CHAPTER IV

POST KUDMUL RANGA
RAO PHASE
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In the course of the later half of nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, former South Kanara district underwent a remarkable transformation. There were social and religious movements reinterpreting traditional beliefs. A literary renaissance was witnessed and a new world of ideas was ushered in. An awakening of patriotic feeling and a sense of identity could be seen. In post Kudmul Ranga Rao period, there were various support from others, including voluntary service from the great personalities and departmental support from the government institutions helps the deprived people to ascribe the high status in the respective societies.

Entry of Mahatma Gandhi

As part of the National Movement, Gandhiji paid three visits to Dakshina Kannada. On 19th of August 1920, was his first visit which was followed by the second and third visits on 26th of October 1927 and 24th February 1934 respectively. In non-cooperation movement of Gandhi gained a great momentum in Karnataka, and Karnad Sadashiva Rao was the pioneer of the national agitation in this district.

Gandhi, in his first visit, emphasized the non-co-operation movement, non-violence, and the building up of a spiritual strength against British rule, he also called upon the people of Dakshina Kannada to return the awards conferred on them by the British and to come out of the offices and schools run by the British administration as a mark of

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238 During his visits, though the present district was demarcated differently at that time, this region was known for its involvement in the freedom struggle. Gandhi is said to have liked this place for all its contribution to the National Movement.

239 P K Narayan, op cit, pp 83-91
protest and non-co-operation. He pleaded with the lawyers and the public of the district to resort to Satyagraha and protest against the British government. Gandhi also collected funds for the movement in the form of ornaments and cash donated by the people. The first visit of Gandhi emphasized the need to defend the rights of people against the arbitrary rule of the British.

However, during his second visit, there was a great deal of unrest among the Hindus and Muslims at the national level which also had its impact at the regional level. At this moment, Gandhiji emphasized Hindu-Muslim unity. He also called upon the people to engage themselves in constructive programmes in which the propagation of Khadi, learning Hindi as the national language and eradication of untouchability were highlighted. He also collected funds for the eradication of poverty as an integral component of the National Movement in the service of ‘Daridra Narayana’ (God of poverty). The second visit of Gandhi laid a great deal of stress on cultural and social issues. He focused on issues like communal harmony as well as the eradication of the practice of untouchability. These measures, along with the already existing social awareness, gave a great boost to the political churning in Dakshina Kannada.

During his third visit, Gandhiji requested caste-Hindus to eradicate untouchability and said that ‘since we are all children of God, all human beings are to be treated equally’. At a public programme organized in Sullia, he spoke about the complete eradication of untouchability. After the public function the untouchables of Sullia offered some tender coconuts to Gandhi which he not only received but distributed to the

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240 P.K. Narayan, op. cit., pp 91-96
241 Ibid
children of caste-Hindus, asking them to take the oath not to practice untouchability.\textsuperscript{242}

On his way to Mangalore, at Puttur, he visited the Harijan colony known as ‘Raagi Kumeru’ which was located at a remote place. There, he not only campaigned against untouchability but also spoke about the generosity of the people of Puttur in donating, both gold and money, for the sake of Bihar, and Harijan and National Movement Funds. He said that he had not seen such people who volunteered to offer such huge donations\textsuperscript{243}

He pleaded with the people of Puttur to treat Harijans as their blood relatives. He also felt that service to Harijans is very easy to do. He requested caste-Hindus to sacrifice their time and service for the uplift of Harijans by visiting Harijan colonies and by doing \textit{seva} (service) to them. On his visit to the Raagi Kumeru Harijan colony he was shocked to see that there was no sanitation there; they were totally alienated from the civic facilities and cleanliness and were residing at very remote places where there were no roads and other fundamental facilities. Gandhi asked caste-Hindus to take oath in the service of Harijans\textsuperscript{244} and requested them to extend all possible help to the latter to live as human beings.

