Chapter I
INTRODUCTION
Social exclusion has several dimensions. It exists in various spheres and in many forms. Race and caste have however dominated the discourse on social exclusion. In its simplest understanding, social exclusion is lack of access to resources and consequent inability to utilize them. It is further accentuated by denial of opportunities which enhance access to resources and their utilization. It can, therefore be experienced by anyone who is in a position which is vulnerable to such impeding conditions. Thus, besides caste and race, religion, age, gender, social position and occupational hierarchy—are all potentially volatile to social exclusion. Stratification of human populations occurs at various levels and in many forms. It has a reflection of power dynamics which exist between people and also between population groups. This drives some caste and religious groups to be more advantaged as against others. The young and the elderly population are likely to be less equipped as compared to the adults in the sphere of work. The elders may be the dominating persons within the household; making the young and the adults vulnerable. Similarly, the gender roles are likely to put women at certain disadvantages vis-à-vis men. Superimposing this with lack of access to education and employment; other incomes; land ownership and political participation; all are drivers to accentuate social exclusion. Thus, people who are socially excluded are vulnerable. Social exclusion can happen to anyone. Specially as society moves towards newer technological and economic progress, it elevates and improves the opportunities for some people – and leaves others behind. Individuals who belong to underprivileged groups or minority social groups are at higher risk of facing social exclusion. Although social exclusion is used extensively in the current debates on equity and equitable access to resources and opportunities, it is, however, a very vague concept. There are no common measures on social exclusion. It is viewed as an umbrella concept for measures and policies for combating unemployment, dependency and poverty. These are social phenomenon which have different causes and consequences and often involve different population groups. The causes of social exclusion have been attributed to the economic and social changes in free-market economies, and to weaknesses in government policies and services.

The concept of social exclusion has its origins in France. The former French President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, promoted this concept in connection with the poverty programmes of the European Union in the beginning of
the 1990’s. Since then, social exclusion has become of major concern in the European Union and outside. The main thrust on the concept of social exclusion in the region of its origin has been for poverty alleviation and thus for addressing unemployment, low income, poor jobs, homelessness, poor health, low qualifications and leaving school early, gender inequalities, discrimination and racism, handicaps, old age, divorce, drug abuse and alcoholism and to be living in a deprived socio-economic area. Most of the debate has therefore, surrounded the labour market.¹

Social exclusion is a universal phenomenon which has existed over time and space. However, in India, social exclusion has been predominantly used in understanding caste based discrimination. Caste is a unique determinant of social exclusion in the Indian Sub-continent. There are various forms of social exclusion experienced by the Dalits in different spheres. Historically, the Dalits were deprived of education; right to possess assets; and the right to possess weapons to protect themselves. The code of conduct that deprives them of these rights- Manusmriti- was written three thousand years back. The scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes experience the agony of social exclusion very deeply in social, economic and political spheres in that order.

Therefore, social exclusion is related to lack of access to services and goods offered by societies. Social and religious groups appear to accentuate social exclusion by denying certain opportunities pertaining to social and religious practices and access to services and resources. Caste base exclusion percolates through various opportunities for enhancing access to resources- education, health care and work. Thus social exclusion can be understood through three basic tenets of complete and partial exclusion; and unfavorable inclusion.

Concept of Caste Exclusion and Discrimination

In India, exclusion revolves around the societal interrelations and institutions that exclude, discriminate, isolate, and deprive some groups on the basis of group’s identities like caste and ethnicity. The nature of exclusion revolving around the caste system particularly needs to be understood and conceptualized. It is the caste-based exclusion, which has formed the basis for various anti-discriminatory policies in
India. Historically, the caste system has regulated the social and economic life of the people in India.

Theoretical formulations by economists recognized that in its essential form, caste as a system of social and economic governance or organization (of production and distribution) is governed by certain customary rules and norms, which are unique and distinct (Scoville 1991, Lal 1988, Ambedkar 1936 and 1987). The organizational scheme of the caste system is based on the division of people in social groups (or castes) in which the civil, cultural, and economic rights of each individual caste are pre-determined or ascribed by birth and made hereditary. The assignment of civil, cultural, and economic rights is therefore, unequal and hierarchal. The most important feature of the caste system, however, is that it provides for a regulatory mechanism to enforce the social and economic organization through the instruments of social ostracism (or social and economic penalties), and reinforces it further with the justification and support from the philosophical elements in the Hindu religion.

The caste system's fundamental characteristics of fixed civil, cultural, and economic rights for each caste, with restrictions for change implies "forced exclusion" of one caste from the rights of other caste, or from undertaking the occupations of other castes. Exclusion and discrimination in civil, cultural, and particularly in economic spheres such as occupation and labour employment, is therefore, internal to the system, and a necessary outcome of its governing principles. In the market economy framework, the occupational immobility would operate through restrictions in various markets such as land, labour, credit, other inputs, and services necessary for any economic activity. Labour being an integral part of the production process of any economic activity, would obviously become a part of market discrimination.

This theorization implies that the caste system involves the negation of not only equality and freedom, but also of the basic human rights, particularly of the low castes untouchables which become an impediment for personal development. The principles of equality and freedom are not the governing principles of the caste system. This is because the underlying principles of the caste system assume particular notions of "human rights". Unlike many other human societies, the caste system does not recognize the individual and his/her distinctiveness as the center of the social purpose. In fact, for the purpose of rights and duties, the unit of the Hindu

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society is not an individual (even the family is not regarded as a unit in the Hindu society, except for the purposes of marriages and inheritance). The primary unit in the Hindu society is caste, and hence, the rights and privileges (or the lack of them) of individual are on account of him/her being a member of a particular caste. Also, due to differential ranking, and the hierarchical nature of the caste system, the entitlements to various rights become narrower and narrower as one goes down in hierarchical ladder in the caste system. Various castes get artfully interlined and coupled with each other (in their rights and duties), in a manner such that the rights and privileges of the higher castes become the causative reasons for the disadvantage and disability for the lower castes, particularly the untouchables. In this sense, as Ambedkar observed, a caste does not exist in a single number, but only in plural. Castes exist as a system of endogenous groups, which are interlinked with each other in unequal measure of rights and relations in all walks of life. Castes at the top of the order enjoy more rights, at the expense of those located at the bottom. Therefore, the untouchables located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy have much less economic and social rights.

Since the civil, cultural, and economic rights (particularly with respect to occupation and property rights) of each caste are ascribed, and are compulsory, the institution of caste necessarily involves forced exclusion of one caste from rights of another. The unequal and hierarchal assignment of economic and social rights by ascription obviously restricts the freedom of occupation and the human development.

Social Exclusion in Indian Society

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Forms of Caste Exclusions and Discriminations

The practice of caste-based exclusion and discrimination thus, necessarily involves failure of access and entitlements, not only to economic rights, but also to civil, cultural and political rights. It involves what has been described as "living mode exclusion", exclusion in political participation, and exclusion and disadvantage in social and economic opportunities. The caste /untouchability and ethnicity based exclusion thus reflect in inability of individuals and groups like former untouchables, adiwas and other similar groups to interact freely and productively with others and to take part in the full economic, social, and political life of a community. Incomplete citizenship or denial of civil rights(freedom of expression, rule of law, right to justice), political rights (Right and means to participate in the exercise of political power),and socioeconomic rights (Economic security and equality of opportunities) are key dimensions of impoverished live.

