CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
Indian history starts along with the history of caste system. Indian history is also based on differences according to religious beliefs. The Vedas and the Manuscript (Manusmriti 10: 58) tell us about the (mythic) origin of the caste system and the duties of the various castes, but they do not reveal much about how and why untouchability came into being. The Manusmriti explains that untouchables are those born of a ‘defiled womb’, which means that untouchable castes originated from the intermixture of the different pure Varna ‘colours’. From a traditional Hindu point of view this might be sufficient explanation, but for social scientists, something is lacking in the equation. It is true that exploitation being the defining factor, but that still leaves the question, why these people were singled out for the most oppressive and degrading positions in a system of structural inequality. There is no consensus response to this question. The various answers proposed to hand in hand with different religious beliefs and interpretations of historical information.

Every society has several contradictions but just because they exist, they cannot be and need not be resolved without consideration of their stages of development. Dialects teach us that contradiction can only be successfully resolved when they reach their irreconcilable peak. At any stage of development, thus, there shall a single principal contradiction that craves for resolution through a revolution. Castes in this understanding is just one of the contradictions in society, not a primary or principal one; which may either get resolved in course of the class struggle or may be dealt with in the post - revolution society.

In the context of their historical reluctance to acknowledge the caste question as the problem, this slight shift in the understanding of the left over eight decades becomes utterly inconsequential for the victims of the caste system. The caste system is a comprehensive organization of the Indian society, encompassing its structural and super structural aspects; it has been an indisputable part of the production organization. Castes ordained the entire process of social production and reproduction. (Anand Teltumbde, 2005)

The Dalit movements in contemporary India follow more than one path under different banners. Each one of them raises issues affecting the whole community or it’s one or the other stratum, and expresses the Dalit identity. For some, social issues and the new Dalit identity are more important than economic issues. The new identity
that they want to evolve is distinctively different than those of the caste Hindus; others do not adhere to the dichotomy. Their new identity of being Dalit, i.e., oppressed and exploited, is in the making, for that, they do not wish to erase the traditional identity both co-exist. The Buddha and Ambedkar are their prophets and heroes. Their struggle for equality and eradication of untouchability, irrespective of their religion persuasion.

There was no scope for the Dalits to organize and start movements to voice their grievances until 1920. Prior to 1920 the problems and plight of the Dalits was pathetic and unenviable and it can be neither measured nor compared to others in any part of the world. Indian Social system with its oppressive caste system is a feature that knows no parallels in history. Manu Dharma is the root of the evil caste system in India. Before we analyze the movement of Dalits at different periods let us take a look at the origin of the word Dalit and its definition.

The word Dalit was first used in the 1930s. Hindi and Marathi translation of the word Dalit is depressed class or caste. Depressed means low lying and broken. The word was first used by Mahatma Jyothi Rao Phuley and later also by Dr. Ambedkar. An English translation of Dalit is Untouchable. Dalit Panthers revived the term Dalit in 1973 as it refers to include the Schedule Tribe, Neo Buddhists, the working people, the land less and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically, socially and educationally etc., in the name of religion. Different views are there about Dalits. In brief finally to say ‘Dalits are the people with in Hindu Society who belong to the untouchable communities of India. Untouchability is for the Hindu religious consideration, based on the hereditary occupations. Their occupations are field labourers, leather workers, scavenges watchmen and village manias. History of Dalit Movements by Comble (1979) Gupta (1985) Triloknath (1987) Pradan (1988) enable us to understand about the Dalits and their profession. Of course, it is subject to re-examination J.H. Hutton commissioner of census in 1891 Dalit castes are included as per their occupational categories. When all the castes are included in 1935 Federal Act of India. Since then they are called as scheduled castes. It is very familiar after 1950. Anyhow Dalits are Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe of Indian as per the constitution. The people of the study are limited to Schedule Caste only. Let us analyses their movements.
The very word ‘Movement’ means people are mobilized to the existing arrangements and seeking new social and political order. Deprivation, discriminations, in equality social unrest is the conducive factors of social movement. If, we go back to the history of India until 1920, the conditions of Panchamas, untouchable i.e., present Schedule Castes / Dalits were in worst conditions in all walks of their life. They were excluded from the main stream of Indian society. Their dress is restricted, their food is different, and they were not allowed in to the streets, they have their separate wells and tanks, their houses are different. They were not allowed to build the houses with bricks. But they have to serve the basic needs of the entire society with their sweat and blood. In short they were personification of dehumanized sector devoid of all unless and social status. But from 1920 onwards remarkable changes took place not only in the history of India but also in the position of the Dalits with the latter becoming increasingly assertive and independent.

The word Dalit is employed to identify the people who belong to those of outcaste background in the Indian context. Dalit refers to the caste-oriented idea and not simply the suffering people of any community. They were addressed by several other names and the Dalit community heard it with resentfulness. Nevertheless, this word is well approved by the entire community, because it does not undermine their dignity and group them under one fold.

Dalit is a modern term for the untouchables of India, who have been exploited and subjected to atrocities due to the social stratification of Indian society. In many cases, Dalits are easily targeted even in this independent nation where the Constitution guarantees equal rights and privileges to every citizen. Throughout the centuries they have been victimized religiously, socially, culturally and most of all economically. The immediate cause of such discrimination according to the Tamil Roman Catholic priest L.Stanislaus is the caste system, promulgated by Aryan Dharma. (Stanislaus 1999) The questions are; should this sociological group, the Dalits, be oppressed and tyrannized in this land? Are they not part of this vast Indian nation? How is it that this vast community has become so dejected and rejected? The importance of the study is obvious.

Dalits were addressed by many names and Massey points out that these have been changed occasionally. In most cases, to despise them or to show contempt. (James Massey 1995) Since they were considered outside Chaturvarna, the Four-
Caste System, they were labeled Out-Castes and Untouchables and alienated from the main stream of the society. Many Dharma Scriptures called them slaves. (James Massey 1995) Nisada, Malicha, Chandala, and Achuta imply the sense of physical impurity. Narasimha Mehta introduced Harijan, a popular title propagated by Mahatma Gandhi. (S.M. Michael) However, the Dalits in refused it because they believed that it would demean them as illegitimate children of Devadasis. (1985, the Govt. of India prohibited the terminology).

In order to define Dalits, anthropologists and sociologists have adopted two dominant perspectives. The Marxist, Subaltern view emphasizes the class analysts of the Marxist ideology, including all the exploited and working class proletarians. (John C.B. Webster) It focuses the wide range of all working class. The Dalit Panthers also supports this stand to certain extent. Professor Gangadhar Pantawane explained Dalit as follows: “Dalit is not a caste. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution. Dalit believes in humanism. He rejects existence of God, rebirth, soul, sacred books that teach discrimination, fate, and heaven, because these have made him a slave. He represents the exploited man in country.”(James Massey 1995) Secondly, the traditional communal view. This view explains the Dalits are people groups included within Hindu society who belong to those castes which Hindu religion considers to be polluted by the virtue of hereditary occupation. (S.M. Michael, p. 69.) To identify a Dalit, two factors must be considered. The historical documents and testimonies related to the classification of the society must be examined. Interestingly, all these records are supporting traditional view. From 1881 to 1931, six consecutive Census records except of 1891, all were based on castes. (John C.B. Webster)