In Mangalore, Gandhi visited the Depressed Classes Mission and appreciated the task of Kudmul Ranga Rao. He remarked that the institution established by Kudmul Ranga Rao was the oldest and a unique institution for the Harijans in the nation itself. He glanced at the Harijan students’ handicrafts and visited various Panchama schools established by Kudmul Ranga Rao and paid homage to the departed soul of Kudmul

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid
\textsuperscript{243} P K Narayan, op cit, p 99
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid
Ranga Rao and wished that it might inspire and guide the Harijans in reaching their goal.245

While receiving ornaments as part of donation to the National Movement he pleaded with the women folk in Mangalore to work for the eradication of untouchability. He said on the occasion, “Women should get the lion’s share in terms of eradication of untouchability, the black blot, from the hearts of the Hindus” He described the process of eradication of untouchability as the Shuddhi movement and he appreciated the work of Kudmul Ranga Rao and Arya samaj in this regard. He advised women to lead the Shuddhi Movement and to protect human religion.246

He addressed a public gathering at the Central Ground (Nehru Maidan, today, near State Bank, Mangalore) and asked caste-Hindus to change their hearts and minds, and accept Harijans as their relatives and allow them into temples. He remarked that untouchability cannot be eradicated merely by donating funds but by extending whole-hearted service for the Harijans. He asked people to keep temples open by eliciting consensus between Harijans and caste Hindus. He also asked his followers to change the opinion of caste-Hindus against Harijans and to persuade them to live in harmony and peace. Before leaving Mangalore on 25 February 1934, he visited Kapikadu and Babugudda Harijan Colonies. Harijans of Kapikadu colony submitted a memorandum to Gandhi complaining about their removal from Municipal work. They also placed their economic and cultural problems before him. Gandhi asked Harijan Sevak Sangh to extend training in cottage industry which

245 Ibid, pp 108-109
246 P K Narayan, op cit, p 113
would help those who had lost jobs and to those who had lost an opportunity to earn their livelihood.247

At the Canara High School he pleaded with the teachers to admit more and more Harijan children to the school and also asked them to go to their colonies to convince them regarding the importance of education. He reiterated the same in Kundapur, Udupi, Brahmavar, Kapu and other places in South Kanara.248

Gandhi visited almost all the major centers of the then South Kanara like Mangalore, Sullia, Puttur, Mulki, Gurpur, Bajpe, Ekkar, Kateel and Kinnigoli. The major focus of his third visit to Dakshina Kannada was on Harijan seva or service and eradication of untouchability. Simultaneously, he also emphasized and participated in salt Satyagraha at Mangalore, campaign against drinking of alcohol, propagation of the use of Charaka and Khadi, and the need to spread the Hindi language, and he sought funds.249 But the stress was on creating awareness among the caste-Hindus for the eradication of untouchability and enabling temple entry for the Harijans. He felt that Hinduism can be saved only through such measures. Gandhi's reformist ideology attracted many people in former South Kanara who in turn plunged themselves in social reform activities. His intervention in South Kanara gave a different turn to social reform activities particularly by enlisting popular participation in them.250

Protective Measures for Dalits

Various factors account for the changing scenario of Dalit emancipation. Ghanshyam Shah (1980), notes that due to impact of liberal discourse and greater communication there is an overall

247 Ibid, p 107
248 Ibid
249 Ibid, pp 88-113 and South Kanara District Gazetteer, op cit, p 72
250 Ibid, p 663
acceptance of equality as a desirable norm. Capitalist development, even though sluggish, has weakened traditional functioning of caste system. Though caste remains, its content and form is different from what prevailed earlier. Today caste may be a determining factor in occupation but it is not a limiting factor. Protective measures through reservation in government jobs and education has paved the way for Dalits to enter the middle class. This upward mobility has created hope and given confidence that there is scope for improving their condition and be at par with others. Besides, various legislations prescribing punitive action against untouchability, though not implemented as effectively, have to a great extent checked blatant discrimination against Dalits.

