Chapter-I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Dalits of India are the socially, economically and politically oppressed among the weaker sections in India. They are called with different names like untouchables (ancient period), depressed classes (British period) Scheduled Castes (Simon Commission) Harijan (Gandhi) and Dalits (Ambedkar). The word ‘Dalit’ comes from the Hindi root ‘dal’ which means ‘held under check’, suppressed crushed, or in a looser sense oppressed, the usage of the term “dalit” seems to have originated from the Arya Samaj their dalitoddhara (improvement of the downtrodden) program. The Arya Samaj began the All India shraddhanand Dalit odwar sabha to improve the lot of Dalits.

The Hindu caste system divided the people into the four major castes on the basis of their occupation and it is also mentioned in the vades. The Brahmin, the priestly class came from the head of God and they are only eligible for learning and teaching and performing sacrifices. Others cannot teach and perform sacrifice. The Kshatriyas, they warrior class came from the shoulder of God and they are also eligible for learning. Their work is to protect the people by waging a war against the enemies. The Vaisys, the trading class, came from the thigh of God and their work is to trade, perform agriculture and feed the above two classes. The Sudras, they servant came from the feet of God and their work is to do all menial works to the above three twice born castes. They are not entitled to learn mything. In contrast to the above, the untouchables are at the bottom of the list and they were not at all undue the preview of even the different classes of people. By and large, such a rigid caste system is not found
anywhere in the world. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is a well known established scholar, who described the fifth Varna as broken men.⁴

Dalits have been considered to be the most degraded, downtrodden, exploited and the least educated in the Indian society. Dalits have been suffering humiliation, loss of respect, dignity, culture, and above all, unspeakable horror of the caste system for the past three thousand years of human history. Until today, India’s caste system has compelled them to perform the most inhuman jobs, from manual scavenging, skinning animals, disposal of the dead animals, cleaning streets, landless labour, child labour and performing the most inhuman tasks, such as cleaning the toilet and disposal of human waste.⁵

The problem of untouchability and exploitation of Dalits in social, economic and political areas has been a stark reality in the Indian society. They have suffered in terms of social, economic, cultural and political aspects. Many religious leaders, social reformers, Britishers, Christian missionaries, princely state princes, social and political leaders worked for abolition of untouchability, removal of poverty and political representations. A number of leaders raised their voice against the upper caste exploitation of the Dalits such as; Jyotiba Phule, M.K. Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar, Iyothee Thass and Rettimalai Srinivasan, M.C. Raja etc., they are particularly noticeable for their struggle for the Dalits.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a noted scholar and philosopher and the Constitution maker of India, after having trained his formal higher education in United Kingdom and United States of America, attended the three Round Table Conferences in London for the political rights of Dalits with sufficient facts and figures about the condition of the dalits and also appeared in front of the Simon Commission in India. Immediately, The Communal Award was made by the British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald on 16 August 1932 granting separate electorates in British India for the Forward
Caste, Lower Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Untouchables (now known as the Dalits) etc. As a result of the Second Round Table Conference, in August 1932, the then Prime Minister of Britain Ramsay Macdonald gave his 'award' known as the Communal Award. According to it, separate representation was to be provided for the Forward Caste, Lower Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Dalits. The Untouchables were assigned a number of seats to be filled by election from special constituencies in which voters belonging to the Untouchables only could vote. The Award was highly controversial and opposed by Mahatma Gandhi, who was in Yeravda jail, and fasted in protest against it. Once the Depressed Classes were treated as a separate community, the question of abolishing untouchability would not arise, and the work of Hindu social reform in this respect would come to a halt. Communal Award was supported by many among the minority communities, most notably the Untouchable leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. After lengthy negotiations, Gandhi reached an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar to have a single Hindu electorate, with Untouchables having seats reserved within it. This is called the Poona Pact. Electorates for other religions like Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans remained separate. Akali Dal, the representative body of the Sikhs, was also highly critical of the Award, since only 19% reservation was provided to the Sikhs in Punjab, as opposed to the 51% reservation for the Muslims and 30% for the Hindus.  

After the independence of India, the Constitutional makers had paid more interest towards Dalit Political Empowerment and included a few articles in the Indian Constitution for providing reservation in the areas of Education, Employment and Political representation at the central, state and local government levels. Also various party governments at the central level have amended the constitution to include a few provisions in the original constitution. In view of Directive Principles of State Policy of the Indian Constitution, the Centre and State governments have been implementing
various kinds of welfare schemes and developmental measures for the empowerment
dalit in india.  

Constitutional protection, government protective measures and working of Non-
governmental organizations play a pivotal role in the process of protection of dalit rights
in India, but the outcome is not at desired level for the overall empowerment of Dalits in
Tamil Nadu. Dalits are affected in many forms, many areas and till now, a few of the
dalits were not allowed to enjoy their rights in the Panchayati Raj Administration as a
President or Chairman which is responsible for promoting and protecting the
decentralization process and interest of marginalized groups political representatives
especially dalits. They are also victims of the police firing and majority of the civil society
not fouther about police firing on dalits in Tamil Nadu. After the implementation of the
globalization process some of the governmental institutions are gradually converted to
private sector. The private sectors only concentrate on money and merits. Till now dalits
are not avail reservation in the private sector.

A political party is defined as an organized group of people with at least roughly
similar political aims and opinions, that seeks to influence public policy by getting its
candidates elected to public office. Parties tend to be deeply and durably entrenched in
specific substructures of the specific society in a sustainable and well functioning
democracy. They can link the governmental institutions to the elements of the civil
society in a free and fair society and are regarded as necessary for the functioning any
modern democratic political system. Group of persons organized to acquire and exercise
political power. All parties develop a political program that defines their ideology and
sets out the agenda they would pursue should they win elective office or gain power
through extra parliamentary means. Most countries have single-party, two-party, or
multiparty systems. Political organization focus on supporting candidates for public
office, winning elections and forming government. Political organization
including political institution, political parties, political groups- e.g. advocacy groups, Interest groups etc. . Political organizations are engaged in political activities aimed at achieving clearly defined political goals, which improve political system, benefit the interests of their members- e.g., members organizing, campaign, labor unions, etc.

With the help of constitutional measures, many of the Dalit leaders have formed political parties and organizations to protect the Dalits in different forms of untouchability in Tamil Nadu. Viduthalai Chiruththaikal Katchi, Puthiya Tamizhagam, Adi Tamizhar Peravai are noted parties and organizations like aAmbedkar Makkal Iyyakkam, Tiyagi Immanuel Peravai, Tamil Nadu All Arunthathiyar Sangam Coordination" (TAASCO), Tamil Nadu Arundhadiar Youth Front major organization. In this context, this study makes an attempt to analyze the role of Dalit Political parties and organizations in the Panchayati raj system, entry of Dalits in caste Hindus temples and police firing on dalits and reservation in private sector under the entitled “Dalit Political Parties and Organization in Tamil Nadu—A Study”
1.2. Review of Literature

Review of literature plays a vital role in any part of research investigation. It enables the research to identify the emerging trends, potential areas, growth of an area part trends and identify the gap in the previous studies. In view of this, this section makes an attempt to review the part studies related to caste system, panchayat raj and Dalits and social exclusive of Dalits in social and political contexts. This review of literature section is systematically arranged in year wise of books, articles, unpublished research works.