Three factors make difficult the discussion of the origin of Dalits. Firstly, disagreement among scholars. (Stanislaus) They differ about the origin of Dalits and Dalits fear it as a global conspiracy of the non-Dalit historians. Secondly, inadequacy of Dalit literature. Due to their illiteracy and social backwardness they could not edit their history. However, Massey observes that the absence of right material to write a Dalit history is the most difficult task, yet there are some archaeological and literary sources which can enable us to formulate some possible historical conclusions on Dalit. (Massey) Finally, manipulation of history. Though H. K. Trevaskis, in the land of the Five Rivers, mentioned that history is the key to the solution of many of world problems of the present day. It is not true with the history of Dalits in India because in
history, Dalits are not properly represented. They are always focused objectively. Some historians do not even regard Dalits part of the so-called Indian civilization. Romila Thapar, in her work, *Interpreting Early India*, argues that the Vedic Aryan culture became the foundation of Indian culture. (Massey, p.18) Thus, the aborigines denied place in the civilization of their land. Moreover, myths and stories have had fabricated to maintain Aryan dominion in the society. Hindu scriptures like Ramayan and Mahabharatha, more specifically, Srimad Bhagavat Geetha presented Dalits as object. Manusmritti has the worst reference about Dalits: The dwelling Chandalas and Suapakas as (should be) out of the villages; they should be deprived of dishes (apapatra), their property (consists of) dogs and asses, their clothes (should be) garments of the dead, and their ornaments (should be) in broken dishes and they must constantly wander about. (Massey, p.21)

The impure intermixture of the four varnas. Michael, after surveying the Sutras, confirmed this theory. (Massey p.12) Second theory is related to the Unclean and menial occupation. Some believe that they were despised because of their mean job allotment. Thirdly, the pure-impure principle. (Stanislaus, 1999) Von Fuerer-Haimendrof, an eminent anthropologist believes that untouchability is because of urban development and is the result of an unclean and ritually impure occupation. (Michael, p. 14.) Ambedkar surprised scholars with his new theory. He opined that the distinction between the Hindus and untouchables in its original form, before the advent of untouchability, was the distinction between Tribe men and the broken men from alien tribes. Broken Men who subsequently came to be treated as untouchables, he identifies the two roots from which untouchability has sprung: One, contempt and hatred for the Broken Men, and the continuation of beef-eating by the Broken Men after it had been given up by others. (Michael, p. 14) However, Stanislaus discovers the origin had an economic base, i.e., division of labor, and a definite function in society; later social and religious legitimizations were given to them. (Stanislaus, p. 7)

But, Dalit’s were neglected until 1930 when Dr. B.R. Ambedkar came in to the picture as a national leader and Dalit Saviour, because of Dalit movement. For example: Dalit movements led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar at Nagpur (Bombay) Hyderabad, Andhra and Mysore are glaring examples. Nagpur had become the launching pad for the rise and development of Dalit Movement and political awakening. In spite of the liberalization tendencies, legal abolition of untouchability,
reservation and preferential policies to benefit to the untouchables living at the bottom of the economic ladder. What the Dalit leaders had done or are doing for the development of Dalits in India is the main concern of the present study. Why the Dalit movements are not on the line of Dr. Ambedkar ideology for their political leadership to safe guard the interests of Dalits in India. How Dr. B.R. Ambedkar ideology and social philosophy is suitable to the present day conditions of liberalization, globalization, and privatization of world politics of here are all the issues to be discussed in clear cut manner. As a result Indian political system got distorted like anything. The state of affairs prevailing in large states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar stand proof of this trend.

Dalitism essentially implies conditions of subjugation; economic, political, social and cultural. Dalitism also embodies different degrees of marginalization. It includes not only marginalized status in the economic sphere but also in cultural, political, religious and social domains. That means Dalitism symbolizes marginalization. It is a well known fact that marginalization denies basic human rights and social justice. (Punalekar, cited in Jogdand, 1995) Different Dalit movements highlight different issues related to Dalits around different ideologies. All of them, however, overtly or covertly assert for Dalit identity, though its meaning is not identical and precise for everyone. Identity is concerned with the self-esteem and self-image of a community real or imaginary dealing with the existence and role. However, notwithstanding differences in the nature of Dalit movements and meaning of identity, there has been a common quest in all these movements the quest for equality, dignity and for eradication of untouchability. (Manoram savur, Indra Munshi 1995).

The Dalit movement can be classified as (i) reformative and (ii) alternative. Reformative movements focus mainly on the study of changes in the caste system and the institution of untouchability. Issues relating to conversion to other religions for example, Buddhism, Islam or Christianity, through education, economic status and political power are taken up in the study of alternative movements (Shah, 1990). He also highlighted Mahatma Gandhi as an ardent champion for removing untouchability within the Hindu Chaturvarna framework (Shah 2001). Ilaiah’s (1996) experience of everyday life gives him a platform to take revolutionary steps to criticise the Hindutva ideology. The idea that, 'Hinduism is a religion of humanity is totally rejected by the
followers of Ambedkar and later by the Dalit Panther. Freeman (1997) has done an extensive and well versed life history of untouchables. He has sketched the life history of a person belonging to Bauri caste in the state of Orissa.

Movements in the seventies of post-independence, Dalits are stigmatized from birth as 'spirituality defiling' and therefore potential 'polluters' of clean, high caste people. India’s untouchables have lived for centuries in segregated haunts and villages. High castes have denied them the use of public wells as well as entry to schools, shops and high caste shrines, and have forced them to perform the most despised and defiling jobs of society, special occupations' according to the Registrar General of India - scavenging, cleaning latrines, carrying off dead animals and exhausting unskilled physical labour. (Ms. Prabha Tirmare) The dominant Dalit movements in different parts of the country at local and regional, both in the past and present, are still within the ideological framework of the caste system. They have appealed and mobilized a large mass of Dalits for collective action. The prevailing cultural system and ethos on the one hand, and sluggish economic development on the other, work in their favour.

Untouchables also share principles of purity and pollution although different than those of caste Hindus. They have their own deities but also worship deities of the Hindu pantheon. Michael Moffat argues that “untouchables do not necessarily possess a separate sub-culture. They are not detached or alienated from the ‘rationalization’ of the system. Untouchables possess and act upon a thickly textured culture whose fundamental definitions and values are identical to those of more global Indian village culture. The ‘view from the bottom’ is based on the same principles and evaluations as the ‘view from the middle’ or the ‘view from the top’. The cultural system of Indian untouchables does not distinctively question or revalue the dominant social order. Rather, it continuously recreates among untouchables a microcosm of the larger system” (Michael Moffat 1979).

The problem of Dalits is not new, it is an age old problem, as long as the caste system prevails even in its rudimentary form in India the problems of Dalits will persist and the goal of establishment of democratic and egalitarian society remains unachieved. Dalits using political means in an attempt to better their condition and empower themselves in the process in an open democratic polity is a fascinating
subject of study both from the point of academic exercise and socio-economic and political relevance to understand contemporary Indian society.

The present study attempts to describe and analyze the process by which the Dalits struggle for social justice in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh is our concern, above all to identify and describe the manner in which the Dalit communities participate in the political process for improvement of their social conditions. To understand the nature and pattern of political leadership evolved, will assess political skills and capabilities acquired and finally to underscore, if any, the type of hurdles faced in their assimilation in the broader political culture of the nation and suggest ways and means for the political advancement of the Dalits in the country.

Dalits account for about a quarter of the population of India. They are at the bottom rungs of the society. They are the most depressed, degraded, segregated and exploited lot of the society. Their plight is not comparable to any deprived social group anywhere in the world and their living conditions are worse than the American Negro of the pre-emancipated era. Hence, there is an imperative need and urgency for the study of Dalits by the academicians and social scientists from a holistic socio-economic perspective against the backdrop of contemporary political setting in the country. For proper analysis and understanding of Dalit movements and their struggle for social justice in different dimensions, Dalit Movements can be divided into two phases, the pre-Ambedkar period, and the post-Ambedkar period.