In the light of the above, the caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination can be categorized in the economic, civil, cultural, and political spheres as follows:

"The exclusion and the denial of equal opportunity in economic spheres would necessarily operate through markets and non-market transactions and exchange."

Firstly, exclusion can be practiced through the denial in labour market in hiring for jobs; in capital market through the denial of access to capital; in agriculture land market through the denial in sale and purchase or leasing of land; in input market
through the denial in sale and purchase of factor inputs; and in consumer market through the denial in sale and purchase of commodities and consumer goods.

Secondly, discrimination can occur through what Amartya Sen would describe as "unfavorable inclusion", namely through differential treatment in terms and condition of contract, one of them would reflect in discrimination in the prices charged and received by discriminated groups. This can be inclusive of the price of factor inputs, and consumer's goods, price of factors of productions such as wages for labour, price of land or rent on land, interest on capital, rent on residential houses, charges or fees on services such as water, and electricity. Discriminated groups can get lower prices for the goods that they sell, and could pay higher prices for the goods that they buy, as compared with the market price or the price paid by other groups.

Thirdly, exclusion and discrimination can occur in terms of access to social needs supplied by the government or public institutions, or by private institutions in education, housing, and health, including common property resources like water bodies, grazing land, and other land of common use; and

Fourthly, a groups (particularly the untouchables) may face exclusion and discrimination from participation in certain categories of jobs (the sweeper being excluded from inside household jobs), because of the notion of purity and pollution of occupations, and engagements in so-called unclean occupations.  

1. In the civil and cultural spheres, the untouchables may face discrimination and exclusion in the use of public services like public roads, temples, water bodies, and institutions delivering services like education, health and other public services.

2. In the political spheres, the untouchables can face discrimination in use of political rights, and in participation in decision-making process.

3. Due to the physical (or residential) segregation, and social exclusion on account of the notion of untouchability (or touch-me-not-sum), they can suffer from a general societal exclusion.
4. Since there is societal mechanism to regulate and enforce the customary norms and rules of the caste system, the untouchables generally can face opposition in the form of social and economic boycott, violence, and act as a general deterrent to their right to development.

This overview of the development of the concept of the “exclusion” in general, and that of caste-untouchability based exclusion and discrimination in particular, brings out various dimensions of the concept in terms of its nature, forms, and consequences. The caste and untouchability-based exclusion and discrimination, essentially is “structural in nature”, and comprehensive and multiple in coverage, and involve denial of equal opportunities, particularly to the excluded groups like former untouchables.

Social Exclusion of Backward Castes

With regard to Hindu society, we need to recognize the unique feature of the caste system. The core governing principle of the caste system is not inequality alone, but 'graded inequality', which implies 'hierarchically unequal entitlement' of rights to various castes. With the entitlement to rights being hierarchically unequal, every caste (except the higher castes) suffers from a degree of denial and exclusion. But all suffering castes do not suffer equally. Some suffer more and some less. The loss of rights is not uniform across caste groups. As one moves down the caste hierarchy, the rights and privileges also get reduced. By implication, the castes located at the bottom of the caste hierarchy, such as the untouchables, have suffered the most. The other backward caste closely follows the former untouchables. Although the OBCs have probably not suffered from the practice of untouchability, and residential and social isolation as much as the SCs, yet historically, they too have faced exclusion in education, employment, and certain other spheres, which is reflected in their lower education levels and the inferior quality of their employment status.

The system of graded entitlement to rights results in disparities in the social, economic, and educational conditions, which vary across different caste groups. The lesson we ought to learn from this is that given the differential impact on each caste, the policies against discrimination and deprivation need to be group-specific and to
be governed by specific social, economic, and educational conditions of each caste. By implication, equal opportunity policies will have to be necessarily different for different caste groups depending on the nature of discrimination faced by them and their social, economic, and educational situations.

The Backward castes have been deprived of many social, economic, political and religious privileges. These people provided manual labor and the untouchables occupied the lowest position among the caste hierarchy. They were subjected to extreme form of exploitation. The colonial power accentuated the disparities in the distribution of economic power. The atrocities united the lower castes against the upper castes. Some of the important backward caste movement which came up was Satyashodak Samaj and Nadar Movement which consolidated the masses along the caste lines. E.V. Ramaswamy started Self-Respect movement against the Brahmins in South India. The SNDP movement in Kerala was more of a reformist movement. In 1950s there was a widespread desire among the non-Brahmin castes to be categorized as Backward. Subsequently Backward Class commission was set up to look into the conditions and requirements of these classes. Mandal Commission submitted its report in 1980 recommending reservations for backward castes in educational institutions and government offices. However this move resulted in anti-Mandal Commission movement which resulted in large scale violence and many students lost their lives.

The term "other backward classes is an administrative euphemism for the Shudras". It comprises congeries of communities located in the middle of the traditional stratification system. It is a social layer intermediate between the twice born castes and the dalit. Castes superior to the dalit in the ritual rank and occupational status and placed in the lower reaches of the traditional society are included under this reference. Such castes represent a lower status position in society. Social and ritual disadvantages, discriminations and disabilities of several kinds and different degrees afflict them. It thus represents a stratum of non-dalit located low in the traditional social order. Untouchability and isolation have never been their problem, their inferiority to the twice born (the spiritually initiated) however tended to be traditionally legitimized. Afflicted to "inequality of the second order" they are educationally and occupationally inferior to the traditionally privileged upper castes.
They not only occupy "a low position in the vama hierarchy, they are also devoid of traditions of literacy". Inherited deprivation has turned them leggard in the pursuit of western education depriving them the benefit of modern diversified occupational structure. Comprising sections of society between the upper castes and the scheduled castes, the description spans a wide cultural and structural arch. Such social permutation on account of the diversities encompassing it remains a loose configuration "comprising for the most part castes (and some non-Hindu communities) low in the traditional social hierarchy but not so low as the scheduled castes."(A. K.Lal) the elements comprising it tend to be differentially located in the stratification system and are economically heterogeneous. Land ownership remains the prerogative of a few select castes among them. Distribution of land is skewed in favour of a few leaving the more numerous poor and deprived. The category thus includes "the dominant castes of agriculturists who are at the local level often" locked in conflict with the scheduled castes. At the same time, the category also includes a large number of extremely backward and a socially deprived group whose condition of disability and disadvantage is in no way better in, some cases even worse than that of the scheduled castes and tribes." Presently 'other backward classes' is an important term in the state's official sociology of the disadvantaged community as this "status order defined by the traditional (dharmic) ritual ranking of castes" is used as a constitutional category for protection and support.16

Such Castes in the middle of the stratification system have been the initiator of unprecedented transformation in the society as prime movers in stirrings for elevation in the status of the deprived sections. Thus the non-Brahmin movement that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the 'first point' at which members of the middle castes organised themselves to advance their claims for their due in the opportunity structure at supra local level. Non-Brahmanism indicated politicization of social-identities and represented systematic stirrings on behalf of the deprived and excluded enabling them to question the socio-economic dominance of the ritually superior. Its arrival manifested the aspirations and unwillingness on the part of the excluded against the resilience of social pedigree in the emerging occupational structure. It represented an urge for self assertion of the traditionally inferior. Shudra mobilization acquired unprecedented priority as the strategy to resist the 'inherited' and 'ordained' in the social system. It marked the inauguration of a
phase of concerted attempts for systematic onslaught to weaken the fetter of tradition that restricted their advance and prestige. The movement "Sought to question and negate the assumption and attribution of inequality of status based on birth."