Books

A study by Becker, (1971) on The Economics of Discrimination focused on the relationship between racial prejudice among whites and discrimination against racial minorities in a competitive model. In contrast to much of the contemporaneous literature, the author formalized the definition of racial preferences, depicting them as an aversion to cross racial interaction. Using a series of models he analysed the effect of the possession of such preferences among customers, co-workers, and employers on black relative wages. An employer discriminates against untouchables, women, or other minority members when he refuses to hire them though they are cheaper relative to their productivity than the persons he does hire. According to Becker, this kind of discrimination raises the employer’s costs and lowers his profits. This puts him at a competitive disadvantage relative to employers who maximize their profits by hiring only on the basis of productivity per dollar of cost. Strongly discriminating employers, therefore, tend to lose out to other employers in competitive industries that allow the easy entry of new firm .

A notable study by Mahar’s (1972) on “The Untouchables in Contemporary India” explains the history of untouchables in the past century and points to several
attempts by them to gain a new identity through religious conversions. Alexander’s study of the new Christians of Kerala also highlights this point. Despite conversions, the Pulays in Kerala have hardly rid themselves of their traditional allegiances. Owen Lynch’s study of Jatavas explains the attempts of this community to gain a new identity through conversion under the leadership of Ambedkar. Zelliot’s comparative analysis of Gandhi and Ambedkar who held such divergent views brings out their historic roles and stresses the two main dimensions of the problem.


Suresh’s (1996) article on The Dalit Movement in India discuss the Dalit Movement in India has a history of over 100 years. Dalits have waged a long, arduous and often bitter struggle against oppressive caste discrimination, economic exploitation, marginalized political participation, and an unjust social order. Their movement has achieved considerable success, ranging from such legislative enactments as those declaring the practice of untouchability and offence, to concrete measures such as reservation in the spheres of education, employment, and elected representation civic and legislative bodies. An important achievement of the Dalit movements has been to force non-Dalits, especially the upper castes/ classes, to accept the fact that the Dalits constitute an important force in policies.

Palanithurai’s, (1999) work on New Panchayati Raj System at Work: an Evaluation, explain the redefinition of governance, globalization of economy and decentralization of power at present, the role of the government is not that of a provider but a facilitator. How human collectivities have perceived the new disposition is a major question daunting the minds of all today. New Panchayati Raj System at
Work: An evaluation is the outcome of the repeated exercise done at various villages analyzing the functions of the new panchayati raj system. The New Panchayati Raj System established through the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India emphasized the major original function of achieving economic development and social justice by performing planning exercise at the grass-root level with the active participation of the people. 243 (G) is the operative clause of the Amendment which has been properly understood by only a few leaders and states. In Tamil Nadu, what is going on in the rural areas after the election to the Local bodies is the major concern of the study. This work brings out the details of the mind-set of the elected local body leaders and the bureaucrats who are working in the Local body institutions. The interface between the leaders and the officials has also been highlighted in this work. The practical difficulties faced by the local body leaders in discharging their role, function and responsibilities have been the focus of discussion in this work based on the cases analysis. Major concern is whether the Tamil Nadu Panchayati is moving in the direction given by the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India.12

Ramashray Roy’s (2000) work on *Dalit, Development and Democracy*, is an important work on the Indian Dalits. The author examines the social, economic as well as political issues concerning development of the Dalits. The study, therefore, has a wide canvas. It takes up aspects related to economic betterment, social upliftment and political empowerment and in that process sheds new light on several facts of Dalit life. As the author points out, the continued depressed socio-economic condition of the Dalits in India raises questions about the relationship between development and democracy.13

Palanithurai, (2000) work’s on *Grassroots Democracy in Indian Society* brought that out emphasis has been on "Development Administration", both in the Academic world and in the domain of Administration, "Development Politics" has been lost sight
of. The gap between the two is narrow and very thin. The former one cannot have any impact in the society without the latter one and vice versa. At present what we see today is too much of non-issues and very little issues in politics. Yet our polity and administration have got resilience to withstand pressure and manage the crisis, though our political elites and bureaucracy have moved away from good governance. The success and sustenance of our democratic governance is largely the result of the matured behaviour of the people. Often people express their feelings through their ballots and the politicians do understand the feelings and yet they could not mend themselves to act in accordance with the aspirations of the people. There is a block which is invisible between the government and the people. To break the block, steps have been taken to decentralize power which will reach even the unreached. This process of decentralization will bring the Indian polity from non-issues to issues, crisis management to development management and public administration to development administration. The major issues involved in the governing process have been highlighted in this work. It draws lessons mostly from Tamil Nadu. It will help the academics and students to look at governance from the perspective of Development Administration and Development Politics.  

Palanithurai, (2001) works on **Capacity Building for Local Leaders**, explains the decentralization of power which transfers volume of responsibilities from higher level institutions to grassroots level organizations with much emphasis on people’s responsibility, and accountability and transparency of the government. The training experiences are valuable for strengthening grassroots democracy. Hence, all the training programmes are well documented and compiled. To perfect the training methodology the documents are compiled and presented in the forms of a book for the readers. This kind of exercise would build the capacity of the leaders to meet the challenges of this century and further to improve the method and material of training.
Vyasulu’s, (2003) work on Panchayats, Democracy and Development. In 1992, the Indian Parliament approved of the 73rd constitutional amendment, which made it mandatory for state governments to devolve powers to local bodies. More than a decade later, Vinod Vyasulu, director, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore and a longtime observer of panchayati raj institutions, reviews this decade in Karnataka, also presenting Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh as case studies.

Palanithurai’s (2003) work on New Panchayati Raj System in Tamil Nadu (with Act in Original), explains the rural transformation undergoes a metamorphosis after the introduction of new governance at grassroots through the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India. Further, it is noticed from the study that newly created institutions for governance have teething problems and yet they picked up momentum in their dynamics. New concretization takes place in the minds of the people about their role and responsibility and feverish socio-economic activities have been initiated by the institutions and a new kind of relationship has been established between the state government and the grassroots institutions as established between the Central government and State government. Problems, which had not been so far noticed, have come to the surface while deepening democracy in the society. A new participatory culture comes to governance at the grassroots and thereby it indicates that it would move towards the other realm of governance. Variety of institutions both evolved and imposed over a period of time, have come to synergies their activities for effective delivery of services. Thus, it seems the concept 'governance' provides a new meaning and explanation as activities are centering on people by relegating the concept government to the background. It does not mean that the process is smooth and positive. Decentralization process has its own obstacles as it breaks many hurdles. Strategies have been evolved then and there to overcome such obstacles and barriers
and it moves towards the people to empower them. The whole process of the transformation has been captured in this work from the experience of the provinces. 17

Ghanshyam Shah’s (2004) invaluable intellectual work on Social Movement in India: A Review of Literature explains the various social movements in India into nine categories based on the participation and issues involved: peasants, tribals, dalits, backward castes, women, students, middle class, working class, and human rights and environmental groups. Each of the nine chapters is divided according to the major components of most social movements: issues, ideology, organization and leadership based on these divisions. The author critically examines and reviews the literature concerning social movements in India from 1857 to the present and discussed the theoretical issues raised by various scholars while analyzing major trends in different movements. 18