The Dalits are yet to challenge legally or politically the existential arrangements of land reforms, the on-going programmes of privatization, the principles of reservation in joint sector or private sector companies and the larger issues of Dalit human rights, the casteism in India, and a host of other issues crucial to the survival and growth of the Dalits. But not much is being done by them in these fields as infighting takes a lot of their resources and energy, e.g. the feud between Malas and Madigas in improvements in their lives. A common political and social platform, exclusively to cater for their needs, will catalyze Dalit unity, in turn bringing about greater political victory through better positive self-image and greater individual achievements. (Stanislaus 1999)

Continuous variations take place in culture and linguistic characteristics, which means there are in effect no boundaries between the different Dalit groups, but there may be differences of languages, religion or family patterns or temporary
occupational divergences. It is, therefore, desirable to emphasize ethnicity and ignore the divergences, give importance to similarities and overlook differences, and highlight positive images and minimize negative ones. Dalit social identity should not be negative.

The present study is closely related with other social changes like history, sociology, economics and philosophy. For example, origin of caste, family, society etc. is related to sociology. So also production and distribution of economic principles lies with the productive castes of Dalits. Caste was based on the principle of occupation, which is productive in nature. The untouchables are the real tools of production, but no right to consume. Hence the theory of David Record and Malthus are necessary in this study. Their philosophy of Hindu religion is very important to analyze the problems of untouchables. Hindu reglions studies are necessary to understand the problems of Dalits in India. So there is a need of socio-economic and religious interdisciplinary study is very much in this research topic.

However, in the nineteenth century, there was a tremendous move among the Dalits. Bhatki Movement helped Dalits particularly in the spiritual matters. Though many movements could not bring any significant social change they reformed and revitalized the community. Few eminent leaders like Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Ambedkar, voiced for the total uplift of Dalits. (Webster, Pp. 44-47.)

In the independent India, national rulers continue the Aryan negative attitude towards the Dalits though the Constitution proclaims special privileges. Now there is an awaiting menace against it because the ruling coalition at the centre, the Brahman dominated government is sponsoring a constitution review Panel, for bringing changes in the fundamental rights and privileges and especially of Dalits and thereby revoking the old Aryan suppression in secular India. The natives possessed an advanced civilization. Although, they are reduced to an insignificant people, they inherit a glorious past. They were hard working self-reliant, civilized and sincere. They were caring for the rest of the society while the priestly class concentrated on feeding their deities, the Dalits had to work in the field to feed the rulers and their military. They inherited cultural programs like folk dance and traditional entertainment.

Rev. Theophilus Appau of the Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary, Madurai, has analyzed Dalit sociology with his own code Economic Political, Social...
Ideological Psychological Ecological Gender Spiritual (EPSIPEGS). (Theophilus Appau 2000) E stands for Economics. Appau clarifies that the early ancestors of Dalits were rich and never depended on any for their meals. They had financial stability in the society. Nevertheless, Stanislaus has rightly pointed out, the caste system has brought the Dalits to the unfortunate economic conditions. Hindu Religious laws did not permit them the right to make property, education, and complaints, but only to serve the upper castes. (Stanislaus, p. 9) Ambedkar argued that the caste system has its economic manifestation: First of all, it divides labourers, secondly it disassociates work from interest; thirdly, it disconnects intelligence from manual labourers; fourthly, prevents mobilization; and above all, deprives Dalits of all economic avenues of employment and puts him nearly in the position of a slave. (Stanislaus, p. 10) Some economic changes have taken place during the British rule. Since 1947, Dalits are provided with some Constitutional privileges under Article 46, “the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker section of people and in particular SC/ST and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.” (Stanislaus,) Reports prove that the provisions are only in the paper.

Dalits maintained equal social status in their community. In the early Dalit society, the family ties were very warm and delicate and the women were given due respect. In a small Dalit family also, intimacy is comparatively higher. Unfortunately, now Dalit women are not liberated duly their psychological expressions and emotions are instant and sometimes out bursting. Usually they are not hard heartened and never hatch any rivalry. They are loyal and least corrupted in the society. Besides that they have a deep sense of environment. Though they are the sons of the soil, their place of living is very small and most of them possess only a piece of land because of oppression. Yet their animals, children, and relatives live closely and utilize the rest of the land for vegetation. Formerly they worshipped the nature and offered sacrifices to her.

They preserve the dignity of gender relationship. In the Dalit society, there is an equal respect for both sexes. Mother is respected highly and symbolizes goddess. Finally, Dalits value spirituality. Every action is the outcome of one’s faith. In Dalit festivities, they enjoy complete transcendence by the way of singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments throughout night. They were relieved from their burdens
of hard work by participating their religious gatherings. They adored anything for their utmost satisfaction and hated hypocrisy. (Theophilus Appau 2000)

In the area of judiciary, the report reveals that their share is negligible. In March 1982, the scheduled caste judges were a little more than one percent while none of them belonged to scheduled caste. Now within two decades, the figure does not change much. With the help of reservation, few got into the government services and there are stories of negligence and misrepresentation of them. Often special recruitment and concessions is only a public gimmick.

Recently, Supreme Court of India was much concerned about the Creamy Layer of the down castes. The intention behind such a move is alleged as a Brahman conspiracy to divide the marginalized economically into small fragments and abrogate their nominal benefits. The Communist regimes have succeeded in achieving many benefits to the depressed.

After sixty years of independence, the country is not serious about groans and needs of this people. Aleyamma, comments that “Dalit problem is a combination of economic, social and religious issues. Unless there is a movement which tackles all the three areas of suppression full Dalit liberation may not be possible.” The marginalized must strive together to cast down the thresholds of castiesm. Now the Brahmins are keen to re-convert many of them who uphold other faiths. Dalits should reject Aryan Dharma which made them condemned and come out of their villages where they are despised and limited and settle down in the urban culture in order to share the advantages of technological progress and create themselves economic stability needed for a better and more prosperous future. (Aleyamma Zachariah)

For the overwhelming majority of Dalit lived in hopeless and helpless conditions of their virtues and their jaati membership were placed socially, economically, culturally and politically at the every bottom of a hierarchical society. That was their permanent place. Every effort was made to keep them there though enforced poverty and social degradation; and they know it. They were Dalits not out of choice. They were Dalits because it suited the “higher castes” of society to keep them at the bottom. Dalits lacked the power and government lacked the will necessary to change that. The evidence available indicates that the Dalit accepted the hierarchal ordering of the society. And those who did not accept their signed place in the social hierarchy directed their efforts towards improving their place within it. However
things began to change when the simmering dissent made same Dalit to rise and organize their masses and led the revolt against society to change their unequal status. These mass movements are what are generally known as Dalit movements.

**Review of Literature:**

Regarding the literature concerned to this field so much work has been done by the distinguished scholars on the Dalit struggle for social justice and their movements and emancipation. A good number of Ph.D. dissertations are produced on Dalit issues. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s speeches and writings are referred in the libraries. Nation wide and statewide problems of Dalits and their issues were discussed. They are available in the in form of books and dissertations. Besides that fact finding reports and interviews with human rights activists also helped a lot to collect first hand information on Dalit problems.


Marc Glanter, 1984, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*: Can a democratic society pursue a policy of compensatory discrimination without forsaking equality or sliding into a system of group quotas? For over thirty years, India has been engaged in a massive effort to integrate "untouchables" and other oppressed peoples into the mainstream of Indian life. This book is the first comprehensive study of the Indian experience with policies of systematic preferential treatment. Galanter includes a discussion of the relation of the courts to public policy in his analysis of the choices and tensions in the Indian policies of compensatory preference.