Jyoti Rao Govind Rao Phule was the first significant leader from the middle castes to articulate effectively the Shudra's unease over the inequality and exploitation embodied in the caste system. He sought to organise the non-Brahmins to reject the supremacy of the dominant priestly class. Such sections were urged to prepare themselves to stake claims for superior location in the social stratification. He questioned the arrangement in the prevalent religion-political hierarchy and sought the removal of the elite from the numerically insignificant castes from a situation of dominance. Phule did not approve the 'intermediacy' of priesthood as he considered "individual conscience and reasons" to be "his best guide to spiritual progress." The non-Brahmins were encouraged to "substitute their own celebrants for (Brahmin) religious ceremonies and rites de passage and to guard against exploitation by (Brahmin) officials, village accountants and lawyers" Phule emergence is attributed to diverse inspirations favouring equalitarianism and rationality. His opposition to the aberrations in the social order found ignition in his personal encounters of discrimination. Inferior treatment from intellectually equal but traditionally superior made him restive to seek fundamental alteration in the social system. Phule's crusade against iniquitous arrangement enshrined in the Hindu social order and legitimised in tradition acquired efficacy as he himself was from the section for whom his stirrings sought freedom and liberation. Such response eluded initiatives of high caste social reformers to rid Hinduism from the evils of orthodoxy. 'Sense of immediacy' to the urge for change in favour of the deprived was not the characteristics of the earlier concern against the inadequacies of the Hindu social order. The non-Brahminical movement acquired institutionalization in the programmes of the Satya Shodhak Samaj, founded by Phule. He considered Brahmanism to be cunning and self-seeking and condemned it as intolerable imposition on the lowly masses to ensure the dominance of the privileged few. He launched a programme of education and self-help to oppose inequality. The "dominant agricultural castes" that raised themselves in the wake of this movement subsequently acquired total control of the power structured...
In the south, the 'other backward classes' and the untouchables launched the self-respect movement to oppose the dominance of the Brahmins. In its infancy it tended to be a social reform movement questioning the ritual dominance and cultural preeminence of the Brahmins. It soon found itself enmeshed in the ethnic politics having its focus fixed on extracting concession and benefits in lieu of its loyalty to the British. Such concern made it unfavorably inclined even to the independence movement, as it was perceived to be in favour of the Brahmins. The numerically sparse Brahmin elite of Tamil Nadu, which constituted the chosen few and controlled politics, bureaucracy and professions was target of attack of such forces. Unable to find suitable accommodation in the Brahmin dominated social system the non-Brahmin section in the population with the aid and support of the Britishers took resort to extensive mobilization of the lower castes. Exclusion of certain castes from leading positions in politics and professions in spite of their education income and political sophistication led them to launch opposition to the Brahmins whom they perceived to be the appropriators of resources, old and new. Insulated from the larger section of the society, the Brahmins were opposed on account of their use of economic power and religion to control the lower in the stratification system. On account of being fastidious and isolated, the Brahmins turned out to be ineffective to withstand onslaughts of such ideological stirrings seeking their replacement from a situation of cultural and political dominance. The caste associations of the dominant landed interest federated themselves expressing opposition to dominance of the Brahmins in other parts of southern India. The non-Brahmin movement in the south tended to be more coherent than those in other parts of the country. Leadership in such stirrings, however, subsequently shifted its orientation to programmes promoting the interest of he middle and lower castes leaving the untouchables to fend for them. Success in the replacement of the embedded did not still the anti-Brahmin impulse. Such forces deepened and widened their political appeal "by linking it to themes of northern domination and Hindu hegemony". Political pragmatism, however, did not favour unnecessary opposition to the uprooted resigned to a surrogate status in the power structure thus emerged. "The narrow elite constituted in the later colonial period" after replacing the old did not favour downward percolation of benefit thus arrived. 17
The second wave of the other backward class's movement found effective articulation with the politicization of intermediate castes in northern India. The rise of middle castes in this part of the country represents latest incarnation of Shudra uprising. Since their earlier attempts for inner reforms to claim dwija status appeared ineffective, on acquiring wealth and political consciousness they shifted their efforts to use political means for status elevation. Shudra's unease initially found expression in stirrings aimed at inner reform to claim "dwija status". Competing interest for elevated location in traditional stratification system tended to be inimical to the unity of the Shudras. Networking of identities with shared common disabilities tended to be sporadic and ineffective. Diverse entities that constituted the social layer intermediate between the upper castes and the scheduled castes were unable to federate even loosely to emerge as forces opposing the embedded. The failure to consolidate efforts on behalf of the Shudras as a whole and precedence to individual caste mobilization tended to 'disassociate their efforts one from the other." Situation of dispersal of power among upper stratum of traditional hierarchy did not favour unity of non-Brahmin forces. Articulation of their unease tended to be mild and did not favour rejection of the social order legitimising inherited inequality. Political independence and measures of land reform triggered fallouts conducive to the rise of the middle castes. Landlords from the upper castes lost their dominances as zamindari was abolished. Small peasant policies of the state as well as benefits of innovations in agriculture seem to have provided those economic resources and political influence. While the economic rise of the middle peasantry and landowning cultivators was typical of both its upper caste and middle caste components, the political awakening is more characteristic and valid for the low. These developments ushered fundamental alteration in the contours of the prevalent power structure. The castes which successfully exploited the commercial impulses refused to be the appendage of the upper castes. The retention of political dominance by the latter, long after the economic foundation for their high status had been impaired, spurred the 'ascendant' castes to organise actions challenging the ascendance of the former. Wider accommodation of rising aspirations of the forces on ascendance is neither a transient phenomenon nor represents a 'flash existence'. These are not wedded to renegotiation within the hegemonic structure as these are inclined to seek superior space in the power structure. At the same time, these do not favour elimination of the caste system as these have the intent to remove the upper castes from power and seek provision of special support in education and employment to castes described as deprived social groups.
Review of the literature:

Review of literature is the most important aspect in any research work. It is a measure stating the recent output on a particular area of research and organized in a helpful sequence to strengthen the present research techniques. The main objective of the review of literature is to understand the research activities that have taken place in a particular discipline in general and in the area of research in particular.