Puri’s work on (2004) Dalits: in Regional Context, discusses the position of Dalits and their conditions of life in different parts of India. The regional diversities cover a wide range of differences in the historical evolution of caste hierarchy, social reform movements, the differential reform of socio-economic changes, the affirmative actions and the experiences of collective Dalit resistance and mobilization. Punjab region, having the largest percentage of dalit population, is known as a ‘notable exception’ to the widely prevalent Brahmanic view of caste and untouchability. Sikh religion made a significant difference in the region. The Green Revolution may be counted among other notable influences. This volume brings together articles based on recent studies relating to various dimensions of change in the position of Dalits and their present day living experience in Punjab. These cover a wide range of issues, such as, demographic position, the impact of changes in the political economy, state’s affirmative action, education, gender violations, history of political resistance and mobilization, Dalit literature and position of Dalit the Sikh community. 19

Palanithurai’s, (2004) collected works on Rural Transformation and Peoples Entitlements, Indian society has witnessed a cataclysmic change, both externally and internally, due to the implications of modernization, westernization, industrialization and the initiatives of the government sponsored development programmes. The change witnessed in the society does not reflect the positive elements for achieving peace and prosperity. As a result, one could witness social conflict in the Indian society despite the functioning of democracy to achieve development. Government machinery has involved in development activities in a massive way to alleviate poverty and to achieve prosperity. But still the question remains unanswered as to what extent basic entitlements of the poor are secured. This book tries to analyze the process of social transformation and evaluate the role of government in ensuring the entitlements of the people. The issues are analyzed not in the backdrop of any theory but from the perspective of the people. The discussion on the issues is being visualized in a futuristic way.  

Palanithurai’s, (2004) work on Dynamics of New Panchayati Raj System in India: Empowerment of Women (Volume-4) examines the various aspects of ongoing process of empowerment of women in the country, drawing experiences from different states. Analyzing the role of women in decentralization, it addresses a variety of issues concerning political empowerment of women at grassroots level, decentralization of
child care service, emerging patterns of rural women leadership and gender needs. The contributions of Self-Help Groups have also been assessed.22

Hugo Gorringe’s (2005) field study research work on Untouchable Citizens: Dalit Movement and Democratization in Tamil Nadu, focused on the more recent rise of Dalit politics in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. Dalit identity assertion and political mobilization have irrevocably transformed the Indian political landscape. While the impact of the Dalit movement on the terms and definitions of political configurations in Tamil Nadu is clearly visible, behind this macro-level change is the everyday struggle against the entrenched power matrix at the grassroots. This book examines the mode of organization and engagement in politics of the Dalits in Tamil Nadu, and their contribution to the processes of democratization and egalitarianism further, the authors argues that it is at the local level that relations of power are challenged, negotiated and reconfigured, and it is through these processes that the Dalit movements have brought large sections of the opposed classes into the fold of India’s democratic polity as active participants with its many insights. 23

Viswanathan’s (2005) work on Dalits in Dravidian Land, discusses the dalit empowerment, human rights, violence in Tamil Nadu in many articles of Frontline. The author’s explicit discusses the physical violence perpetrated largely by the backward castes, which claim victimhood under Brahmans but also turn oppressors of dalits. Tamil Nadu, home to the non-Brahmin movement, has been projected by the political class, social scientists and policy makers as fertile soil for social justice. However, the Dravidian movement empowerment agenda left the dalits –nineteen percent of the population –almost untouched. In fact, dalits have been subjected to the worst forms of violence, from being forced to consume human excreta to being murdered for contesting local body elections.24
Narender Kumar and Manoj Rai (2006) have made a study on Dalit Leadership in Panchayats: a Comparative Study of four States; it is based on a field survey carried out in four states of India on emerging Dalit leadership in Panchayats after the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act. Though, situations in different states vary, but still there are certain common factors. While education, experience, family, community, economic independence and personal initiatives have been found to be enabling factors for the effectiveness of Dalit leadership; caste practices continue to be the most inhibiting factor in all states. But, like many other studies, this book has also recognized the potential of Dalit leadership in Panchayats. These local leaders have capacities to ring those irreversible positive changes in our social system, which could not be achieved by democratically elected state and union governments.  

Ghanshyam Shah, (2006) etal discussed on Untouchability in Rural India and specifically it focuses on systematic documentation of the incidence and extent of the practice of untouchability in contemporary rural India, based on the results of a large survey covering 565 villages in 11 states. It reveals that untouchables continue to be widely prevalent and is practiced in one form or another in almost 80 percent of the villages. Field data are supplemented by information about the forms of discrimination which Dalits face in everyday life. The authors also describe Dalit efforts to overcome deeply entrenched caste hierarchies and assert their right to live with dignity. The authors show that the notion of untouchability continues to pervade the public sphere, including a host of institutions and the interactions that occur within them.  

Joe Arun, (2007) in his work on Constructing Dalit Identity, attempts to construct the Dalits of Tamil Nadu identity by transforming the symbols of pollution into symbols of their culture and positive identity. It argues that conflict is a necessary condition for identity formation. It remains as a resource and it helps them become self- conscious of their low and polluted identity and guide them to imagine a new identity. To this end,
instead of negating the symbols of pollution used by higher castes, the Dalits use the same symbols and myths to deconstruct their low identity and redefine themselves. Drawing on the empirical data from three-year fieldwork, this book explains that conflict, symbolization and identification are the three key phases in the construction of identity.  

Sachchidananda’s (2007) work on **Empowerment of Dalits through Panchayati Raj: The Bihar Experience.** The Dalit have been trapped in poverty and deprivation for a long time. They are victims of destitution, deprivation and debt bondage. An economically backward society such as Bihar lacks all those dynamic qualities that support, sustain and speed up socio-economic growth. Removal of all the road blocks is a prerequisite for empowerment. The Dalit must get their due share in and access to societal resources. Although the development process has made a slight dent in the dense structure of inequality, empowerment has to be cultivated to transform the state of helplessness and passivity into a state of hope and action. This can only be achieved through psychological mobilization necessary for demolishing the edifice of inequality, injustice and exploitation. It induces radical change in one-s personality resulting in a new approach to the prevailing situation. The Panchayati Raj possesses all potentials for the creation of a new social order. It provides a platform for grassroots action. In many places, it has been an instrument of liberation, education and collective intervention and critical thinking of marginalized groups of shape their own future. In the present book an attempt has been made to probe the process of empowerment of elected scheduled caste representatives, both men and women, in six districts in Bihar in which they have a large concentration. The role played by them in the running of the Gram Panchayat has been examined. The constraints to the empowerment process by demolishing structural as well as socio-economic barriers have been discussed.  