V. T. Rajshekar Shetty, 1987, *Dalit: the black untouchables of India*: "Every hour two Darts are assaulted. Every day three Dalit women are raped, two Dalits are murdered, and two Dalit houses are burnt". Human Rights Education Movement in India V.T Rajshekar writes: "The Dalit is not only forbidden to enter the home of a
Brahmin, but he must also not draw water from the same well, nor eat from the same pot or plate. He must not glance at or allow his shadow to fall on the Brahmin. All these acts will pollute the 'pure' Brahmin. The Dalit 'is not only untouchable, but also unseable, unapproachable, unshadowable and even unthinkable". Dalit: The black untouchables of India is the first book to provide a Dalit view of the roots and continuing factors of the gross oppression of the world's largest minority. (Over 150 million people) through a 3,000 years history of conquest, slavery, apartheid and worse conditions. Rajshekar offers a penetrating, often startling overview of the role of Brahminism and the Indian caste system in embedding the notion of "untouchability" in Hindu culture, tracing the origins of the caste system to an elaborate system of political control in the guise of religion imposed by Aryan invaders on a conquered aboriginal/Dravidian civilization. He exposes the almost unimaginable social indignities which continue to be imposed upon so-called untouchables to this very day despite the outlawing of untouchability with the complicity of the political, criminal justice, media and educational systems. Under Rajshekar's incisive critique, the much-vaunted image of Indian non-violence shatters. This new updated and illustrated third edition includes: Y.N. Kly on the Dalit plight as a warning to African-Americans; Runoko Rashidi on "Blacks as a Global Community"; and the recent U.S. Congressional Bill 4215 on human rights in India, which marks the first U.S. Congressional recognition of the Dalit plight.

T K Oommen, (1990) *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movements*: The analysis of protest movements as sources of social change has been largely neglected in the social sciences. Oommen argues that until now the basic sources of change have been taken to be the economy or those watersheds in human history labelled as agrarian, industrial or information revolutions. By contrast, political revolutions have been accorded too little attention. In the first part of this book, the author explores the theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues in the study of social movements. He then goes on to examine specific methodological problems faced by analysts of on-going movements and explores the relationship between movements and institutions. In part two, he examines social movements in the macro-context of the nation-state while the final part considers the micro dimensions of social movements focusing on protest by specific social categories.
The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of India have remained socially, economically, educationally and politically backward since the beginning of caste stratification of Indian society. There is a close relationship between caste and occupation. The caste system has not allowed weaker sections to shift more productive occupations. After independence, there has been a growing tempo of developmental activities for them to facilitate their mobility. The impact of change appears more striking against a backdrop of relative immobility for centuries. These factors created a definite awareness about social climbing the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In this book an attempt has been made to improve the condition of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes through reservation facilities. Due to this spirit apart from various constitutional safeguards, a number of voluntary organizations started providing various facilities to the weaker sections of society for their proper upliftment. The constitution of free India based upon the principles of liberty, equality fraternity and being essentially egalitarian certain fundamental rights to the citizens for free self-expression and development of personality. The author gives valuable suggestions to improve the socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Thus, the outstanding book will be immense use to researchers, students of various disciplines and policy-makers of the country.


Rāmacandra Kṣhirasāgara, 1994, *Dalit Movement in India and its Leaders, 1857-1956*: This book is, obviously based on primary source of information; certain facts were duly corroborated by other sources. It has been objectively analyzed, properly interpreted and systematically arranged in a consolidated form. It would be useful as a ready reference to the scholars, interested in undertaking intensive research on individual leaders, and their role in the movement. It would be beneficial to those activists who prefer to take lessons from their past. Therefore, the book is of great value.

author skillfully analyzes the ideology and organization of the movement and its interaction both with the freedom struggle and the class struggles of the workers and peasants.

Dipankar Gupta, 1997, *Social Stratification*: This work discusses Social Stratification in India with an interdisciplinary approach. It contains both classical and new writing on caste. It profiles the variations and the social importance of this system. The work also examines class and its dynamics, highlighting the urgency of the topic, considering all the complexities of current social and political life in India.

Oliver Mendelsohn, Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty, and The state in Modern India, 1998*: In a sensitive and compelling account of the lives of those at the very bottom of Indian society, Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany explore the construction of the untouchables as a social and political category, the historical background which led to such a definition, and their position in India today. The authors argue that, despite efforts to ameliorate their condition on the part of the state, a considerable edifice of discrimination persists on the basis of a tradition of ritual subordination. Even now, therefore, it still makes sense to categorise these people as 'Untouchables'. The book promises to make a major contribution to the social and economic debates on poverty, while its wide-ranging perspectives will ensure an interdisciplinary readership from historians of South Asia, to students of politics, economics, religion and sociology.

S.M Michael (ed.) *Dalits in Modern India: Vision and Values* (1999): This second, revised and enlarged edition looks back at the aspirations and struggle of the marginalized Dalit masses and looks forward to a new humanity based on equality, social justice and human dignity. Within the context of Dalit emancipation, it explores the social, economic and cultural content of Dalit transformation in modern India. These articles, by some of the foremost researchers' in the field, are presented in four parts: Part I deal with the historical material on the origin and development of untouchability in Indian civilization. Part II contests mainstream explanations and shows that the Dalit vision of Indian society is different from that of the upper castes. Part II offers a critique of the Sanskritic perspective of traditional Indian society, and fieldworks-based portraits of the Hinduisation of Adivasis in Gujarat, Dalit patriarchy in Maharashtra and Dalit power politics in Uttar Pradesh. Part IV concentrates on the economic condition in the Dalits.
Smita Narula, 1999, *broken people: caste violence against India's "untouchables":* This report is about caste, but it is also about class, gender, poverty, labor, and land. For those at the bottom of its hierarchy, caste is a determinative factor for the attainment of social, political, civil, and economic rights. Most of the conflicts documented in this report take place within very narrow segments of the caste hierarchy, between the poor and the not-so-poor, the landless laborer and the small landowner. The differences lie in the considerable amount of leverage that the higher-caste Hindus or non-Dalits are able to wield over local police, district administrations, and even the state government.

Robert Deliège (Author), Nora Scott (Translator), 1999, *Untouchables of India.* The subjugation of millions of people in a caste system that is a radical form of apartheid has long had its critics, both from within India and from outside it. Although the government has introduced equal opportunity legislation in an effort to right some of history's wrongs, untouchability is an accident of birth that continues to stigmatize and ostracize more than one hundred and forty million people. Untouchables remain on the bottom of the socioeconomic scale and are found, more often than not, in unskilled, low status occupations. They are forbidden to enter temples, often beg for their food, must leave their chests uncovered and silently endure public humiliations and insults. They remain on the fringes of society and it is even said by some that their shadows pollute passersby. This excellent book addresses the problem of untouchability by providing an overview of the subject as well as penetrating insights into its social and religious origins. The author persuasively demonstrates that untouchability is a deeply ambiguous condition: neither inside nor outside society, revealed yet indispensable, have untouchables constituted an original category of social exclusion. This is reflected in the various social movements they have led over the last century and more. The situation of untouchables is crucial to the understanding of caste dynamics, especially in contemporary circumstances, but emphasis, particularly within anthropology, has been placed on the dominant aspects of the caste system rather than on those marginalized and excluded from it. This important book redresses this problem and represents a vital contribution to studies of India, Hinduism, human rights, history, sociology and anthropology.

S.M.Michael, 1999, *Untouchable, Dalits in Modern India:* Exploring the enduring legacy of untouchability in India. This book challenges the ways in which
the Indian experience has been represented in western scholarship. The authors introduce the long tradition of Dalit emancipation struggle and present a sustained critique of academic discourse on the dynamics of caste in Indian society. Case studies complement these arguments, underscoring the perils and problems that Dalits face in a contemporary context of communalized politics and market reforms.