There is a lot of literature, on the social exclusion of the backward castes in the country, which is reviewed in the present thesis to understand the exclusion of BCs in Andhra Pradesh. Even though the backward caste movements have got long history, which was begun in the colonial period and continuing till date, the studies have started only in the 1960s. Lack of focus on the backward caste movements until 60s might be due to idealistic rhetoric, classless socialistic pattern of society and welfare state, of the first Prime Minister of the country Jawaharlal Nehru and subsequent negligence of the Congress party in mobilizing the backward castes. From 1960s onwards the backward castes started challenging the upper castes dominating political parties and making alternative arrangements to emerge in the post-independent democratic political system, therefore, studies on the social mobilization of the lower castes came into existence from that time onwards only. These studies, which are relevant for the present study is given in the following paragraphs.

Rudolph and Rudolph (1960)\textsuperscript{17} says that various backward castes organised caste associations for social reforms and the struggle for political power. The yadavas formed not only district-level but also state- and all-India-level caste associations. It was the same with the Marathas and the Malis of Maharashtra and the Kolis of Gujarat. These associations were loose and ad hoc. They organized conferences, passed resolutions and occasionally submitted memoranda. The backward castes of south India formed political parties - first the justice "Party, and later the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The backward castes of Bihar also planned to organise their own party; but failed to put it into practice.

The leaders of non-Brahmin movements attacked caste and condemned it as a tool of Brahmin oppression (Hardgrave 1965)\textsuperscript{18}. These are known as non-Brahmin movements against the Brahmins. Such movements are not found in north India
because 'the Brahmins were generally backward with regard to modern education and government employment'. The second type of backward class movements hinge on the cleavages within the non-Brahmin castes, mainly led by intermediate and low castes such as the Ahirs and the Kurmis in Bihar, the Noniyas in Punjab, the Kolis in Gujarat, and the Malis in Maharashtra. The movements by the depressed classes or untouchables against upper and other backward castes are the third type of backward caste movements. The fourth type is that of the tribal movements. We have treated the third and the fourth types of movements separately.

Rudolph and Rudolph's *Modernity of Tradition: Political development in India* (1969) is one of the earliest works on the political development of India. The authors discussed in detail about the role of caste associations in the modernization, and horizontal and differential mobilization. One important point, which is emphasized by the writers, is that changes in the culture, structures and public functions of caste are necessary but not sufficient conditions for its democratic incarnation. A profound change in the nature of human sensibility is also required i.e. universalisation of fellow feelings because the traditional society patterns the emotional universe narrowly.

*Caste in Indian Politics* (1970) is edited by Rajni Kothari. The work is, basically, an empirical study of the role of caste in Indian politics. In the introduction Rajni Kothari offers a theoretical framework to understand the role of caste in the modern democratic political system. He adopted the liberal democratic theoretical approach to study the changing nature of the caste in the age of electoral politics. He observes that the democratic, for that matter any type of politics will not operate in the vacuum, but require a social base. In Indian context the caste system filling the gap, i.e. providing the social base to the functioning of the democracy. In this work there are number of essays on political mobilization of various castes in various states in the country, such as the Nadars in Tamil Nadu, factions between Kammas and Reddies in Andhra Pradesh, the Kshatriyas Mahasabha in Gujarat, and other essays. All these essays gave blueprint to think about changing role of the caste in modern politics, but there is a need to give different type of interpretation to the role of caste in politics from contemporary point of view in the changing global situation.
The study on Kshatriyas Mahasabha in Gujarat by Ghanshyam Shah is titled as *Caste Association and Political Process in Gujarat (1975)*[^11]. The study covers interactions between caste associations and political parties. It clarifies many doubts, raised by the western and eastern scholars, about the role of traditional ascriptive or parochial elements in the modern political process. The author supports the argument that social base is needed for recruitment of personnel in administration and enlistment of members for political parties, decision makers and contestants for elections. Caste also serves as a base for interest articulation, channel of communication and basis of leadership and organization. He also agrees with the view that caste is not the only the factor, which influences the politics but it is one among many factors. The politics have potential capability to bring about the social change and create intra group competition within the caste association. In order to support these arguments, he gives the illustrations based on the study of the Kshatriyas Mahasabha in Gujarat. The Sabha has played a significant role for two decades in promoting political leaders and attracting the national political parties like Congress. One important lesson one can learn is that whoever support the local community based associations will gain support. Since Congress party supported the Sabha, it has got the support in the form of votes, whereas the Swatantra party has failed and Sabha also started declining due to the intra group competition.

Gail Omvedt (1976)[^22] argues that the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra included both an elite-based conservative trend and a more genuine mass-based radicalism. It attained conservative goals, but radical goals have not been attained. 'The Maharashtrian Brahmin intelligentsia, though still dominant in educational and cultural institutions, has been swept from political power by rich peasant non-Brahmin elite, with strong roots in the villages and with an institutional basis in rural co-operatives and educational societies'. He observes that Phule’s theory of exploitation was focused on cultural and ethnic factors rather than on economic or political ones. According to Phule’s ideas, education and organization were the means to create unity and a sense of identity among the non-Brahmin castes by returning to pre-Brahmin religious traditions. Through this the Brahminical ideological chains could be broken and a caste-free and just society be created. Phule founded the Satya-Shodhak Samaj in 1873 which initiated the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. Shahu Chhatra-pati, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, was an important leader of the non-
Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. Ramaswami Naikar founded the Dravidian movement to fight Aryan 'domination? Which to him was synonymous with Brahmin domination and Brahmanism? He remained the central figure of the Dravidian movement from the 1970s till his death in 1973.

Jha (1977)\textsuperscript{23} says that the Ahirs (Yadavas) and the Kunnis of Bihar opposed the begar (forced labour) system in the 1910s. They collectively refused to perform for landlords and also opposed taxes imposed by the landlords. The Ahirs refused to sell cow-dung cakes, curds and milk to landowning upper caste at concessional rates. This refusal to follow customary laws resulted in clashes between the upper and the backward castes. The upper 'backward' or non-Brahmin castes of south India, particularly the Vellalas, the Reddis, the Kammas, the Lingayats, the Vokkaligas, the Marathas, resented the dominance of the Brahmins. They raised the issue of exploitation and oppression, both economic and cultural, by the Brahmins. The non-Brahmins of Tamilnadu demanded a separate state for the Dravidians. They opposed, nationalist movement dominated by the Brahmins in the 1920s and declared their allegiance to the British government.