A study by Chidambaram Pillai (2007) on **Right to Temple Entry** is a remarkable piece which discusses the journey of the caste Hindus towards attaining the right to
temple entry. The book narrates the idea behind the formation of temples and their transformation through the ages. It also details the control of Hindu temples by the British and how British Government gave up its control over Hindu Temples.²⁹

Thorat (2007) et al., have made their work on Reservation and Private Sector, which discusses Policies of legal safeguards and reservation/affirmative action’s in favour of discriminated groups have a tendency, globally, to generate acrimonious and heated debates. The idea of introducing reservation in the private sector has received a fair share of differing opinions in India. This volume brings representative pieces of those opinions together at one place. The papers address some of critical issues that appeared in the current debate on reservation: Are the concerns about discrimination related only to equity or they also involve economic and political costs? How sound are the arguments against anti-discriminatory policies for private sector? Does reservation adversely affect economic efficiency and compromise merit? Or it ensures equality of opportunity for the discriminated groups and also creates economic milieu for better economic performance? In other words, are the principle of equity and canon of efficiency always at odds with each other? And, what are the possible remedies against market discrimination?. This book, by bringing together insightful perspectives from prominent academicians, opinion makers in the media, captains of the corporate world as well as politicians, reflects contemporary thinking of Indian society on a vital and contentious issue of private sector reservation. It will be helpful to the academia, government, NGOs as well as researchers and students and to all those, who are concerned about discriminations associated with caste and systematic exclusion and multiple deprivations suffered by Dalits.³⁰

Kothari’s,(2008) edited work on Caste in Indian Politics, examined the confrontation in India between the age –old caste system and the parliamentary form of government based on universal suffrage vividly illustrates the manner in which old and
historical societies get involved in, and provide content to, the modernizing process. Caste in Indian politics is a collection of studies dealing with this theme. Rejecting the prevailing dichotomy between traditional society and modern polity, these studies examine the interaction between the two in given community and territorial setting. An analytical essay by Rajini Kothari provides the framework. Of the nine studies that follow, four are based on detailed investigation of individual caste movements and structures and their induction into the political process. The other five deal with certain macro dimensions of the political involvement of caste. Each of these studies tries to bring out the substantial change that has taken place in the inter-relationship between the antecedent social structure of Indian and democratic politics and underlines the emerging idiom of social-political behaviour.\textsuperscript{31}

Deogharia and Maji (2008) brought out their work on \textbf{Panchayati Raj and Mobilization of Weaker Sections}. Further, the authors revealed that "The role of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) is crucial not only to strengthen the grass root democracy but also for rural development of our country. PRIs ensure participation of masses in the process of development and it also mobilizes the weaker sections of the rural India to actively participate in the developmental process. However, in spite of the constitutionals provision the PRIs Act is not being implemented affectively in our country. The role of Panchayati Raj in mobilization of weaker sections and role of women in PRIs are issues of concern. There has been a lot of research on PRIs. This volume contains papers which analyses the various aspects and issue relating PRIs which will help us to acquire a better understanding on PRIs. This comprehensive volume containing valued articles presented at a national seminar will be extremely useful for further consultations on policy research activities.\textsuperscript{32}

Thorat and Umakant’s (2009) edited work on \textbf{Caste, Race and Discrimination: Discourses in International Context}, discusses the World Conference against racism,
racial discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerance (WCAR), held at Durban in South Africa in 2001. This volume contains papers, which addresses issues related to caste, race and discrimination, internalization of caste, present status of Dalit and similar groups from Nepal and Japan, alternative remedies against discrimination and inequality and other such issues. This literature coming from different sources is immensely rich, insightful and reflective of the contemporary thinking of Indian society on the question of caste and Dalits.\(^{33}\)

Sukhadeo Throat and Nerender Kumar’s (2009) work on **B.R.Ambedkar: Perspectives on Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policies**, used Ambedkar’s original writings statements, and memorandums. This volume reviews his contribution to the development of inclusive policies during the British rule and its culmination into the policy of reservation in the Constituent Assembly. In five sections it explores the problems of exclusionary nature of Indian society; constitutional reforms; political and electoral representation; fair share in employment and education; safeguards against social discrimination and economic exploitation; and post-constitution reforms and policies.\(^{34}\)

Baviskar and George Mathew’s (2009) field studies research works on **Inclusion and Exclusion in local Governance: Field Studies Form Rural India** is a product of a rare national-level study conducted in forty two panchayats across twelve states to reveal how democratic decentralization is working in Indian villages. This is done through stories of empowerment as well as discrimination against women, Scheduled Castes and scheduled tribes. They have adopted a unique research methodology which may set a trend for future national-level qualitative studies. The field studies offer insights about rural India from a micro-level perspective instead of providing macro level generalities.\(^{35}\)

Arora and Hooja’s, (2009) works on **Panchayati Raj, Participation and Decentralization**, explains the most significant characteristic of India’s parliamentary
democracy is its vigorous grassroots structure. Local level participatory and democratic institutions, sprawling throughout the country, have not only brought authenticity to the democratic spirit, but have also made the whole process of governance increasingly effective and responsive. More particularly, after the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Indian Constitution, the decentralized governance framework has introduced a new dynamism into the overall process of participatory democracy. Even though the constitutional amendments have not been implemented in totality, yet the process of democratization has become irreversible and it can be hoped, therefore, that in years to come, India could boast of a vibrant responsible democracy, the tentacles of which would reach every community, group and territory of the country.\textsuperscript{36}

A study by Barik and Sahoo (2009) on \textit{Panchayati Raj Institutions And Rural Development: Narratives on Inclusion of Excluded}, discusses the 73rd Constitutional Amendment provided space for the first time to the invisible and excluded categories in the society to participate in the decentralized democratic institutions like Panchayati Raj, which works at the grassroots level for the development of these people and let alone the society at large. The papers presented in this volume review through narratives the micro-macro ground realities on a broad canvas of interdisciplinary approach. It also offers a comprehensive account of development dynamics, participatory governance and empowerment of excluded categories.\textsuperscript{37}

Sharma (2010) in his important book on \textit{Caste and Class in India}, discuss the complex dynamics of the nexus between caste and class. Caste as seen from the class point of view makes it explicit that the two inherent each other historically as well as in contemporary India as inseparable aspects of India’s social formation. However, the dynamics of the nexus have varied from region to region. A lot of anti-Brahmin movements in the southern states and Maharashtra before independence created a great deal of socio-political awakening among the masses. The movements organized by
the left parties after 1947 have further added to the persisting anti-Brahmin and anti-landlord thinking among the dalits. Despite all these antithetical tendencies, castes persist, and in some cases even the upper caste leaders of the left parties have been found as the biggest landlords in Kerala and some other parts of India. Caste seems to have its decline and revival at the same time, and this is possible because caste is appropriated by a select group of people to their economic and political advantages.38

Thakur’s, (2010) work on Women Empowerment through Panchayati Raj Institutions, study the problems and Prospects of Women in the changing rural social and Political system is the need of today's system. Because women consist of 48.9 per cent of the Population and after all Governmental and non-governmental efforts their position is not improving equally to men. Panchayati Raj Institutions opened a vast opportunity for the development and Progress of rural women; especially 50 per cent reservation through Bihar Panchayati Raj Act, 2006 had made village women and Society to rethink their role in political and social field. The rural women in Bihar are subjected to discrimination, operation, subordination and exploitation. Through the institutions of Panchayati Raj they can prove themselves strong in the society and these types of operation can be removed. This book is an effort to become an example and guideline for their problems and prospects.39

Niraja Gopal Jayal (2010) etal, have made a study on Local Governance in India Decentralization and Beyond which brought out the complexities of local governance, both rural and urban, in contemporary India. It argues that there is more to local governance today than a focus on decentralization. The essays discuss some of the lesser known aspects of the interface between panchayats and other institutions of local governance, whether district administration of parastatal agencies and civil society organizations. In addition, they examine sectorial experiences in health and primary education, local governance in the urban and rural settings, and related issues of
transparency, representation, and accountability. Providing a unique and analytical perspective, this volume will be useful to political scientists.⁴⁰