Vasant Moon (Author), Gail Omvedt (Translator), Eleanor Zelliot, 2000, Growing Up Untouchable in India: A Dalit Autobiography: In this English translation, Moon's story is usefully framed by apparatus necessary to bring its message to even those taking their first look at South Asian culture. The result is an easy to digest short-course on what it means to be a Dalit, in the words of one notable Dalit.-Journal of Asian Studies.

Sudha Pai, Dalit Assertion And The Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party In Uttar Pradesh (2002), his book examines the emergence, ideology and programmes, mobilization strategies, electoral progress and political significance of the Bahujan Samaj Party against the backdrop of a strong wave of Dalit assertion in Uttar Pradesh. Based upon extensive fieldwork in western Uttar Pradesh, government reports and interviews with Dalit leaders, this study, while highlighting the BSP's considerable achievements, explores the reasons for the party's failure to harness the forces of Dalit assertion in UP.

John C.B. Webster, 2002, Religion and Dalit liberation: an examination of perspectives: Revised version of three lectures on the views of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar on Dalits. Ghanshyam Shah, (2001) Dalit Identity and Politics, Bringing together scholars and activists, this volume examines the many facets of on-going Dalit struggles to improve their position. Focusing on identity assertion and collective action, the contributors discuss the nature of Dalit politics, and the challenges and dilemmas that they face in contemporary India.

Chinna Rao Yagati, Dalits Struggle for Identity (2003) this work deals with the familiar story of Dalits with a new perspective. Often social scientists in general and historians in particular interpret Dalit consciousness as 'false consciousness' undermining their radical political self-assertion. This work mainly deals with the Dalit's political self-assertion. This work mainly deals with the Dalit's political consciousness, their struggle for identity, and the manner in which they rose from a stage when they could develop their own self definition and roles within the dialectics
of the nationalist anti-colonial struggle. The strength of this work lies in drawing upon vernacular sources and in presenting an insiders' perspective.

R. Chandra, Sangh Mittra, 2003, *Dalit identity in the new millennium* (set of 10 vols.): this 10 volume set covers a wide variety of themes ranging from the caste system in India to the spread of Buddhism to the biographical speeches of some of the eminent dalit leaders and would go a long way in establishing the identity of the Dalits on a firm footing and in eradicating the notion that the Dalits occupy an Imperior position in society. Vol. 1: caste system in India; Vol. 2: Buddha: a revolutionary and reformer; Vol. 3: phases of Dalit revolt; Vol. 4: the Ambedkar era; Vol. 5: Jagjivan ram and his times; Vol. 6: Dalits and the ideology of revolt; Vol. 7: K.R. Narayanan: crusader of social justice; Vol. 8: Dalit leaders; Vol. 9: Dalits and their future; Vol. 10: untouchability and the law.

C.D.Naik, 2003, *thoughts and philosophy of Doctor B.R. Ambedkar*: all observations of change in masses; outlook and impact on social relationship can be reduced to the point, whether the steeply rooted fort of inequality is being demolished brick by brick to adopt the fraternal relationship in its social system one by one or not. The problem thus reduced has further practical issues of inexorable rule of inequality inbuilt in genetic, traditional and charismatic individualism. But this problem is not insolvable. it can be resolved by assuming reality and value as inseparable as interrelationship of equality and inequality, the former dictating what principle should be held in treating all individuals of society and the latter telling what the state of affairs actually exists. Then by upholding fraternal equality as the reigning principle in behaviour and being aware of existing odds against it the problem may be resolved and the one man one value oriented Fream of Dr. Ambedkar can be brought about in our national life. The present book, thoughts and philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar stressed the philosophy of equality, liberty and fraternity as expounded by Dr. Ambedkar himself under the caption of my personal philosophy originally in Marathi, translated into English by this author. It deals with the Buddhist development in east and west since 1950; Ambedkarism in the world; Punjabi speech on Ambedkar by Bailey translated into English; Hindi article of dr. Kausalyayan translated as had there been no Ambedkar. Marathi articles of Babasaheb translated into English; and author s own contributions such as education and Ambedkar, Ambedkar as a great relevance to a new millennium and so on.
Raj Kumar, 2003, *Essays on Dalits*: Dalit controversy, weaker sections during Mauryan period, sudras in ancient Hindu law, Ambedkar's perception of justice, Dalit psyche and Gandhian response, Gandhi and the Dalit question, Gandhi and untouchability, Dalit emancipation, Gandhi and Dalits, the politics of conversion, the temple entry movement, empowering the powerless, Dalits and the state, the Chandala/Maangas in Kathasaritsagara, Dalit and power structure, the weaker sections of Madhya Pradesh, the evil of untouchability, Ambedkar and the Dalits, Ambedkar's quests for social justice through constitutional rights and safeguards: an analysis.

Prakash Louis, 2003, *the political sociology of Dalit assertion*: The book attempts to identify the factors, which respond against the age-old bondage of diverse and varied discriminations and exploitations and build the Dalit Assertion for emancipation and determine the path for liberation.


Bharat Singh, *Dalit Education*, 2004, despite all boasting and tall claims by the government and various organizations, Dalits the weaker people in our society are still backward in the field of education. No doubt, a lot has been done for the betterment of their education. This book covers all aspects related to Dalit education and examines various schemes and plans, made for the promotion of education for Dalits in our country. On its merit, this is an exclusive work on the subject, equally beneficial for sociologists, educationists and scholars, working on the subject.

Mamta Rajawat (2004) *Encyclopeadia of Dalits in India*, (Set of 7 Vols) Dalits or the downtrodden section of our society is a unique Indian entity. Which you do not find in any other country or nation in the world. The word, Dalit, as per Oxford Dictionary means, a member of the lowest caste, however, it is now used as a term for the Scheduled Castes in our country. Dalit is relatively a new term, while Scheduled Caste is a statutory term used for those castes, which have been included in a particular schedule in our Constitution. In fact, various castes of Hindus, traditionally known as Sudras who were considered backward culturally, socially and economically had been listed in that category. The Indian Constitution his bestowed some privileges and concessions upon these castes and they have been allotted quotas in education, training and services, which is known as reservation. Backed by
Constitution and law of the land, the Scheduled Castes have enjoyed special privileges and relaxations in various competitions. A lot has been done for their empowerment and emancipation, since independence, yet the majority of these castes, still lags behind in many an area in life. Hence, much and more has to be done. The Dalits are a part and parcel of our social fabric and the nation can not really progress, unless this vast section develops along with others. The Government has special plans and schemes for the upliftment of the Dalits and various non-governmental voluntary organizations are also committed to serve them. But, it is a long journey and every sane and responsible citizen has to contribute his or her bit. The intellectuals and scholars have a special responsibility of awakening the masses and making them aware of the real state of affairs. Hence, this Endeavour. This encyclopedia on Dalits and Dalit world, presents entire gamut of information categorized under seven volumes. This study is research based and the result of painful and toilsome working hours, spread over several years. This comprehensive, exclusive and exhaustive work would be accepted and acknowledged by scholars and academics, engaged in concerned areas.

Swapna Samel, *Dalit Movement in South India (1857-1950)* (2004), the book is one of the first attempts to bring together history of Dalit Movement during 1857-1950, in four southern states i.e. Andhra, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala. Based on intensive and extensive archival work, each chapter provides valuables insights into genesis of the concerned movement and leadership, event structure, internal dynamics and the social and cultural consequences. The author has focused on a brief history of the states, caste system, socio-economic conditions of Dalit leaders, organizations of Dalit movement, educational efforts made for Dalits and temple entry movement in South India. This is not a study of Dalits alone, but an attempt to present a social and political history of a fascinating area in a time of rapid change and also a contribution to the regional history of South Asia.