Shah Ghanashyam (1978)\textsuperscript{24} considers that with the change in the agrarian structure, the advent of the market Economy, the growth of urban centers and the spread of liberal education Under British rule, a few of the backward castes improved their economic condition. By the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of this century, they aspired to rise in the caste hierarchy. As a first step they followed the path of Sanskritisation, adopting the rituals and the life style of the upper castes. They invented legends about their ancestors and demanded higher social status. The Marathas, the Malis, the Sagar Dhangars of Maharashtra, the Kurmis and the Yadavas of Bihar, the Kolis of Gujarat, the Kaibarttas of West Bengal, the Lingayats of Karnataka and the Telis of Orissa followed the path of Sanskritisation in the first quarter of the twentieth century. However, the upper-caste non-Brahmins of Tamil Nadu did not follow this path for attaining higher status in the caste structure. They challenged: the higher status of the Brahmins. In the case of the former, the upper castes were the reference group for the backward castes, whereas in the latter case, the non-Brahmins preferred to consider themselves Dravidians i.e., natives of the area, and considered Brahmins alien intruders. Was a widespread belief at the turn of the
century that the Brahmins were racially different from the non-Brahmins. The non-Brahmins believed that they were the creators of 'southern Tamil' culture, whereas the mins were the guardians of the 'northern Sanskrit' culture.

Rao (1978)\textsuperscript{25} says that one of the reasons for the non-Brahmin movements in south India was that the Brahmins took more advantage of modern educational and employment opportunities than the upper non-Brahmin castes, secured government jobs, and thus tried to maintain Brahmin preponderance in Government service. The Yadavas of Bihar demanded reservations for themselves in the army and other government services. The demands for reservation in government jobs and educational institutions for the backward castes began to be raised repeatedly in the post-independence period.

Maurice Godelier (1978)\textsuperscript{26} argues that caste is part of the infrastructure of the society. However, according to Gutta, both Dumont and Godelier tend to argue on the pre-eminence of caste as a determining factor of social reality in India. Even Godelier takes a middle position between those who argue that it is part of the superstructure.

All the backward castes do not enjoy a uniform socio-economic status in his study on the backward caste movements; M.S.A. Rao (1979)\textsuperscript{27} divides non-upper castes/classes into three categories. The uppermost category of the backward castes consists mostly of landowners. There are several such castes in different parts of the country, such as the Jats, the Ahirs, the Gujjars in Punjab, the Marathas in Maharashtra, the Vellalas in Madras, the Kammias, the Kapus and the Reddis in Andhra Pradesh, the Vokkaligas and the Bants in Karnataka. Ranking below them are tenant cultivators, artisans and other service castes. They include the Ahirs and the Kahars in Bihar, the Kolis in Gujarat and the Vaddars in South India. They are considered caste-Hindus, above the pollution line. They have not enjoyed political power in the recent past. Most of them are small or marginal farmers, tenants, or agricultural laborers. They were under the economic and political control of the landowning castes. The latter often extorted forced labor from the former as domestic servants and palanquin-bearers, and expected several customary payments. At the bottom are the untouchable castes who are designated Scheduled Castes under the constitutional of India. The socio-economic conditions of most of the Scheduled Castes and other backward castes are qualitatively different, though some of the non-
upper-caste movements, known as anti-Brahmin movements, included untouchables. Most of the studies on the untouchables' movements do not include the movements of the other backward castes. However, M.S.A. Rao includes the untouchables in other 'backward castes'. M.S.A. Rao classifies backward-caste movements in India into four types on the basis of structural cleavages and manifest conflicts. The first type is that of the movements led by upper non-Brahmin castes as the Vellalas, the Reddis and the Kammars of old Madras Presidency, the Vokkaligas and the Lingayats of Mysore, and the Marathas of Maharashtra. Ramaswamy Naikar of Tamil Nadu launched the 'Self-Respect' movement in Madras in the late 1920s to perform marriage ceremonies without Brahmin priests. The non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu raised cultural issues.

Social Movements and Social Transformation: A study of two backward classes movements (1979)\(^2\) is a significant work of M.S.A Rao who studied two backward castes movements such as SNDP movement in Kerala and Yadava movement in Bihar in particular and north India in general. He studied these two movements from the theory of relative deprivation point of view. He maintains that organization; ideology; collective mobilization and leadership are the essential elements of any movement. He also assessed the nature of social change among the Ezhavas of Kerala and Yadavas of Bihar due to social mobilization. These two communities are highly successful in terms of education, employment, economy, politics and culture in the post-independent period.

Dipankar Gupta (1981:2093-2104)\(^3\) place the caste and class debate in the framework of culturological and Marxist approaches. According to the culturological approach caste is a primordial reality of Indian society, and the Marxist approaches question the theoretical and historical assumptions underlying the culturological approach. Dumont as the chief architect of the culturological approach considers castes as a system of ideas and values overriding all the aspects of society.

Das (1983)\(^4\) considers that as the number of backward castes is very large, but only a few of them have launched movements for political power. Numerical strength is an important factor for a caste which attempts to organize itself politically. Backward castes which are relatively small and scattered in different parts of the country have less potential for launching political struggles. Those who organized
movements secured the support of various sub-castes. The Yadava and Kurmi people of Bihar are two examples. The non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu initially encompassed various castes including the untouchables, but in course of time the untouchables were excluded from the movement. The leadership for the Yadava movement in Bihar and the non-Brahmin movements in Maharashtra came from the well-off stratum of the castes concerned. Businessmen and large farmers supported the Yadava movement. Gail Omvedt, in her study on the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra, observed that initially the movement received the backing of well-to-do non-Brahmins, primarily contractors and a few professionals, and moved fairly quickly to establish a peasant base. The studies on the non-Brahmin movements in Tamil Nadu do not adequately examine the participants and their leaders.

*Competing Equalities (1984)*\(^1\) by Marc Galantar traces the historical evolution of the legal framework of the compensatory discrimination policy for the socially, educationally disadvantaged people, such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes. It explains the origin and extension of the reservation policy in India from the Dalits to economically backward castes. According to him the deliberate interest in introducing the reservations is that the socially and educationally disadvantaged can nourish their accomplishments and enlarge their capabilities until the day that the protective barrier can be lowered and the special protections abandoned. The author elaborately discussed Constitutional provisions relating to reservations with illustrations of the Court cases.

Rudolph and Rudolph (1984)\(^2\) declared it is a misrepresentation to say that Brahmins belong to the same Indian nation as the non-Brahmins while the English are aliens. Indian Brahmins are more alien to us than Englishmen'. During the first quarter of this century, they demanded political representation in the State Legislative Assembly. Some of the backward or non- Brahmin castes in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu demanded separate electorates, so that they could elect their own representatives. The demands for reservation in government jobs and educational institutions continued in the 1980s. They considers that the backward classes (castes) of the northern, western and upper-southern states ‘bullock capitalists’. In the last two decades, they argue, that the mobilisation of bullock capitalists as an economic class
has been reinforced by the simultaneous mobilisation as a status order of the ‘other backward classes’, a euphemism for castes who by their own and the state’s reckoning are socially ‘depressed’ or ‘backward’. This layering of status and class interest enhances the political significance of both issues.

O’Hanlon (1985)\textsuperscript{33} Jotirao Phule was the ideologue of the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra. By now, quite a few interesting studies are available on Phule’s ideology and his life. Phule rejected the Hindu scriptures and the caste system. The Hindu religion, as interpreted by the Brahmins, was both the ideological means of suppression and the cause of poverty of the low castes. The peasants and untouchables together constitute the oppressed classes. Under British rule, ‘Brahmins used their secular powers to protect the orthodox religious values with which they identified, or to aggrandize ‘their own personal positions in some more material way’.