Makwana’s (2011) work on Political Participation of Scheduled Caste Women in Panchayat: Position, Problems and Prescriptions discusses the Panchayati Raj institutions which have always been considered as a means to good governance and the 73rd constitutional amendment was effected in the hope that is would lead to better governance. Consequent to the 73rd constitutional amendment, state government has elected bodies at the village, intermediate and district levels, with adequate representation from the weaker sections and women. The present book analyses the role of Scheduled Caste women leadership in Panchayat, particularly in the light of 73rd constitutional amendments. The main objective of the study is to evaluate awareness, socio-economic profile, political background, achievements, participation of women sarpanchs in various activities and their ability, to take decision in different public affairs. The book will be very useful to policy makers and researchers who are interested in gender issues, panchayat functionaries, scholars of sociology, political science, rural development and NGOs.⁴¹

Narendra Subramanian’s (2011) woks on Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India. More specifically the authorthis book examines how the interaction of parties and society continually reshape ethnic identities and redirect ethnic politics. This is the first comprehensive study in two decades to explore the activities of the Dravidian parties of South India which promoted ‘a politics of blood without bringing about rivers of blood’. The author traces the shifts in Dravidian party politics through the course of the century, from an emphasis on heresy to the promotion of tolerance. Using sources ranging from electoral data, newspapers and political tracts, to films and interviews with activists, this book shows
how citizens and leaders may act to preserve tolerance and democracy amidst considerable ethnic mobilization, even if governments fail to do so.\textsuperscript{42}

Rowena Robinson and Sathianathan Clarke (2011) have brought out their work on \textit{Religious Conversion in India}, this collection reflects upon the idea practice of conversion in India. The experience of conversion is imbued with multiple and diverse possibilities that focus on new boundaries, identities, belief, and practices. The volume will be an important and significant resource for students, teachers, and researchers in the fields of sociology, theology, and history.\textsuperscript{43}

Surbhi Sinha and Srikant Roy (2012) have brought out there, work on \textit{Dalit Women and Panchayati Raj} by highlighting the fact that Dalit women are a distinct social group and cannot be masked under the general categories of Women or Dalits. Dalit women suffered unimaginable oppression, not only through caste, but gender too, from which there was no escape. According to the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 2000, approximately seventy five per cent of the Dalit girls drop out of primary school despite the strict laws of the Government of India, which hold reservations for Dalit children? There are large numbers of reported atrocities on Dalit women that can be found recorded in various newspaper articles, journals and government reports in India. Girls from Dalit families feel discouraged o enter education and we see the lowest literacy rate for Dalit girls compared to the total population of educated upper caste girls since only a small percentage of the total population of Dalit women are educated, the fate of the majority is very grim. Many of these women work for minimal wages under the upper caste landlords, since it is proposed that by the National Commission for SC/ST that eighty five percent of the Dalits are landless. We have attempted to bring valuable information on Dalit women and Panchayati Raj in India by large, this book is a comprehensive study of Dalit women in Panchayati Raj that focuses on the status and participation of Dalit
women in decision making at Panchayati Raj. It enables us to understand the various issues concerning the welfare of Dalit women.  

Shweta’s (2012) work on *Rural Development and Panchayati Raj in India* explains the Panchayati Raj is in India. In fact, it has been the backbone of Indian villages since the beginning of recorded history. The institution of Panchayati Raj is specifically designed for rural population to take care of the problems of rural areas. It provides the administrative apparatus for implementation of the programmes of rural development. The basic objective Panchayati Raj is to evolve a system of democratic decentralization and devotion of people with a view to ensuing rapid socio-economic progress and speedier and inexpensive justice. Panchayats have been the backbone of the Indian villages since the beginning of the recorded history and to enlist people's participation in rural reconstruction in the 21st century.

A study by Kavita Singh (2013) on *Dalit Politics in India*, discusses the discrimination towards the Dalit of India, one must be knowledgeable of the caste system in India. A caste can be defined as a social class, made distinct from others by differences in rank, profession, or wealth. The caste system in India has been heavily influenced by the Hindu religion.

**Article**

Saberwal articles, (1972) on *The Reserved Constituency Candidates and Consequences* of three reserved assembly constituencies in Punjab shows that Scheduled Caste leaders have relatively limited political resources and political socialization. Therefore, the net result of this adverse condition is that the leaders refrain from adopting a stable political stance and depend on the patronage given by upper castes and the constitution. The author concludes in his study that without political reservation, the access of the SCs to various elite settings in the political arena
would decline, leading to greater inequalities in society. Thus, it is clear from the study that due to political reservation, Scheduled Caste leaders are not inspired to group the larger institutional mechanisms which underlie inequalities. At the same time, the provision for reserved constituencies is indispensable for better political participation of the Scheduled Castes.47

Srinivas’s (1979) scholarly study on “Future of Indian Caste”, discusses the caste groups which are emerging in urban areas and which are in competition with each other for obtaining access to power and resources which bear very little resemblance to traditional caste in rural India. As against this, even today agricultural production requires the co-operation of several castes, and even traditionally competition between different castes did occur though it was not very common. The use of the caste idiom is widespread, though the idea of hierarchy is being increasingly rejected by those groups traditionally confined to the bottom. There are continuities and discontinuities, and social anthropologists have to reconcile themselves to work in fuzzy areas where not only boundaries are not clear but multiple and contrary forces are at work.48

Ranadive’s (1979) article on “Caste, Class and Property Relations”, discusses the nationalist tradition in India which looked upon the struggle of the lower castes against the domination of the upper castes as a diversion from the general anti-imperialist struggle. The caste question was considered to be an internal affair of the Indians who, in spite of all the differences and inequalities among them, were expected to first fight for the freedom of the country, under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, there was another current which held that India was unfit for freedom till the people first overcame the inequalities of the caste system. This current was represented by certain social reformers coming from upper castes whose bourgeois democratic consciousness was appalled by the monstrous iniquities of the caste system and other obscenities of Hinduism. In essence, both these traditions sought to delink the anti-caste struggles from the contemporary democratic and class struggles. Further, they
sought to circumscribe the anti-caste struggle within the framework of the existing political and economic system. The present article makes a broad survey of both these traditions and argues that while anti-caste struggle, even when they apparently take on the form of a demand for reservation of jobs, etc, should be supported, what is called for is a deeper struggle, embracing the oppressed of all castes, against the present socio-economic system which is based on certain property and production relations which sustain both caste and class oppression.⁴⁹