K.C.Das, 2004, *Indian Dalits: voices, visions and politics*: this book is an analytical study of socio-cultural consciousness and political participation of Dalit community. Dalit assertions for social identity or for political participation often confront hostility. The Gandhian project, which involved renaming them as Harijans alongside campaigns to eradicate untouchability, not only remained confined to the ideational level, but it affected the liberal Sanatani Hindu more than it did the Dalit.
Equally, the Ambedkarite legacy which focused essentially on the secular realm resources, education, jobs and power remained limited. The gradual regression from a radical Ambedkarite movement to a Dalit political reformist movement under the leadership of BSP has compromised with upper caste elites to achieve power by the mid-1990s. This has mainly been due to its impatience to gain power by whatever means, to introduce changes from above rather than wage a long struggle at the grassroots.

Surendra Jondhale, Johannes Beltz, 2004, reconstructing the world: B.R. Ambedkar and Buddhism in India: This book throws light on the very contentious issues related to the social phenomenon of new Buddhism with which Dr Ambedkar is associated. With contributions by scholars such as Eleanor Zelliot and Gail Omvedt, this volume can very well be seen as a comprehensive social history of Ambedkar’s Buddhism.

Mamta Rajawat (2005) Dalits and Law: Dalit is relatively a new term, while scheduled caste is a statutory term used for those castes, which have been included in a particular schedule of Indian constitution. Backed up constitution and law of the land, the scheduled castes have enjoyed special privileges in various competitions. A lot has been done for their empowerment and emancipation, since independence, yet the majority of these castes, still lags behind in many an area of life. The book gives a comprehensive study various legal measures for ameliorating the condition of Dalits. contents statutory protection; special provision; solution by law; prohibition of untouchability; significant provisions; the safeguards statutory privileges; special transitional and temporary provisions; other safeguards; role of police; reserved vacancy recruitment; concessions and relaxations; promotions; scheduled castes and scheduled tribes orders (amendment) act, 1976; scheduled castes and scheduled tribes orders (prevention of atrocities) act, 1989; specified scheduled areas; scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; castes and religious groups; etc.

Mamta Rajawat (2005) Development of Dalits: As is obvious from the term itself, Dalits are the suppressed and oppressed section of our society. The Dalit movement finds its origin in the 19th century when Dalits began making concerted efforts to change their lives and Dalit aspirations began to be taken serious. This book is addressed to all crucial issues concerning development of Dalits. Supported by facts and figures related to historical background; socio-economic factors; Dalit economy;
Raka Ray, Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, 2005, *Social movements in India: poverty, power, and politics.* Social movements have played a vital role in Indian politics since well before the inception of India as a new nation in 1947. During the Nehruvian era, poverty alleviation was a foundational standard against which policy proposals and political claims were measured; at this time, movement activism was directly accountable to this state discourse. In the first volume to focus on poverty and class in its analysis of social movements, a group of leading India scholars shows how social movements have had to change because poverty reduction no longer serves its earlier role as a political template. With distinctive chapters on gender, lower castes, environment, the Hindu Right, Kerala, labor, farmers, and biotechnology, social movements in India will be attractive to students and researchers in many different disciplines.

Mamta Rajawat, 2005, *Dalits: Role of Education:* Dalits remained neglected segment of society, for long. Poverty-ridden and oppressed, their condition worsened instead of improving. With the access of education (through very little), awareness and consciousness spread. And they strived for self identity and human dignity for themselves. This book portrays the role of education in upliftment of Dalits. contents evolution and development; current scenario; basic problems; role of society; school education; college education; the diserters; special provisions; role of religion; statistical data: Dalit education at a glance.

Meena Anand, 2005, *Dalit women: fear and discrimination:* Marginalism and racial exclusion of Dalits is a burning issue today. This book on Dalits goes back into past and looks at the history of Dalit alienation. Issues like racial conflict, racism and justice, relevance of human rights to Dalits; caste colour prejudices etc. find a five description in the book.

Anand Teltumbde, 2005, *Hindutva and Dalits: perspectives for understanding communal praxis:* Why did Dalits join forces with the Hindu Rights that unleashed the terrible riots in Gujarat against the Muslims in 2002? Why indeed are Dalits, the primary targets of the Hindu caste system, prepared to accept Hindutva or the political philosophy of 'caste Hindu' supremacy? As the editor says, "Hindutva has declared
Muslims as their 'enemy other' and extended a hand of friendship to Dalits as 'us allies'. In this path-breaking collection, the contributors, all eminent in their fields, consider the many issues raised by the Hindutva overture towards Dalits. The question of Dalit women vis-a-vis Dalit men and others is also discussed. It is divided into two parts; the first discusses the theoretical perspective while the second considers Hindutva in operation. The views presented do not offer a consensus simply because none exists. A thought provoking and incisive analysis of Hindutva, this book makes an invaluable contribution to the current debate and takes it forward.

Gail Omvedt, 2006, *Dalit visions: the anti-caste movement and the construction of an Indian identity:* Dalit Visions explores and critiques the sensibility which equates Indian tradition with Hinduism, and Hinduism with Brahmanism; which considers the Vedas as the foundational texts of Indian culture and discovers within the Aryan heritage the essence of Indian civilization. It shows that even secular minds remain imprisoned within this Brahminical vision, and the language of secular discourse is often steeped in a Hindu ethos. The tract looks at alternative traditions, nurtured within dalit movements, which have questioned this way of looking at Indian society and its history. While seeking to understand the varied dalit visions that have sought to alter the terms of the dominant order, this tract persuades us to reconsider our ideas, listen to those voices which we often refuse to hear and understand the visions which seek to change the world in which Dalits live.

Mary Grey, (2007) *A Cry for Dignity: Religion, Violence and the Struggle of Dalit Women in India.* This book tackles caste-based violence by focusing on the position of Dalit women in India. Of 200 million Dalits nearly 50 per cent are women, often referred to as thrice Dalit, as they suffer from the triple oppressions of poverty, being female and being female Dalits. They are frequently let down by both the Dalit movement itself as well as the women's movement in India that focuses more on social problems like dowry deaths more relevant for caste women and not those outside the caste system. Many Dalit women are denied access to education, to meaningful employment, health provision and are the first to suffer the negative effects of globalization. Access to upper caste wells is forbidden. Worst of all, Dalit women are exposed to many forms of violence (including temple prostitution) and are frequently raped as a way to humiliate Dalit men. The degrading work of scavenging - removing human excrement falls mostly on Dalit women, since men are more likely
to be upwardly-mobile. Despite all of this, a new strength now emerges in challenging caste boundaries, contributing to self esteem and a stronger sense of identity. The strong spirituality of Dalit women has sustained strength through songs and stories and in some cases by subverting patriarchy through ironically re-shaping traditional myths. The book focuses on Dalit Women's own movements, leadership and achievements and will set the struggle in an international arena, including Dalit discrimination in the UK. The book ends in suggesting forms of action from Church, society and feminist theology to show solidarity with and effect social change for Dalit women.

Chalam, K S, 2007, *Challenges of Higher Education*: This book looks at the challenges faced by the higher education system in India in the modern context. All aspects have comprehensively dealt with, starting with the development of education during post-independent India right to the modern times. While enumerating these problems, useful suggestions have been given so that higher education in the country is able to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

S. Srivastava, *Dalit Movement in India: Role of B. R. Ambedkar* (2007), Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), a born rebel, is the builder of modern India. He drafted independent India's constitution. Educated in USA and UK, he is that rare combination of a scholar, revolutionary and statesman who fought for the socio-political rights of millions of untouchables. Dr. B.R.Ambedkar shines like a luminous star in the galaxy of great men. He played a crucial role in shaping the destiny of free India, and left indelible imprints on our national life and the state organization.