The process of absorption of Dalits within the state design started during the pre-independence period and many welfare schemes were implemented for the depressed classes. After Independence in South Kanara district, a series of programmes were chalked out to ensure that untouchables were absorbed in the encompassing national activities. Prior to Independence, the Government of the then Madras Presidency entrusted the welfare work relating to depressed classes to its labour department in 1923.\(^{251}\)

The department reserved lands to be assigned to Harijan families in order to settle them permanently in a particular place.\(^{252}\) As Harijan children could not get easy admissions to general schools, the department opened schools exclusively for their benefit. In 1949, a separate Harijan Welfare Department was started to look after the needs and amenities of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.\(^{253}\) The collector of the district was directed to initiate welfare measures with the assistance of the

\(^{251}\) The reserved land for depressed classes was distributed in Sooterpate, Urva market in Mangalore during the British period. Source: Interviewed with P. Kamalaksha, Sooterpate, 15/5/2008

\(^{252}\) South Kanara District Gazetteer, op cit, p 663

\(^{253}\) Ibid
district Welfare Officer, who worked to ensure the provision of house-sites to Harijans, education to boys and girls, provision of drinking water wells, assignment of land for cultivation, grant of subsidies for house construction, supply of bullocks, seeds and agricultural equipments, etc.

With the launching of the first Five year plan in 1951, the programme for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes received an impetus and a larger number of schemes were drawn up and implemented. With the integration of the district in the new Mysore State in 1956, social welfare work in the district passed into the hands of the Department of Social Welfare of the new state, headed by a director. At the district level, the responsibility of implementing these schemes was entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner. In this respect the district commissioner was assisted by the district social welfare officer and by special welfare inspectors at the taluk level.

Earnest attempts have been made by the government for raising the economic and social conditions of the people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the district. Such an endeavour has been strengthened with the Provision of Civil Rights Act 1955 (1976) and Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989. Instructions have been issued from time to time to the authorities concerned for taking steps to see that the members of these castes were treated like equal citizens without any kind of discrimination. Protective measures sponsored in general and at the district level in particular for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes may be broadly classified into three categories, viz. (1) Educational Facilities, (2) Occupational and Economic Development (3) Political Participation.

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254 Special Component Plan (SCP), Department of Social Welfare, Development programmes for SCs / STs, Bangalore, 2008

255 These schemes were implemented through the Taluk Development Boards. But these are now coming under Special Component Plan (SCP), under the department of social welfare operating in every district headquarters in Karnataka.
1. Educational Facilities

Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of the undivided district were historically deprived of formal education opportunities. Since SC and ST populations are a resource-poor community, education plays a crucial role in empowering and thereby improving the well-being of these communities. Recognizing the critical importance of education, the government pursued pro-active intervention policies to bring SC and ST under the education mainstream. A number of initiatives and programmes were implemented to improve the education of deprived population in the district, which include establishment of hostels, free accommodation and boarding, awareness and special training programmes, scholarships in higher education etc. Kudmul Ranga Rao was also advocated his thoughts on the same line to progress the conditions of the depressed classes of this region during later half of 19th century.

With a view to providing greater educational facilities to the Scheduled Caste children, the government was formerly maintaining 32 Harijan Welfare Schools in the undivided district. They were later converted into non-denominational schools in order to promote the integration of the Scheduled Castes with the rest of the community. However, the pre-metric hostels and three post metric hostels have been maintained in the district without change of nomenclature. Each of these hostels came under the charge of a superintendent and the inmates are provided with free boarding and lodging facilities along with clothes and books and other materials. The main intention in running these hostels is to provide facilities for deserving students to pursue their studies. These hostels have been run under the direction of the district.

social welfare department. This endeavor has to be seen as an important attempt at making Dalits a part of the mainstream of socio-economic and political activities.257