Patankar and Omvedt’s (1979) study on The Dalit Liberation Movement in Colonial Period, attempts to survey the history of dalit struggles in relation to the national movement and the communist movement, and to bring to the fore the important role the dalit movement has played in the democratic movement of the country and is going to play in the new democratic struggles in the future. Communists have to think seriously about the theoretical basis for an immediate practical solution to the problem of caste oppression. This issue is emerging on a national scale today and is taking new forms, where the masses of caste Hindu poor peasants and even agricultural labourers are participating in attacks on dalits under the leadership of rich farmers. The problem is one of posting’s a real programme for agrarian revolution; for, what the rich farmers are proposing today is their own solution to the agrarian problem and unemployment--- a capitalist solution of giving land to the (landed) tiller and employing the rest as agricultural labourers and in small industries. A concrete alternative has, therefore, to be put forward and a programme which does more than simply ameliorate the condition of dalits as proletarians agricultural labourers or give them ‘waste’ surplus land which keeps in view the specific nature of caste relations in the rural area and the need for building a revolutionary unity between dalits and caste Hindu toilers, between agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants.⁵⁰
Geetha and S.V.Rajadurai (1993) article on “Dalits and Non-Brahmin Consciousness in Colonial Tamil Nadu” explains the emergence of dalit political voice in the Tamil region in the 19th century predates the political expression of non-brahminism and was influenced by the transformations inaugurated by colonialism. This article examines the works of the more prominent dalit intellectuals who lived and worked in the closing decades of the 19th century.51

Surinder Mohan (1994) articles on “Paradox of Dalit Politics” have analyzed the paradoxes of Dalit politics in India. He observed that Ambedkar had grasped certain fundamental lessons about how the Dalit politics had to be developed. Ambedkar pleaded for an alliance between the Dalits and other backward castes, both being oppressed by inequities caste system. In fact Ambedkar wanted to make Dalits effective constituents of a viable political force. The authors suggested that a long term political strategy is required to be built up on the guidelines of Dr. Ambedkar for the downtrodden people to unite together politically for participating in the electoral politics of the country.52

Rajni Kothari’s (1994) study on Rise of the Dalits and the Renewed Debate on Caste, explains the long consciousness of caste as preserved by the Brahmin upper castes. Today something quite different is happening: the very sufferers from the system (including the caste system) are invoking caste identity and claims. Of course, as there is no clear and well-thought-out ideological framework that is relevant to undertaking these new struggles, co-optation and buying up divide and rule by the dominant class or party continues. But it appears from a variety of indications that the process has started and there is a need to provide fresh impetus and intellectual understanding backed by political action based on new models of coalition-making that cut across the wide array of deprived and oppressed social strata.53

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Pandian scholarly (2000) work on “Dalit Assertion in Tamil Nadu: an Exploratory Note”, discusses the political biography of Tamil Nadu during the 1990s was marked by increasing caste conflicts between the backward castes and the Dalits. In the southern districts of the state, the backward caste Thevars and the Dalit caste Devendra Kula Vallalars were the key players in such conflict. In the northern districts, the conflict was by and large, between the most backward caste Vanniyars and the dalit caste Pariyars. The changing characteristics of these conflict point to the fact that the backward castes do not any longer exercise ideological hegemony over the Dalits in Tamil Nadu and they have to affirm their authority through dominance mediated by violence. Against this background, the present note is an exploratory attempt to understand the conditions that made this change possible in contemporary Tamil Nadu.  

Panini’s (2001) article’s on “Caste, Race and Human Rights”, discusses the idea that ‘caste is race plus’ may prove effective in drawing world attention to bear on the practice of caste. The practice of caste cannot be eradicated by strategies that merely legitimize caste and caste-based politics. Hence, if we are intent on gaining more than mere political mileage from the proceedings of the Durban conference, it is time to recognize that non-caste secular strategies need to be innovative to eliminate the social evils of caste.  

Viswanathan’s (2002) articles on “Signs of Change”, Dalit and women panchayat presidents are seemingly gaining acceptance, albeit slowly, in the caste-ridden villages of Tirunelveli and Madurai districts in southern Tamil Nadu.  

George Mathew’s (2003) scholarly work on “Panchayati Raj Institutions and Human Rights in India” discuss the institutionalization of Panchayati Raj Systems since the 1990s that has added greater momentum to the decentralization process has also had deeper implication for the human rights situation in India. Even as the democratic process has been extended changes in traditional society have involved conflict. This
article argues however that as isolation of village is forever broken by inroads of media, technology and spatial mobility; the new panchayat system will only help weave the village into the broader social fabric. It is with increasing democrat ion and intervention of civil society institutions that concern for human rights will assume its rightful place alongside a vibrant democracy.  

Ajit Kumar, (2004) has made a study on “Politics in Three Villages”, the author has shown considerable change since the 1960s when the panchayati raj system was introduced in Maharashtra. A study in Nagpur district shows that while in the early years caste considerations strongly influenced most panchayat decisions, by the 1990s institutional politics had a broader base including many caste categories. But it may be too early to conclude that the feudal ethos of power is indeed giving way to a more modern orientation.  

Sukhadeo Thorat’s (2004) work on “On Reservation Policy for Private Sector”, brought out a range of economic discrimination against marginalized groups like SCs, STs and OBCs the reservation policy for the private sector ought to cover not only employment, but also markets, agricultural land, capital, consumer goods, education, housing, government contracts, etc.

Vishnumurthy’s (2004) work on “Reservations in Private Sector” discusses the Demand for Reservations in Private Sector is getting increasing momentum in the Country, these days, with every passing day. Various SC&ST Dalit Organisations, including Employees Welfare Associations, are now on warpath. They are demanding the Government to maintain Social Equilibrium, in all Public Spheres, particularly in the spheres of Education and Employment.  

A study by Louis Prakash, (2004) on “Affirmative Action in Private Sector”, revealed that while enforcement of special measures like establishment of Employment Opportunities Commission, instituting special provisions for higher education has been
suggested as a possible alleviative for reservation in private sector, and the author stressed that the need of the hour is to ensure a nationwide debate on this issue.\textsuperscript{61}

Ghosh Jayati,s (2005) work on “On Reservations in the Private Sector” discusses the reservation in the private sector would definitely not affect its "efficiency", but would help in a small way in correcting historically entrenched and still pervasive social discrimination.\textsuperscript{62}

A study by Sukhadeo Thorat,(2005) on “Reservation and Efficiency”, explained the corporate sector needs to keep in mind that anti-discrimination measures like reservation are needed for growth as much as equity. It is necessary to emphasize that anti-discrimination policies will not only provide fair and non-discriminatory access to historically excluded and discriminated groups like the dalits, but simultaneously remove constraints imposed by caste discrimination on labour markets, and thereby induce competitiveness and economic growth.\textsuperscript{63}

Jodhka Surinder (2005) brought out the debate on reservations for Dalits in the private sector\textsuperscript{7}. Further, he showed that Reservations are being debated in India once again. However, the context question this time is a little different, viz, should the provisions of reservations for the deprived communities be extended to employment in the private sector against the background of a growing trend towards privatization and liberalization of the Indian economy? Under the new regime, the state has begun to withdraw from the economic sector and private enterprise is allowed to expand into areas of economic activity that were hitherto not open to it. As a consequence employment avenues in the state sector have been shrinking, making reservation in employment virtually meaningless. The growing presence of private sector in technical and professional education may also mean the end of the quota system in higher education.\textsuperscript{64}
Thimmaiah’s (2005) work on “Implications of Reservations in Private Sector” explains reservations in private sector have generated mixed reactions. The private sector is divided on the idea. The issue may go yet again to the Supreme Court. The implications of the proposal could be that labour productivity in the private sector may decline, the undeserving among the SC/STs and OBCs may get most of the benefits as they have managed to in the public sector in the past and for the really marginalized SC/STs reservations may not mean much as they are not equipped to avail of the benefits.  