Frankel and Rae’s commendable work on the state politics in India is \textit{Dominance and State Power in Modern India-Decline of a social order (1989)}\textsuperscript{34} the work covers political changes, political process and impact of policy rather than the institutions and individuals. According to the writers the rigid Indian social system started declining with the beginning of the democratic era. These essays also analyzed the changing power structure and sharing of power by the new castes/communities that started playing a significant role in the process of modern politics. Most of the writers have a consensus on the factors, such as numerical strength and possession of the land in determining the democratic politics. \textit{The Politics of Accommodation Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh} is an article in this work. According to Ram Reddy the policy of accommodation is strategy for the colonial and post-colonial rulers in the state. In the area of Madras presidency the colonial rulers accommodated the growing elites, in the post-independent period it is the politics of patronage and populism perpetuated the provincial dominant caste rule by accommodating the emerging elite from the backward castes, lower castes and other sections. This process of accommodation prevented the political consolidation of the backward castes in specific and other lower castes in general to form an alternative political platform. The author well perceived the continuous contradictions since preformation of Andhra Pradesh. In his view political process of Andhra Pradesh is the expression of the contradictions like Brahmins vs. non-Brahmins, Zamindars and jagirdars vs. the
peasants, rich peasants vs. agriculture labour, Telugu vs. non-Telugu, coastal Andhra vs. Rayalaseema, and Reddys vs. Kammas etc. The Congress party is successful in accommodating the contradictory forces and weakening the opposition political force, but from 1970s onwards the strategy of the accommodation has failed, therefore, internal confrontations and factions within the Congress party gave space to the rise of regional movements, social movements and a regional party in the state. The author rightly grasped the creation of the lower caste elite through the instrumental policies to protect the interests of the rulers rather than the structural changes for the benefit of the larger mass.

Pauline Kolenda (1989)\textsuperscript{35} analyzes changes in the discourse on caste over the past thirty years based on her study of a village in western Uttar Pradesh. Thirty years ago people used to debate on the issues related to educational and occupational access for the lower castes and untouchability. Today, they discuss about the ideas related to equal etiquette and equal rights, inter-caste marriage, utility of the caste system itself and social change. However, subjectively experienced views on caste by a cross-section of the village people in no way are congruent with the indological-cum-sociological view of the caste system.

F. Franco and Sarvar V. Sherry Chand (1989)\textsuperscript{36} observe that Varna ideology is found as a social practice. The notion of Varna is subjectively formed among all Hindus/Indians as it is not a localized phenomenon like a \textit{jati} in the form of an endogamous group found operating in a given territory. The presence of Varna is denied, but it subsists within the power matrix of affirmation of sanction. It is seen through expressions and activities involving the forwards, the backwards, the Harijans and so on. It is pervasive as a social practice at all levels of social life. It is constantly reproduced by the cognitive and \textit{nomic structure} constantly shaping the consciousness of all members of society. Thus, caste could be seen from several viewpoints as it refers to a variety of aspects of social life in many different ways. This complex and absorbing and adaptive nature of the caste system has allowed debate and discourse of a wide ranging magnitude.

K. Balagopal (1990)\textsuperscript{37} in his report on "Anti-Mandal mania" says that the superior caste opposition for Mandal Commission Report is precisely because the reservations attack the caste system, an attack that the Indian polity cum ill-afford,
that there is no much fuss against them. He argues that the entire backward caste Hindu community has suddenly become a solid rock. Fundamentalist and secular, Marxist and Gandhian urban and rural have all been united as nothing else would ever have united them. Everybody has suddenly made the unbelievable discovery that there is something called merit which has been in the possession of the Indian elite all these days, and which is sought to be destroyed by V.P. Singh to please the wretched talentless backward castes and get their votes. He considers that all this is a humbug about merit. He criticized the press for taking the cause of forward caste, without looking into the injustice done to backward caste for centuries. He lamented that any assertion of the poor for better opportunities is met with a policy of no appeasements and ruthless suppression. Movements of the rural poor are met with police brutalities or the assaults of landlord’s goons. And the aspiration of the upper fringe of the oppressed for a decent job or a share in political power is met with the kind of obscene attack that are witnessing in early nineties.

New Social Movements—Empowerment of the people (1993) edited by Ponna Wignaraja (ed): The work deals with human development and participatory democracy as core values of the contemporary social mobilization, it is grass roots subaltern marginalized communities as the social bases. All these communities got their own historical, socio-economic, political, cultural specificities, which are manifest in mobilization and for the paradigm shift in the developmental strategy and participatory democracy. Another aspect in the search for new paradigms is to identify the fundamental nature of the process of social change itself: Is it 'big bang' type of revolution results from a sharpening of contradictions or more commonly they are preceded by marginal reforms and incremental change? Both the processes can be observed in reality. There may be other intermediate processes and transitional pathways to social change, as the new social movements are located in various political spaces in the given historical context.

Dalits and Democratic Revolution (1994) by Gail Omvedt is an important work on the lower caste movements during colonial period in Nagapur, Hyderabad, Andhra, Mysore, Bombay presidency etc. The author claims to understand the lower caste movements in a more creative than the official orthodox communists. In this work the author analyses the three trends, which were represented by Congress and
Gandhi against the colonial rule, the Communists anti-feudal and Ambedkar against the caste system in the country.

_Why am not a Hindu_ (1996) is the critical work of Kancha Ilaiah from the political culture approach. His main argument is that there is a contradiction between two cultures. One is the productive culture of the _Dalitbahujan_ and unproductive culture of the Brahmins. The former is responsible for the entire material wealth, whereas the latter exploiting the _Dalitbahujan_ with the device of the _Brahminical_ ideology by using Sanskrit language, which cannot be understood by the producing castes. He critically assessed the state, market and relations in civil society and the emergence of the upper caste _Shudras_ as the ruling class, their ideology and process of action to legitimize.

K.S.Chalam (1998) in his scholarly article on _"Caste and Economics Reforms"_ considers that the real transactions between Brahmins and Kshatriyas, between the dvijas and other servile castes were purely economics in nature. According to him, the new economic policy has created new opportunities for the reissued groups in the public sector and they continue to be subservient to private Brahmin economic power. The Bahujan's being economically poor cannot influence market forces. The Brahmins who has already entered the private economy and is in a commanding position both at the national and international level will be the largest genies of the NEP. He identified the advantages and disadvantages of the location of a caste in a region within a state. The caste groups in a historically advanced state like Maharashtra, where Baba Saheb Ambedkar started his revolutionary movement, enjoyed an advantage over state like Bihar and Odisha where the Buddhist revolution is now only a matter of history. Therefore, people living in Bihar or Orissa are relatively handicapped compared to those in Kerala, Maharashtra or Gujarat.