At present, there are two residential schools for the benefit of SCs/STs at Bantwal Taluk in Dakshina Kannada district, one at Jodumarga and the other one at Kadeshivalaya with 100 students each. There are two Morarji Desai residential schools of which one is at Kallabettu Mangalore with 200 students and the other at Belthangady with 480 students. All these residential schools have been doing well and consequently the number of school going SC/ST students have been increasing over the years.258

As part of it, admissions are expected to be given to all the applicants, most of being at lower primary schools, higher primary schools, high schools, government colleges, and aided private colleges. A number of seats are also filled through CET cell to Medical, Dental and Technical education. In these institutions 15% of the seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes and 3% for Scheduled Tribes. The minimum percentage of marks for admission to B.E course is 40% while it is 50% for other categories. Special coaching classes are conducted for SC/ST students studying in government aided schools for a period of three months. Department of Social Welfare, Dakshina Kannada. 2008

As an incentive, scholarships have been given to a large number of poor and deserving candidates of Scheduled Castes studying at the nursery, primary, secondary, PUC (Pre-University College), degree, post-graduation and other professional course levels by the district social welfare department.259 These attempts from above to help and absorb the

257 Source: field work
258 The facilities provided to them are quoted in the Annexure - 1
259 See for detailed explanation special component plan 2008, Zilla Panchayat, Mangalore
SCs/STs have become part and parcel of major policy decisions that are invariably supported by almost every political party.

According to the 2001 Census the literacy rate of the SCs of Dakshina Kannada is 66.14% and literacy rate of the STs of the district is 72.95%. Literacy rate of the SCs of Udupi is 70.13% and among STs is 69.63%. This percentages witnessed a significant improvement in the literacy rate with compared to literacy rate of SCs and STs of other districts in the State. It is encouraging to see that the genderwise participation of the SC and ST population in the undivided Dakshina Kannada district is better with compared to SCs and STs female literacy rate of other districts in the state. According to the 2001 Census the female literacy rates of SCs and STs of Dakshina Kannada is 58.36% and 65.69% respectively. In Udupi district, their percentage is 62.81% (SCs) and 62.78% (STs). It is noticed that female literacy rate of SCs and STs are higher than other participation ratio of the general population of the said districts.

While the literacy rate of the Scheduled Castes has improved perceptibly in the decade 1991-2001, they still have to catch up with the rest of the population. The SC literacy rate in 2001 (52.87%) is lower than the literacy rate of the total population in 1991 (56.04%) placing them a decade behind in literacy levels. The literacy rate of SC women continues to be a matter of concern. Districts with the lowest SC female literacy rates are Koppal (25.6%), Raichur (26%), Gulbarga (27%) and Bagalkot (28.7%), followed closely by Bellary (29%), Bijapur (31.9%), Haveri (36.9%), Davangere (38.2%), Chitradurga (40.92%) and Belgaum (41.6%), which are below the state average. All these districts except Davangere and Chitradurga are located in north Karnataka.

260 Annexure-VII
261 Annexure-VIII
remaining districts have marginally higher figures. This data uncovers what happens to women located at the intersection of caste, gender and region. The outcomes for women from the poorest, most vulnerable sections of society are indeed cruel if they happen to reside in underdeveloped areas. Bangalore Urban with 70.23%, Udupi with 70.13%, Dakshina Kannada with 66.14%, and Uttara Kannada with 65.45% literacy rates are high performing districts but they are also districts where the overall literacy rate is high.

While the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes has improved in the decade 1991-2001, they still have a long way to go before they catch up with the rest of the population. The ST literacy rate in 2001 (48.3%) of total population was even lower than the literacy rate of the total population in 1991 (56.04%), placing them more than a decade behind in literacy levels. Though the literacy rate for women has increased at a faster pace than for males, it is still problematic because it is so much lower than the literacy rate for all women in 2001.