Sukhadeo Thorat (2006) etal has focused on “Reservations in the Private sector – Issues, Concerns and Prospects” and it disseminates the information on one of the most hotly debated issues confronting the Indian society at the present time – the debate on reservations in the private sector. This paper represents the panorama of views of the Indian civil society on the issue, as a whole, and covers all shades of opinions that have emanated in the current debate on reservations in the private sector. The paper critically addresses the core thematic concerns that have been debated from the proponents and the opponents of the debate. It focuses on the concepts of social exclusion and discrimination, particularly, related to caste and untouchability; highlights the economic consequences of caste-based discrimination; examines the free market policies versus interventionist policies; and undertakes a critical examination of the current debate from the perspective of the equal opportunity arguments, efficiency, and merit.  

Joe Arun’s (2007) article on “From Stigma to Self-assertion: Paraiyars and the symbolism of the Parai Drum” examines the assertion of Parayars, one of the Dalit communities of Tamil Nadu, South India, who attempt to reconstruct their identity by revalorizing the symbols of pollution that defined them as low and defiled into positive symbols of their culture. It argues that conflict, confrontation and radical rupture from
the dominant community are essential for the formation of a new collective consciousness. Conflictual social relations become a resource and impetus that made the Parayars conscious of their stigmatized identity and persuaded them to form a new and positive self-identity that expressed aspirations for the future even as it memorialized past suffering. This article also focuses on the re-signification of the parai drum and the related symbols and myths that were used by the higher castes to define the Paraiyars as polluted and segregated.\textsuperscript{67}

A study by Limbardi, (2007) on \textit{“Grassroots Democracy: The Experience of Dalits in Panchayati Raj Institutions”}. In the era of globalization and liberalization, bringing about development at the grassroots has become crucial. While the 73 Constitutional Amendment Act has brought about very significant changes in the Panchayati Raj system in the country, it has not been able to provide substantial institutional space for certain social groups, Dalits in particular. This article focuses on the experience of Dalit elected representatives in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) in the period following the 73 rd Amendment Act. The rise of Dalit consciousness following long-drawn struggles has increased their democratic aspirations for political power and equitable access to the rural resources, but the Dalit leadership in local bodies is typically constrained by the stranglehold of the upper castes over the social and political structures in the rural countryside. The author argues that unless the issues of the caste-ridden polity are addressed, the political representation extended to the Dalit community will remain a sham and PRIs will be unable to act as instruments of the social transformation of Dalit communities.\textsuperscript{68}

Hugo Gorringe’s (2008) article on \textit{“The Caste of the Nation: Untouchability and Citizenship in South India”}, discusses the following the devastating Tsunami that ravaged parts of the South Indian coast in December 2004, continuing caste discrimination against India’s Scheduled Caste (Dalit) community. The reported absence
of common feeling shattered the image of India as an ‘imagined community’. Taking its cue from Aloysius, Nigam and Chatterjee, this article draws on field notes and archival reports to examine the ongoing and contested processes of nation and national identity formation in India. It is argued that the template against which the post-colonial state imagined the Indian ‘nation’ was one that excluded marginalized sections of the population. The article concludes by asking whether India may be seen as a national-state, and critically analyses the interplay between caste and nation.  

**India Human Rights Report (2008) discusses** Police and politician involvement in discrimination against Dalits has also been described in the Asian Centre for Human Rights report referred to above. In August 2007, two Dalit girls aged 10 and 8 drowned and died after allegedly being thrown into floodwater by a local Military Police constable as punishment for collecting firewood from his property. In November 2007, alleged crimes against Dalits at the hand of a police inspector were investigated by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) after reports that the police inspector had “picked up 18 Dalits from Bannarpur village and severely beaten and forced them to lick spit after being kept in the lockup for about 24 hours. Later, he called their wives to the station and asked to beat them with their slippers which they refused”. In addition, according to the report, the state Agricultural Minister Narendra Singh allegedly assaulted a widow in June 2007 for approaching him regarding employment for her son. 

**Ranbir Singh’s (2009), works on “Feudal Roots: Khap Panchayati Continue to Have a Strong Hold Over Ja-Dominated Villages In Haryana”, focuses on the failure of the panchayati raj institutions to progress beyond social development and the poor peasants’ disenchantment with the leaderships of political parties’ have made them throw in their lot with caste panchayats.**
Thorat’s (2009) work on “Caste and Ownership of Private Enterprises” discusses the age-old restrictions on access to capital by certain social groups continue to reflect themselves in the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes owning far fewer private enterprises than warranted by their share in the population in both rural and urban India. Recent nationwide data also reveal that when they do run business establishments these are mainly household enterprises organized around family labour. Poverty rates among the enterprises of the socially disadvantaged groups are also much higher than among the other castes.\textsuperscript{72}

Vivek Kumar’s (2009) article on “Locating Dalit Women in the Indian Caste System, Media and Women’s Movement”, discusses the Dalit women in Indian society are triply exploited on the basis of caste, class and gender. In this context, after defining the term Dalits sociologically, this paper attempts to establish that Dalit women are different from general caste women on the basis of their structural location, occupations they perform and treatment meted out to them by society in general. In additional, this study captures the existing prejudice and contempt against Dalit women which in a way gets articulated by the atrocities committed on them by the so-called upper castes.\textsuperscript{73}

A study by Johnson, and Craig, (2009) on Decentralization in India: Poverty, Politics and Panchayati Raj, Assertions in favour of democratic decentralization are often founded upon the notion that the democratization and empowerment of local political bodies will create institutions that are more accountable to local citizens and more appropriate to local needs and preferences. However, international experience has shown that even the most ambitious attempts at decentralization have failed to overcome regional and local dimensions of poverty and inequality. Moreover, the power to decide local development initiatives is often highly dependent on a state apparatus that respects the autonomy of local political institutions.\textsuperscript{74}
Nupur Tiwari (2009) has brought out in this work on “Rethinking the Rotation Term of Reservation in Panchayats”, it has attracted women to politics in large numbers and the desire to contest elections seems most keen among those belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes. That 88% of SC/ST members of panchayats were elected from reserved seats confirms that policy has been crucial to the representation of disadvantaged groups. An analysis shows that a majority of women representatives could not get re-elected because their seats were de-reserved in the next election. Reservation motivated 43% of women representatives to contest their first election and its withdrawal dissuaded 39% from seeking re-election. This point to the need to rethink the system of rotating seats reserved for women so that they are given 10 to 15 years of continued opportunity.75