Vidya Devi, 2008. *Dalit & Social Justice*: This book provides a detailed and comprehensive account of the status of Dalits in India. This book provides information about Dalit movements in the India, their mode of organisation, engagement in politics and contribution to processes of democratization and egalitarianism. It explores the social, economic and cultural content of Dalit transformation in modern India. The detailed conclusion outlines the policies required to facilitate the empowerment of Dalits. This book covers aspirations and struggle of the marginalized Dalit masses and looks forward to a new humanity based on equality, social justice and human dignity.

Himansu Charan Sadangi, 2008, Emancipation of Dalits and freedom struggle: On various social, religious and political movements of Dalits, chiefly Mahar community of Maharashtra, India.

Himansu Charan Sadangi, 2008, Dalit: the Downtrodden of India: This book represents a detailed scholarly analysis of the Dalit situation, but rather to isolate and present the central issues pertinent to this long oppression. In comes as an ongoing plea for the ear of the world, from a courageous representative of one of the most exploited and oppressed populations on earth, victim of a centuries old experiment in forced political integration under conditions of segregation and cultural assimilation. I hope this book will helpful and fulfill all the requisites and provide information needed to the readers. It would be the choice for Dalit activists, students, professionals seeking to arouse public indignation against this most outrageous of indignities against humankind: the notion that the very touch of some might be polluting to others. Because it says all that most of us need to know in regard to this social crime against humanity. And there remains so much to be achieved in the Dalit struggle for human dignity.

Eleanor Zelliot, from untouchable to Dalit: essays on the Ambedkar Movement: On the Dalit Movement started by Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.

Prof. M.Muttaiah’s articles on Classification of Scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh and K.Rantam’s writings on Dalit movements in Andhra Pradesh also helped a lot to draw certain inferences on the Dalit perspectives and approaches.

To conclude, it is clear that the Dalit organizations are quite aware that the political parties are not helpful for the emancipation of the Dalits. But they have chosen to support them in the elections only to fulfill the interests of their community or the movement. Needless to say that there perceptions and support to the political parties is not constant and subject to change since there is growing consciousness among the Dalits. It is thus, clear that the political parties are losing their support base among the deprived communities. This may be one of the reasons, of late, for the failure political parties getting majority seats in the legislatures, leading to coalition politics. Thanks to Dalit movements, the weaker sections are no longer weak in
politics. They have learnt to bargain in politics for their advantage and act accordingly. The political parties can regain the confidence of the Dalits only when they come out of the narrow perceptions of electoral politics and make a dedicated effort to solve the Dalit problems and work for their development.

It was in his context that the Dalit movements developed before independence as an isolated revolt of the weakest and most oppressed sections of the population. The isolation had serious consequences: for it meant that, instead of organizing as the most revolutionary section of a unified movement, Dalits developed a separatism in which they made demands of nationalists as well as the British. Hostility developed to communism and class analysis (which was put forward in such a way as to appear to Dalits to exclude considerations of 'caste' as such, which continues to have serious consequences today.

Still, the achievements of the Dalit movement are impressive, and are too often overlooked. They have given birth to a tradition of struggle in many areas, not only on cultural and ritual issues but on breaking feudal bonds. They have mounted powerful pressure on the national movement resulting in constitutional provisions for reservations and laws making untouchability an offence; unsatisfactory as these have been, they have still provided weapons in the hands of low-caste organizers. They have created a deep-seated conviction of quality and self-confidence which is inevitably making it heard. If this has not yet achieved a revolutionary transformation in the life of the most exploited sections of society, it is because of the incompleteness of the revolutionary and democratic movement itself. If this is to go forward, the dalit movement will inevitably be a part of it.

Aim and Scope:

The present study is an attempt to focus on the Dalit movements and their struggle for social justice and its influence on the socio-economic life of the people in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. Any social movement has to grapple not only with the dimensions of genesis, ideology, collective mobilization, organization, and leadership, but also with the conceptual problems relating to social change. Hence in the dissertation it is proposed to examine different movements and its outcome to establish the consolidation of Dalit groups resulted in social identity and dignity of life in the mainstream of social system.
This study is limited to the socio-economic conditions of the Dalits in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. The period taken for this study is from 1956-2008. The starting year of the study i.e. 1956 is important because, on 14th October 1956 (Ashok Vijayadashmi), along with his millions of followers Ambedkar took refuge to Buddhism and opened a new era of revolutionary socio-religious movements in India. Large number of neo-Buddhists on the day of Vijayadashmi (this year it is on 21st October) come together at Nagpur’s Dikshabhoomi (the place where Ambedkar was converted) and pays their tributes to Ambedkar. This has become an important ritual or occasion for the Neo-Buddhist especially in Maharashtra to demonstrate their cultural capital and social strength as a unified community. Buddhist conversion movement as a substitute to it, argues for the annihilation of caste based social system. It upholds an ideology based on social justice and equal opportunities, represents a new moral self for the individual citizen in public to claim the benefits of liberal democracy.

Moreover, it constructs a positive collective culture of people based on fraternal and rational ethos and finally it symbolizes a vision for the reconstruction of society by bringing the issue of ‘social democracy’ in the mainstream debates of political development. Conversion movement further incorporates the potential values to change the public discourse from ‘politics of caste’ to the ‘evaluation of Hindu religion’ with a secular perspective, upholding the need of moral religions in the public domain. The agenda of establishing social democracy through radicalizing the orthodox religious domain is sidelined under the broad consensus to the largely ineffective political democracy. Modern Dalit politics thus has a blurred, narrow and a power centric perspective having limited effects on socio, cultural and economic status of the community. Secondly, being the representative of particular caste/castes in politics it operates in the circle of hierarchal relationships without actually breaking the permanent pure-impure dichotomy.

Many sub-national movements too emerged for the fear of exploitation by dominant regions and linguistic groups within independent India, leading to the reorganization of states on linguistic basis in 1956. The linguistic basis for state formation has not served as a binding factor as visualized because of unevenness in resource development, cultural identities and political power. The struggle for civil, political and economic rights within the constitutional framework and negotiating
with the state for the restoration of rights through the judiciary is another approach of social movements to address the concerns of the people, especially of the vulnerable sections.

All these movements are aimed at acquiring due space for different sections of populations and regions, which have been denied the same historically in economy, society, and polity in the development process. These movements attempt to negotiate with the state, market and civil society, and the root cause of the denial of due spaces for marginalized peoples and regions in the development process. The outcome of a movement could be seen in terms of social, political and economic change, sometimes structural and also non-structural. However, the state has the power to formulate new public policies or to modify the existing public policies within the constitutional framework in response to the demands of different social movements. Thus social movements through the state and actions initiated by the state on its own, irrespective of any social movements, can determine public policy, this year the dalit advocacy groups are celebrating the 20th year of SC, ST (prevention of atrocities) act. In implementing the universal human rights and the rights and protections guaranteed by the constitution, SC, ST prevention of atrocities) act 1989 is a milestone. That act itself came in the backdrop of inhuman incidents such as Kilvenmani, Tchunduru, Karamchedu and Vempenta which shocked the nation in late 80s and early 90s. Indian constitution, under article 17, prohibits untouchability where as article 15 prohibit any kind of discrimination on the grounds of caste. The social and democratic awareness fueled by anti-emergency struggle in the country widened the ambit of civil rights followed by the increased activism of Dalit advocacy groups, apparently those who headed such groups are the first generations beneficiaries of opportunities under reservation policy succeeded in differentiating between civil rights and atrocities.