According to 2001 Census, among ST population, the literacy rate, Dakshina Kannada district (72.95%) has the highest literacy rate followed by Bangalore Urban (72.83%), Udupi (69.62%), Uttara Kannada (62.74%), Shimoga (62.11%), Tumkur (59.69%) and Chikmaglur (58.84%). The literacy rate is the lowest in Raichur (29.01%), followed by Gulbarga (32.40 per cent) and Kodagu (40.37%). Districts with low literacy rates such as Raichur (48.81%) and Gulbarga (50.01%).

**Sex-Ratio**

Culturally, there is greater gender equity among the STs compared with the general population, which is largely shaped and driven by a male-dominated discourse that prioritises son preference. Across districts,
one impressive finding is that Udupi (1023) has a sex-ratio higher than Kerala’s followed by Kodagu and Bagalkot (996) while Bangalore Urban, typically, has the lowest sex-ratio (913) followed by Haveri (941), Dharwad and Bijapur (944) and Bidar (950) In Bellary, which has the highest proportion of ST population to the state’s ST population, the sex-ratio is 985 while Raichur, which has the highest percentage of ST population to the total population, is in fourth place with 993.

In Karnataka, the sex ratio of the SC population (973) is better than that of the STs (972) and much better than that of the total population (965). It is also higher than the sex ratio of SCs at the all-India level (936). In the last decade, the sex-ratio of the SCs in the state has shown a marked improvement, increasing from 962 in 1991 to 973 in 2001, as compared to a lower increase in the sex-ratio of the total population from 960 to 965 in the same period. This trend assumes considerable significance, especially when it is juxtaposed with the fact that the literacy level of SCs, particularly women, is much lower than the general population. It suggests that son preference is less vigorously pursued as a desirable objective among the SCs and that they are less constrained by patriarchal impulses. An unfortunate trend is the low urban sex-ratio (961) while the rural sex-ratio is a high 977.

Across districts, Udupi (1030), Bagalkot (1021), Kodagu (1020), and Hassan (1006), have high female sex-ratios and as many as 14 districts, Belgaum, Bellary, Chikmaglur, Dakshina Kannada, Kolar, Koppal, Mandya, Raichur, Shimoga and Uttara Kannada, have female sex-ratios that are higher than the state average (973).
2. Occupational and Economic Development

One of the important features of caste system has been the close association between caste and occupation, leading to vocation being an ascribed status. Dalits were barred from all occupations except those which were considered polluting to the upper castes. Thus land ownership was banned though they worked as labourers in the fields of upper caste groups. This relationship had eventually led to restricting occupational mobility and thus social mobility among Dalits. After independence there have been a number of constitutional initiatives from above to absorb SCs/STs in the mainstream of national development. Abolition of untouchability, reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in education and jobs, economic benefits, increased communication with urban areas, migration to towns from villages, greater formal education among Dalits, land reforms, abolition of Zamindari system, planned development programmes, social reform movements led by caste groups and social and political workers and the encouragement to abandon traditional unclean occupations has led to upward occupational mobility among dalits not only in cities but also in rural areas though in varying degrees.

The economic status of SCs and STs depends on their access to resources and type of jobs undertaken. Historically, SCs were landless bounded agricultural labourers. Their main asset was their own labour. STs were mainly a tribal community engaged in subsistence farming in forest areas, hunting and gathering forest products and basket making. At present, most of the STs are involved in sanitation and cleaning work in urban areas.

The developmental activities in general and the development of SCs/STs in particular have been streamlined in such a way that every government agency has had its own responsibility. The Department of Social Welfare has been implementing various schemes for the SCs/STs.
in the district. The money has been provided to the Departmental Planning Schemes at the village Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat levels respectively.

According to the land grant rule of 1974 the then available agricultural land in Dakshina Kannada has been allotted by the district administration to the SCs/STs. The State Government sponsored housing schemes like Ashraya and Ambedkar and Indira Awas Yojana have helped SCs/STs in undivided Dakshina Kannada to settle down in a particular place and contribute to the economic development of the district in their own way.