Vijaykumar and Salimani’s (2010) article on “Ambedkar, Gandhi and Eradication of Untouchability”, shows that untouchability has remained a complex social problem for several decades. Particularly since Independence, it has assumed critical significance because of the confluence of several factors. Despite administrative and legal measures, and the spread of education, industrial employment opportunities and such other modern forces, the question of untouchability reappears again and again in the contemporary Indian social milieu. Many scholars have argued that the nature of untouchability has changed substantially. This article discusses the issue of untouchability should surface so frequently despite the penetration of modern secular forces because of rigorous enquiries into several dimensions of untouchability. The two great leaders who devoted a significant part of their life towards the question of untouchability are Gandhi and Ambedkar. An attempt has been made in this paper to explore their viewpoint on untouchability and methods which they followed to remove untouchability.76
Anand Inbanathan, and Sivanna (2010) expresses in their work on Scheduled Castes, Legitimacy and Local Governance: Continuing Social Exclusion in Panchayats, that the long history of Scheduled Castes being a discriminated against, exploited, and placed at the bottom of caste society. The panchayati raj, after the enactment of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, brought in measures to overcome these past indignities, and provided a quota within ordinary seats and among the office bearers of the panchayats. There is, however, strong resistance among the higher castes (just above that of the Scheduled Castes in many cases), about reservation of the post of Panchayats president for Scheduled Caste people. This paper looks at some of the consequences of having a quota for the Scheduled Castes for the post of president in the gram panchayats of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, with the concept of legitimacy to consider the perceptions of the higher castes as well as the participation of the Scheduled Castes in panchayats.77

Patel Vithal’s (2011) study on “Some Facts of Reservation in Panchayati Raj: A Case Study of Ahmadabad and Mehsana Districts of Gujarat”, The 73 constitutional amendment is a landmark in Panchayati Raj system which reserved seats for weaker classes as well as position of Sarpanch and women This provision gives birth to leadership in weaker classes to solve their social and economic problems, outrageous acts and stop injustice. Here weaker classes means; dalit/SC (Schedule Caste), ST (Schedule Tribe) and women. The reserved seats for SC and ST are given according to their population while there is a provision of 33 per cent reservation for women. Socially and Educational Backward Class (SEBC) is given 10 per cent reservation in Gujarat Panchayat is given constitutional authority at all the three levels of Panchayati Raj and their institutional inequalities are removed. Regular attention was given to election by promoting authority and responsibility of Panchayat was made more specific. In a way Panchayat got important place in the frame of Swaraj which plays key role in development. Present study evaluates the reservation system in Panchayati Raj in terms
of benefits taken by people from weaker sections for upliftment of their living standards. Results show that the amendment is working positively but the rate of social change in weaker classes is very slow. Till today they are facing untouchability, discrimination, prohibition and outrages. Dalit sarpanch cannot take independent decisions. The same situation is of women. Due to reservation women are elected as sarpanh but the whole management is done by their husband or relatives.\textsuperscript{78}

Teltumbde Anand (2011) articles on “\textit{India’s (Jati) Panchayati Raj}” assess the impact of reservations for women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in panchayati raj institutions? In case the reserved seat is for a woman, it is usually the wife or daughter-in-law of the old sarpanch who is made to sign papers, while the husband or the father-in-law is de facto in control. In the case of reservations for the SC/STs, it is the bonded labourer of the sarpanch who becomes a proxy for his rule. In exceptional cases, where dalit sarpanches have dared to exercise their powers in the public interest, the dominant castes have unleashed terror against them.\textsuperscript{79}

Muthukaruppan Parthasarathi’s (2011) work on “Paramakudi Violence: \textit{Against Dalits, Against Politics}”, discusses the killing of six dalits in police firing in Paramakudi in September again exposes the manner in which state institutions work to enforce the social dominance of certain castes. In the southern districts of Tamil Nadu there is an upsurge within dalit castes, but there is also a continuing complicity between the dominant castes, political parties and state institutions to beat this back.\textsuperscript{80}

Anand’s work on (2011) “\textit{Jayalalithaa’s Sacrificial Lambs}”, explains the killing of six dalits at Paramakudi, which is 35 km from Ramanathapuram in Tamil Nadu, as a result of police firing and brutality on 11\textsuperscript{th} September 2011 can be ascribed to Chief Minister Jayalalithaa’s bid to appease the Thevars and draw them into the fold of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam by demonstrating that she can use state power
to support them. She has thus undertaken a sacrificial offering of dalits to appease the Thevars.\textsuperscript{81}

Dorairaj, (2011) work on “Targeting Dalits: The police action against Dalits in Paramakudi leaves indelible scars on the psyche of the oppressed people all over Tamil Nadu”, discusses civil rights organization s say the only about the handling of the situation but also about the attitude of the state towards Dalit, who form a sizable percentage of the population in southern Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{82}

Stalin Rajangam,( 2012) etal, has examined “Dalit Political Imagination and Replication in Contemporary Tamil Nadu”. They showed that in Tamil politics dominated by the Dravidian parties and it is an indictment of their rule that untouchability and caste discrimination continue to be unabated in the state. Dalit movements arose in opposition, and as an alternative, to Dravidianism but have been shaped by their political context. A dalit-left alliance might offer one way out of the current impasse in dalit politics.\textsuperscript{83}

Senthalir’s (2012) work on “Caste Fire in Dharmapuri, Tamil Nadu” and it brought out Atrocities on dalits continue in Tamil Nadu. On 7 November 2012, the study showed that a Vanniyar mob ransacked and torched 268 dalit homes in three villages in Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu. By all accounts, it was an organized attack planned by Vanniyar leaders to teach the upwardly mobile dalits a “lesson”. This article based on a visit to the area recounts the genesis and fallout of caste atrocities in Dharmapuri.\textsuperscript{84}

Han Donker and Ravi Saxena, (2012)made a study on “Corporate Boards in India: Blocked by Caste?, examined the caste diversity of Indian corporate boards of a thousand top Indian companies –accounting for four –fifths of market capitalization of all companies listed in the major stock indices in India-measured by the Blau index shows that their median score for 2010 is zero, indicating that there is no diversity at all.
Indian corporate boards continue to remain “old boys clubs” based on caste affiliation rather than on other considerations. 

The review of literature of this study covers to study the relations between Dalit and panchayat raj, temple entry, police firing and reservation in private sector only. Rest of the areas in connection with dalits are existing in the field of dalit studies.

1.3. Objectives

1. To discuss the structure and functions of the role of dalit political parties and organizations in Tamil Nadu.

2. To examine the role of dalit political parties and organizations in the Panchayati Raj Institutions in Tamil Nadu.

3. To study the role of dalit political parties and organizations in the entry of dalits into the caste Hindu temples.

4. To analyse the role of dalit political parties and organizations in the issue of police firing on Dalits.

5. To study the role of dalit political parties and organizations in the reservation in the Private Sectors for Dalits.

1.4. Methodology

The study adopts both descriptive method and analytical method to analyse the role of Dalit parties and other organizations. Further, this study is based on both primary and secondary data. They have been collected from books and articles in Journals, Magazines and Newspapers.
1.5. Sources

The Secondary sources consist of books, articles, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers.

1.6. Delimitation

The present study is confined to analyse the role of Dalit parties and other organizations in the development of welfare of Dalits in Tamil Nadu. Further, it has not focused on other political aspects related to Dalit welfare viz., government programmes and schemes.

1.7. Plan of the Study

The present study has been structured into seven chapters.

The first chapter discusses the Introduction, Statement of the Problem, Review of Literature, Objectives, Methodology, Sources, Delimitation and Plan of the study. The second chapter deals with the Settings and the third chapter discusses the Untouchability in Panchayati Raj Institutions. The fourth chapter discusses the Untouchability in Temple Entry and the fifth chapter analyses the Police Firing on Dalits the sixth chapter analyses the Reservation in Private Sectors and the final chapters brought out the Conclusion of the study.
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