasi, women etc by the state like land, reservations, anti-arrack, child labour, democratic representation, providing alternative source of economic activities like cooperatives, SHGs and other supportive initiations. The issues
addressed by the grassroots organisations have got both structural and incremental nature of the largest marginalized lower castes; therefore, their role has been increasing in the present global scenario.

Summing up: The examination of the four instruments of mobilization of backward castes reveals that the caste associations, as natural associations are successful in terms of mobilizing its caste people by raising consciousness. But there are number of castes outside the mobilisation within the backward castes due to lack of political awareness, support from the mobilised backward castes. Therefore, the differences between the mobilised and non-mobilised castes have posed a big problem for the backward castes movement in the long run. The consequences of these differences are rise of class variations and fragmentation in mobilisation.

The Federation of Caste Associations or Backward Castes Associations originated on the foundations of the caste associations. Though the base of the Backward Caste Associations is broader in terms of mobilizing the people and kind of interests articulated. When the leaders of these associations started mobilising the large chunk of the BC population, the ruling dominant caste elite divided the associations and created factions within the BC leaders. It is, probably, due to the lack of strategy of weakening the dominant caste rulers and their socio-economic base by adopting ideology like Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement, strong demand for the structural policies rather than ineffective, incremental and inadequate policies, occupying the leadership of the parties and solidarity, network and coordination of the backward castes movements in various states and strong coalition at the national level.

Mobilization of the backward castes by the political parties indicates that they are mobilized for the vote bank, for the social base, for changing of the regime of the one dominant caste by another and not for the democratic representation. Until today, there is no clarity in any mainstream political party, except one or two revolutionary groups, about the reservations and
accommodation of the backward classes. As a party the Congress, BJP, (on the name of economic criteria,), opposing the reservations and TDP also did not take any stand on the women reservation bill due to the concentration of the leadership in the hands of the upper castes at the decision making level. Therefore, all the upper caste political parties using the backward castes for their interests rather than the interests of backward castes.

Though the grass roots organisations came into existence in a historical turning point to work for the interests of the marginalized people of the society, they are limited to few pockets and few issues, which are not fully realised so far. There is a strong criticism on these organisations also from the lower castes people that the people are suffering in the process of struggle are belongs to the lower castes and leadership is in the hands of the upper caste urban elite class. Therefore, there is need to adopt the strategy of collective leadership with participatory decentralised decision making for the democratisation of the civil society.

The first generation of the backward castes leaders played different roles of fighting against colonial/Nizam feudal domination, for the reform of their specific caste and for the upliftment of the backward castes and contesting in the elections in post-independent period. By the time of second generation of the backward caste leaders there is a lot of chaos at the organisational level, where they are fragmented in terms of mobilisation, marginalized in the political parties and their leadership in the grass roots organisations is neglected. The root cause for the marginalisation and fragmentation of the backward castes in mobilisation and capturing the political power lies in not encouraging the non-mobilised backward castes.