As per section 94A, 94B and 94C of the Karnataka Land Reform Act 1974, encroachments of government lands are also being regularized for SCs/STs. It has enabled SCs/STs to engage themselves in independent economic activities. However, for want of initial investment, a large number of SCs/STs have left their land and continued to be wage labourers.

According to the 2001 Census, the work participation rate for SCs and STs in Dakshina Kannada district is 58.1% and 57.5% respectively and the work participation rate for SCs and STs in Udupi district is 49.9% and 50.4%.

Compared with the other district in the state, the performance of the undivided Dakshina Kannada district in employment of SCs and STs is commendable. The higher work participation rates for SCs and STs are mainly due to their dependence on labour as the main income generating asset for their livelihood. The female work participation rate of undivided Dakshina Kannada district shows that, both SCs and STs are higher than the average female work participation

262 Source: Field work
263 Annexure -XI
of the Karnataka state. The women work participation of the SCs and STs in Dakshina Kannada district is 54.5% and 51.6% and their ratio in Udupi district is 42.5% (SC) and 42.2% (ST) respectively. The average women work participation of the SCs and STs in Karnataka state is 38.4% and 41.7%. Nevertheless, the standard of living of SCs and STs in undivided Dakshina Kannada district is better compared with other districts, as they get wage employment throughout the year and prevailing wage rates are significantly higher than in the other district of the state.

**Depressed Classes Mission Trust (DCM), Kodialbail, Mangalore**

The Depressed Classes Mission Trust was established by Ranga Rao and later it is registered under the Indian Trust Act in 1953. Today, the Trust is managed by Social Welfare Department of District Administration, Dakshina Kannada district. Currently, there are ten Trustees in the Trust. Director of the Social Welfare Department acts as a Member Secretary. District Commissioner is a President; Chief Executive Officer of Zilla Panchayat, Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) of Mangalore Vidhana Sabha Constituency, Superintendent of Police of the district, Chief Executive Engineer of Public Works Department (PWD), Chief Executive Engineer of Karnataka Power Transmission Corporation Limited (KPTCL), Commissioner of Mangalore City Corporation and Commissioner of Mangalore Urban Development Authority (MUDA) are the other members of the Trust.

With the available records, it is understand that Kudmul Ranga Rao succeeded to get 62.12 acres of land from his own efforts, few from higher class people of his own communities and from governments. It is understand that this land was used by the dalit community for various purposes like construction of households, schools, anganawadi’s, hostels,

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264 Annexure - XII
community halls, society halls, Sabha Bhavans, memorial trust for Ranga Rao, playgrounds etc. At present, Social Welfare Department takes the responsibility of these schools, hostels, anganawadi’s and related assets. Apart from the total land used, still, near about 60 cents of land is not being used. But the Depressed Classes Mission Trust is seriously discussing the use of remaining landholdings to the benefit of dalit communities.265

Below given table shows all the detail of landholdings and assets which was formerly belongs to Ranga Rao and reserved for the social and economic upliftment of the Dalits in the district.