Predeep Kumar Bose (1999) in his essay on _"Transformation of class structure in contemporary rural India,"_ made a focus on the transformation of class structure in contemporary India. The capital-labour relation and the conceptualization of classes are basic problems in the understanding of the transformation of class structure. He says that any change in class structure involves class decomposition, class transformation and class formation. Also there is a continuous dialectic between capitalism and the preexisting social formation class formation, class disintegrations
and class conflict hence become important in the process of change in class structure. Bose identifies three approaches to the definition of agrarian classes. (I) The indigenous (ii) the distributional and (iii) the structural. Based on three approaches, five classes, comprising of loud lord, rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labors are proposed by Bose. A reference to relationship between the rich middle and poor peasants is also made in terms of social structure and mutability.

A.M. Shah (1999)\textsuperscript{43} in his paper on "Division and Hierarchy: An overview of Caste in Gujarat" analyses both division and hierarchy as essential aspect the caste system. He draws upon the data relating to caste in Gujarat. Orders of caste divisions are referred as hierarchical ranks. He says that an overall view of changes in caste should include a careful study of changes in rural as well as in urban areas in relation to their past. He made an emphasis on the understanding of the significance of each order of divisions and the boundaries and mechanism used for maintaining the same among them. He suggests that the principle of division was also an important and completing principle along with the principle of hierarchy. The holistic view of caste, based mainly on the study of the villages suffers from some basic limitation. In the light of the urban experience a new view of the whole, comprising the rural and urban and the various orders of caste divisions needs to be evolved. According to Shah the urban situation and the complexity of horizontal units have to be the basics of the new view.

M.S.A. Rao (2000)\textsuperscript{44} in his paper on "Social Movement among the Backward classes and Blacks: Homology in the sources of identity" make a comparisons of the social movement not only in India but also in the limited states of America. The comparison is about the homology (at a higher level of abstraction) in the sources of identity of the deprivileged classes in India and the USA. Both the backward classes and the blacks were forced with a common problem of establishing a new identity in order to going self - respect and honors. According to him, two alternatives were open to the backward classes and the blacks. One was to adopt an acquiescent poster and the other was to formulate a protest ideology asserting their rights of equality. Many movements chose the lattes to gain self-respect. The protest ideology was logically opposed to the acquiescent approach as it had its own sources of legitimacy and the efforts towards social mobility and change were not sponsored. The leaders of the
protest movements adopted two main themes, religious-cultural and secular. In the former, while the leaders of some movements like the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana movement among the Izhavas of Kerala and the Morcus Gravely and the black theorem movement among the black-made use of the principal of reinterpretation of Hinduism and Christianity respectively, the leaders of other movements the Mahars and the black Muslim movement among the black-adopted the principal of rejection of Hinduism and Christianity respectively.

A.K.Lal (2003) in his Essay on “Other backward classes and social change” remarks that the concluding decade of the lost century (20th century) represent an important stage in the political modernization as it. It witnessed the unprecedented rise of the middle range castes as locus of powers. This rise of the section intermediate between the upper castes and scheduled castes into blush event struggle for polity with the superior in the social hierarchy has been an old concern of these people. Horizontal cohesion was sought to ensure corporate states elevation in the traditional stratification system. He considered that the emancipation was aspired to Colum party with the clean at the apex in the castes hierarchy. Urge to acquire markers of supesiol status in the traditionally legitimized social order and orientations following inculcation of rituals, ideologies and bohallioural pattern we dead to reform led to initiatives for the anticipatory socialization to the culture of the superior appropriation of traditional symbols of status could not provide them space proximate to the superior in the Brahminal Hinduism networking of identities with shared common disabilities was rendered difficult on account of competing clouims for superiority among the cognate caste group opposed to the privileged truce-born. Unable to lift themselves at a superior location in the traditional stratification system, things mobility seeking social category with the emergency of democratic political orders used the strength of theirs number to find their due in the emerging stratification system. Emphasis shifted from struggle for superiority in the ritual hierarchy to control over recourses of power. The initial rise of the intermediate castes intended to be sponsored. He further discussed in detail the changing status of the other backward classes.

Christophe Jaffrelot (2003) combines Dalits and ‘other backward castes’ together as lower castes. For the purpose of this essay, we exclude Scheduled Castes
from the backward caste and treat them separately. The Kaka Kalelkar Commission, appointed by the Government of India identifies more than 3,000 castes or communities as ‘other backward castes’ (OBCs) -in 1956. He quotes that the Mandal Commission (1980) calculated that 52 per cent of the populations - including non-Hindus - constitute ‘Other Backward Castes’. Besides, a number of state governments appointed commissions for identifying those castes which can be called socially and educationally backward castes/classes. Almost all the commissions except the Rane Commission in Gujarat (1983) used social, educational and economic criteria for identifying ‘backwardness’. We are concerned here with the movements of some of these castes. There are a number of studies on movements launched by different castes for improving their caste status many of them aimed at social reform and did not enter the political arena to struggle for power. In this essay we do not deal with the studies which are primarily concerned with social mobility. However, the studies on political movements of the OBCs are very few. Most of these studies are confined to non-Brahmin movements in south India. The main form of political mobilisation is the electoral process. Because of their numerical strength they have successfully increased their position in the state assemblies. Christophe Jaffrelot calls their rise ‘India’s silent revolution’. The backward castes rarely resorted to large-scale direct action for asserting their demands. Many of them undertook social reform which generally did not involve confrontation with the higher castes, though in a few cases social reform did lead to clashes with the higher castes. They asserted their demands for higher social status by submitting memoranda and petitions to the census commissioners. The non-Brahmins of south India formed a political party to capture political power. Many others took part in election campaigns on a massive scale in order to get candidates of their castes elected. In this sense, their mobilization has rarely led to struggles. During the last three decades (1980s onwards) different individual castes submit petitions and organise meetings demanding some welfare programmes for their caste members. But studies on such mobilisations are not available.

R.G.Singh (2003) in his essay on “Restructuring Indian Society: Problems-Prospects” discussed the limitations and success in reforming and reconstruction of traditional Indian exploitative social order. He described the schemes for emancipation of the deprive distanced, as enunciated in thoughts and actions of
philosophers and social activists as well as models to if these Ghom a state of deprivation and inertia. He points out that the revival of indigenous model of socio-economic development has led to weakening of the liberal democratic model. He maintains that the competing interest for a causations of power, would find it difficult to put a gloss over the prevalent imbalances in the society. The nature of the backward-caste movements appears to be, from available literature, different than that of the Dalits and the tribals. There is also a qualitative difference in the backward-caste movements in north ' India and south India. The movements in north India are within the caste framework and confined to Sanskritisation. This has not been the caste in Maharashtra under the leadership of Phule and the “Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam movement in Tamil Nadu. They revolted against the caste system. But in course of time, their opposition against the caste system fizzled out. The reasons for such diversion need examination. The backward caste movements in post-independence India are mainly confined to electoral politics. They function as pressure groups to seek reservations in jobs and educational facilities.