The Dalit movement of late 70s and early 80 centered around self-respect apart from graded equality self-respect movements fueled by inhuman atrocities such as mentioned above paved way for new debate about protecting the Dalit rights at the same time protecting the Dalits from atrocities unleashed against them. Thus the necessity for a new act came up and parliament at that time acted promptly to recognizing this need, thus, came into existence the prevention of SC, ST atrocities which empowers the state to use its power to see that the perpetrators of atrocities not to go unpunished. The conflicts debated at that time and redressal or remedial
mechanisms outlined in these acts are basically individual centric, despite these guarantees and protections, the 21st century India is witnessing and increase in atrocities against SC&STs. The major change that needs to be recognized in these atrocities is that they migrated from individual sphere to social sphere. In other sense atrocities against group are increased as against individuals. Particularly this change is evident in the case of developed states such as Maharashtra, Haryana, and Andhra Pradesh as well as the states where predominantly feudalistic social relations are in tact, how Dalit struggle are taking place and how the Dalits are facing dexterous problems like regarding to the caste, creed, untouchability, social deprivation, caste discrimination and atrocities etc.in Andhra Pradesh. But new details including this study was taken by me up to the year 2008. So the study is enscoped for the period between 1956 and 2008.

Objectives of the study:

➢ To trace the History of the Dalit Consciousness and Movements in Kumool District.
➢ To identify Dalit leadership and their participation in these movements.
➢ To assess the movement launched by two sub-castes of SCs-i.e. Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi and Malamahanadu.
➢ To analyse the impact of Dalit consciousness in realization of their rights and Human dignity.

Methodology:

The proposed study aims to employ a combination of historical, descriptive, empirical and analytical approach in addition to the time-tested Case Method. The present study will look into different parameters and paradigms of Dalit’s struggle for social justice and also the role played by various Dalit groups in consolidating their position and safe guard their identities and interests. The data related to scheduled castes and the division within the caste groups, their sub-castes and identity crisis will be looked into. Taking into consideration the recent movements like Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) popularly known as ‘Dandora’ and Mala Mahanadu and its impact on sub-sects is another important point to draw certain inferences out of these movements. In the present study literary sources, primary and secondary sources have been used, in order to examine the different facets of Dalit movements and participation of the people in these movements. Further its impact on the socio-economic profile of the Dalits in Kumool district of Andhra Pradesh was
examined with a specific purpose to look into the significance of the social movements that took place in the recent past.

**Scheme of the thesis:**

In this study, an earnest effort is made to portray the significance of Dalits Struggle for Social Justice in Andhra Pradesh—A study in Kurnool District (1956-2008). Keeping in line with the main objectives of the research, the proposed work is organized into Seven Chapters including the Introductory and Concluding Chapters.

Introductory Chapter sets the Aim and scope, methodology, organization of thesis, review of literature and objectives of the study. Dalit movements after independence were aimed against the marginalization and annihilation of rural Dalit. The complete annihilation of Dalit from resources like land, water, and agriculture implements, exclusion from political participation led to resurgence among the Dalits to mobilize them to articulate their grievances, mold public opinion and to plead for social justice. The post independence Dalit movement gathered more momentum and gained popularity to fight against the atrocities, deprivation in spite of the provisions of constitution which safeguards protective discrimination.

Different Dalit movements highlight different issues related to Dalits around different ideologies. All of them, however, overtly or covertly assert for Dalit identity. Identity is concerned with the self-esteem and self-image of a community real or imaginary dealing with the existence and role. However, not withstanding differences in the nature of Dalit movements and meaning of identity, there has been a common quest in all these movements for equality, dignity and for eradication of untouchability.

The Second Chapter deals with origin of untouchability, social stratification, social deprivation, poverty ridden conditions, and inequality in all spheres of social life. Above all inaccessible to resources and discrimination to provide opportunities for their dignified livelihood and survival as human beings. Untouchability is a dominant factor still continuing in the matter of social relationships and discrimination takes the form of barriers against bathing, eating, drinking, worshiping, and having access to common properties. It puts a ban on all common cycles of participation. The untouchables are among the very bottom elements of Indian society in both status and economic terms, and they have undergone a profound change in the context of socialization and social identity.
Chapter three deals with Social movements, Social change, Dalits in pre and post independent India. This chapter tries to throw much light on the various movements and struggles led by different leaders, their contribution and impact on social system to create awareness for self respect in the community. Political fragmentation and linguistic regional insulation; hierarchical social division and institutionalized inequality; cultural, ethnic diversity and social tolerance and the primacy of the group over individual were the basic characteristics of traditional India. These multiple dimensions had given rise to and shaped the nature and type of social movements. These movements attempt to negotiate with the state, market and civil society, and the root cause of the denial of due spaces for marginalized peoples and regions in the development process. The outcome of a movement could be seen in terms of social, political and economic change, sometimes structural and also non-structural. However, the state has the power to formulate new public policies or to modify the existing public policies within the constitutional framework in response to the demands of different social movements. Thus social movements through the state and actions initiated by the state on its own, irrespective of any social movements, can determine public policy. But, the question comes why some movements continue to recur despite the response.

Chapter four is an attempt on the influence of Ambedkarism, Dalits reaction and resistance against caste Hindu dominance and their struggle for social justice. Protective discrimination and Political safeguards for depressed classes as guaranteed in the Constitution led for the struggle for their identity and Social transformation. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar was indeed a symbol of social justice. He played a major role in reforming the vertical hierarchical Brahminical social order and establishing humanitarian social order based on the principles of equality, liberty, fraternity and collective welfare. Brahmins were the earliest beneficiary of the concept of reservation by a peculiar method. Instead of directly reserving the positions for them, by way of Varnashram Dharma, they disqualified and eliminated all the others from contesting. The Varnashram Dharma fortified the Brahmins alone to enjoy all the powers and control all the positions and offices made them to dominate the Indian society for many centuries. His struggle for social justice and political equality and especially for the oppressed class in the Hindus society has remained the keystone of
the Indian democracy. Therefore, his ideology makes the Dalits to realize the importance of Ambedkar and his contribution.

Chapter five looks into the transformation and assertion of Dalits and their position and status in the social spectrum in Andhra. Caste dominance and atrocities on Dalits which is a common phenomenon in Kurnool district was discussed with good number of examples. Besides that the role of Dalit organizations, Democratic and Rights Organizations, influence and impact of Dalit movements in the district was also examined to substantiate the very purpose and central point of the thesis. The struggle and movements led by the Dalit groups significantly changed the very mind set and attitude of the upper caste people to restrain them not to resort to any discrimination or humiliation of Dalits. Of course it is only for a short period, time and again the practice of suppression and humiliation continued to be in force.

Chapter six is an attempt to explain the emergence of different movements led to sub-caste division and categorization within Scheduled Castes and socio-economic profile of the movements in Andhra Pradesh. Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) and its struggle for social justice, movement for categorization, and counter movement by Malamahanadu is another significant development which attracted the attention of National political parties and leaders of opposition parties. Categorization and its impact in Andhra Pradesh, judicial interference, maintenance of status-quo in SC reservations, role of the government, people’s response and the response of the political parties was discussed. The changing scenario and the recent developments after keeping the G.OM.S.No:68 in abeyance for want of clarity in statistical data and rationalization of reservations within scheduled castes brought lot of changes in Andhra Pradesh politics. Madigas got categorization of scheduled caste reservations after a persistent struggle and movement for social justice. In the light of the recent developments, it is very much essential to assess the characteristics of the movement for social justice and counter movement to snub the genuine demand made by Madigas.

The Seventh Chapter is a conclusive chapter presenting different paradigms of Dalit issues; social relevance of Dalit struggles, various view points and observations of Dalit intellectuals and other section of people who intended to bail out the Dalits from the age old problem of discrimination, suppression and annihilation in the context of Dalit assertion and the reaction of civil society.

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