265 Source Interviewed with Mr Dhananjaya, First Divisional Assistant on 8/9/2010 at the office of District Social Welfare Department Dakshina Kannada, Kottarachouki, Mangalore – 1
### Districts and Land Survey Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. no</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Land survey number</th>
<th>Landholdings (in acres)</th>
<th>Land being used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1      | Dakshina Kannada | Derebailu Village | 173/1              | 3.88                    | 1 SC Households -70  
                                                  2 Anganawadi-1  
                                                  3 Playground-1  
                                                  4 Society hall-1 |
|        |          | 101                      |                    | 10.55                   |                                                      |
|        |          | 97/8                     |                    | 3.00                    |                                                      |
| 2      | Dakshina Kannada | Kodialbail Village | 15/2               | 1.27                    | 1 SC Households -47  
                                                  2 SC Hostel-1  
                                                  3 Commercial Complex-1  
                                                  4 Ambedkar Bhavan-1 |
|        |          | 16/A7                    |                    | 0.02                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 60/1W                     |                    | 0.34                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 60/1X                     |                    | 0.34                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 205/11                   |                    | 0.37                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 205/12                   |                    | 0.75                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 205/1B                   |                    | 0.12                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 9/2 Acres                 |                    | 6.55                    |                                                      |
| 3      | Dakshina Kannada | Attavara Village | 242/1,2,3,4        | 0.83                    | 1 Zilla Panchayat Higher Primary School (1-7)-1  
                                                  2 Anganavadi-1  
                                                  3 Society Hall-1 |
| 4      | Dakshina Kannada | Kadri Village           | 56/1,2             | 6.33                    | 1 SC Households-11  
                                                  2 ST Ashrama School-1  
                                                  3 and Quarters |
| 5      | Udupi     | Shrvalli Village         | 68/1               | 7.85                    | 1 SC Households-17  
                                                  2 Kudmul Ranga Rao Memorial Trust ® -1  
                                                  3 Community Hall-1  
                                                  4 SC boys hostel-1  
                                                  5 Ishwara Bhavan (temple)-1 |
| 6      | Udupi     | Putton Village           | 227/1              | 12.91                   | 1 ST Households-74  
                                                  (But land is not been converted to the name of Scheduled communities) |
|        |          | 227/2A                   |                    | 0.27                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 227/2B                   |                    | 0.92                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 228/2A                   |                    | 0.14                    |                                                      |
|        |          | 228/3B                   |                    | 4.65                    |                                                      |

Source: District Social Welfare Department, Dakshina Kannada, 2010

The Udupi district is the earlier part of undivided Dakshina Kannada district. In the district, Puttur village has consists of 18.89 cents of landholdings in the name of Ranga Rao. But till today, even single cents of land is not properly used by the community or otherwise due to some technical problem by the revenue department of the district administration.
DCM Trust has requested an appeal to the concerned taluk authorities (Tahashildar of Udupi taluk and Assistant Commissioner of Kundapur taluk) for distributing the said lands through resurvey. But the above-mentioned authorities did not consider the Trust's appeal. Trust facing problems pertaining to the identification of borders of the land. The land contributed by Ranga Rao is not even used for general public in the district as well. Meanwhile, the Trust is having the idea of upliftment of the dalit communities by providing good education to their children. Also, it supports the district Social Welfare Department to the distribution of land and economic opportunities for the welfare of Dalits in the district. Presently, as per the information provided by the Social Welfare Departments of Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts, 219 families have been resided and benefitted through the land given by Kudmul Ranga Rao. 266

Besides, opportunities have been provided to SCs/STs to join government services which have slowly improved the economic status of the SCs/STs in undivided Dakshina Kannada. Many economic programmes reach out to not only the educated SCs/STs but also to rural based uneducated SCs/STs. The attempt to absorb Dalits in the broader socio-economic activities has not only helped Dalits but has also helped the system as a whole. Given their dependent position and the socio-economic condition, Dalits depend upon the various programmes of the state introduced exclusively for their uplift. The self-employment programmes have been implemented through the district branch of Karnataka SCs/STs Development Corporation, which provides financial assistance to buy vehicles as well as to set up small shops. The other avenues of self-employment have been animal husbandry, rubber

266 Ibid
plantation, tailoring, sericulture, agriculture, computer training etc. Scheduled Castes are also extended the benefit under the self-employment scheme.

But despite this, their incidence of poverty remains high specially when compared to the general population. An important reason is that a majority of dalits are concentrated in rural areas and are landless with no productive assets. Inadequate access to agricultural land and capital leaves no option to Dalit workers except to resort to manual wage labour, consequently, it leads them to suffer from low income and greater level of poverty.