Adapa Satynarayana (2004) in his study on “Nation, Caste, and The Past: Articulation of Dalit Bahujan Identity, Consciousness and Ideology” outlines the emergency of self ascertained socio-political protest movements for equality, dignity and justice of lower castes in modern Andhra during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The study is divided into 6 sections. In the first section he marks overviews of the problem under consideration. In the second section, He critically reviews various historical approaches to caste identity. In the third section he deals with the sociological/ anthropological and demographics aspects of caste system and also present socio-economic profiles of Dalit Bahujan awakening in colonial Andhra. In the forth section he examines the emergency of Adi Andhra awareness during the first half of the twentieth century. The nature of non-Brahmin (Bahujan) consciousness is analysed in the fifth section concluding remarks are made in the final section. He concludes that Dalit Bahujan organic intellectuals and leaders have palled the way for a relatively more equal spread of secular power in modern society, by attacking the socio-cultural foundations of the old order.

M.L.Mathur (2004) in this voluminous work entitled “Encyclopedia of Backward Castes” (4 volumes) critically examined and analyzed history of
reservation policies and programmes for backward castes from the beginning in different states, recommendations given by various communities and commissions etc. The work also focused on after effects of Mandal commission recommendations and developments after Mandal judgment. In volume-I, he discussed the policy of reservations, concurred the origin and rational behind its history, problems forced by backward castes in getting recognition for the purpose of reservation for a long revived before and after independence. The recommendation made by various communities and commissions in different states were elaborately discussed. Besides, this volume also analyses the recommendations of two national communities (Kalekar, and Mandal) of backward classes. In volume-III the author examines compulsions under which the national front government announced 27% reservation for other backward classes. In this volume he also companied the view of cross sections of people such as lawyers, jurists, journalists' social scientists etc. in volume-IV discusses that the backward castes have been straining hard to get reservation benefit in education under article 15 (4) and in empowerment under article 16(4) of the constitution of India, for which they hand to seek interlunation in different high courts and the supreme court of India. In her view Ambedkar's path of liberation of the lower castes is overthrowing of the Hindu religious ideological hegemony. Ambedkar tended to see economic and social oppression as separate structures, taking up cultural change as the way to challenge Hinduism and socialism as the way to overcome economic exploitation.

It is evident from the above review that Most of these studies are broadly focusing on the overall political process in the country rather than social mobilization of the backward castes. One can hardly find any study on the nature of contradictions in India like social system, the kind of development model and type of democracy practiced in the post-independent period vs. backward castes and internal contradictions within the backward castes. If there are any studies on the mobilization, they are limited to a specific caste or organization and a region rather than comprehensive study of the social exclusion of BCs. These studies did not focus much on the link between social exclusion and response of the BC people in the form of social movements.
Objectives of the study

➢ To trace the History of the backward class Exclusion from main stream of civil society in Andhra Pradesh.

➢ To identify backward class leadership and their assertion to resist caste dominant cultures.

➢ To assess the impact of backward class movements and struggle for social inclusion, economic equality and social change among Backward classes in Andhra Pradesh.

Hypothesis

This study intends to explore the Social Exclusion of Backward classes and their struggle for social justice in Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Rayalaseema region.

“Social exclusion and division of backward classes resulted in their assertion and consciousness towards their rights and seeking human dignity in the social fabrication”.

Methodology

In the present study literary sources, primary and secondary sources were scanned in order to examine the different facets of backward class movements and the response of the civil society, the impact on the socio-economic profile of these backward classes in Rayalaseema was meticulously recorded. The present study looks into different parameters of backwardness and social exclusion of backward classes was examined with a view to identify and to locate the age old discrimination and suppression by the upper caste landlords. The data related to sub-castes with in backward castes and their identity crisis was taken into consideration with the recent movements like B.C.Kulala Aikyavedika, B.C. Samkshema Samithi definitely made the backward classes and realized them to have a platform to struggle for their rights. Several movements and struggles launched by backward classes would help to draw certain inferences about the contribution of backward class leadership.
Significance of the Study

Backward classes have for many centuries occupied a deeply ambiguous place within Indian society. Especially in Andhra Pradesh, it is more rampant because of the ignorance and lack of social exposure resulted in discrimination on backward classes, through the ages. The backward castes have been facing a serious threat from the caste Hindus across the state. As backward classes certainly occupy a subaltern position in Indian society, backward class movement in particular anti-systematic rather than basically reformist in nature. Backward class movement has questioned the caste dominance and meaning and identity of the nation, when hierarchical divisions exist within it.

Organization of the thesis

In this study an earnest effort is made to portray the significance of Social Exclusion of Backward classes and social Movements that occurred in Rayalaseema Region of Andhra Pradesh. Keeping in line with the main objectives of the study, 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. Backward class movements after independence were aimed against the marginalization and annihilation of rural backward classes. The complete annihilation of weaker sections from resources like land, water, and agriculture implements, exclusion from political participation led to resurgence among the social groups to mobilize them to articulate their grievances, mould public opinion and to plead for social justice. The post independent backward class movement gathered more momentum and gained popularity to fight against the discrimination, inequality, deprivation inspite of the provisions of constitution which safeguards protective discrimination.

Different backward class movements highlight different issues related to weaker section groups around different ideologies. All of them, however, overtly or covertly assert for backward class identity. Identity is concerned with the self-esteem and self-image of a community real or imaginary dealing with the existence and role.
The Second Chapter deals with origin of backward Classes, artisan Communities, vocations, social stratification, Social exclusiveness of backward classes and inequality in social system. Above all inaccessible to resources and discrimination in providing opportunities to lead a dignified livelihood and survival as human beings is noticeable in different parts of the country. The dominant factor still continuing in all walks of life and discrimination takes the form denying opportunities corresponding to their contribution to the economic prosperity of the society. It puts a ban on all common cycles of participation. The broken peoples 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 caste as basis of backwardness, this chapter tries to throw much light on the various social problems 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. 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 position and status of influence of backward classes and their struggle for identity and demand for constitutional safeguards, to Backward Class Commission. A detailed description on backward classes reaction and resistance against caste Hindu dominance and their struggle for social justice has been examined Protective discrimination and Political safeguards for depressed classes as guaranteed in the Constitution led for the struggle for their identity and Social transformation.

Chapter five looks into the transformation and assertion of backward classes in the social spectrum in Andhra. The backwardness in the field of education, employment and political participation is also made them to become marginalized.
Dominance of upper castes and their suppressive methods towards backward classes ultimately gained a momentum for the consolidation of social groups who have been denied of their just share in the wealth of the society. Democratic and Rights Organizations, influence and impact of backward classes movements in the region was also examined to substantiate the very purpose and central point of the thesis.

Chapter six is an attempt to explain the emergence of different movements led to political empowerment, social identity and economic status. The concept of social justice, and demand for social inclusion is another significant development. 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 the backward class groups.

The Seventh Chapter is a conclusive chapter presenting different paradigms of backward class issues, social relevance of backward classes struggles, various view points and observations in the context of the assertion of backward classes and the reaction of civil society and the findings of the study was focused with a detailed description.
References


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