**Voluntary Social Services**

As mentioned earlier, the new awakening of the depressed classes had taken place in the undivided Dakshina Kannada during the British rule was started due to the effort made by Kudmul Ranga Rao. Ranga Rao’s strategies influenced and his methods were later adopted by various personalities of the region. Men like Karnad Sadashiva Rao, Dr Benegal Raghavendra Rao, late Kagel Devappayya, Dewan Bahadur Nayampalli Shiva Rao, Kabad Rama Rao, Kalle Manjunathayya, Sujir Mageshayya, Kallyanpur Raghavendra Rao, Manjeshwar Rangappayy, Baindur Mangesh Rao were from upper caste background influenced from the ideology of Ranga Rao and them themselves start involved to establishment of the education centres, orphanages, home for the old people and other institutions for the benefit of the Saraswat communities and others.

Leaders of the freedom fight form the National Movement of the South Kanara district, Karnad Sadashiva Rao, getting influenced from Ranga Rao, he organized re-marriage of child-widows, and tries to solve
the problem of untouchability. He worked for the betterment of Harijans. He was a member of Mission for Depressed Classes for years, eventually serving as its president. He fought and arranged for entry of Harijans in the temples of South Kanara district. He started a school ‘Tilak Vidyalaya’ which was open to all communities in the premises of his home. The Hindi language, spinning, weaving, and other handicrafts were taught in this school. Many such educational centers were started in the district. Its mission to impart quality education, develop component and skilled professionals. Sadashiva Rao used his whole wealth for the welfare of the poor people. Born one of the richest men in Kanara, when he died he was one of the poorest.

Dr. Benegal Raghavendra Rao, belonged to South Kanara district was inspired by the ideology of Ranga Rao. In 1829 he was established The Ishwarananda Mahila Sevashrama Society in Kankanady, Mangalore, with the objective of helping the destitute and the needy.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, a social worker of international renown, was inspired by the Ranga Rao, started Bhagini Samaj, in 1937 at Mangalore. The Samaj has emerged as a model Voluntary Organization devoted to women and child welfare. Health care centres, mid-day meal centres, Family planning clinics, creches, income-generating programmes, etc were handled by Bhagini Samaj and its sub-branches at some time or other in the district. It was a typical urban organization sustained by the elite. The leaders hailed from upper-middle class crest and ‘social service’ was used as a stepping stone for social recognition and influence. Education and welfare activities were thus more prominent than other activities.  

267 A report of Voluntary Organizations in Dakshina Kannada, sponsored by, Industrial Development Bank of India, Bombay, T A Pai Management Institute, Manipal, 1992 p. 57
After getting influence from the Ranga Rao's ideology, there were few people from Dalit community of the district rendered their valuable services for the welfare of the community. Men like Devappa Kudroli, P. Gokuldas, P. Kamalaksha and Bendoor Babu, even today, followed the way of Ranga Rao guided and themselves involved in the strategies laid down by him for the benefit of the depressed classes.²⁶⁸

The above mentioned personalities and their established institutions have come to the support of the less fortunate people in the district. The voluntary aspect of social service is a reflection of an enlightened society. The immense endeavours made to organize voluntary associations to serve social needs have given vigour and richness to the institutional life of South Kanara. These organizations functioning in district have made a significant contribution to the socio-economic development of the region. Several schools, hospitals, colleges, and welfare centres owe their origin to dedicated volunteers. The concept of self help has been given a new dimension by promoting self financing institutions for imparting professional education. The concept of charity and self help has been given new dimension.

3. Political Participation

As per the Constitutional provisions, SCs/STs have been considered a special group liable to certain benefits which are not extended to others. One such benefit is special political representation which has operated in India since the first general election; and an extended version of the scheme of special representation built into the India Act, 1935. In order to absorb the SCs/STs in mainstream politics, a few constituencies in the states have been reserved for the SCs/STs in proportion to their

²⁶⁸ Source Field work
population. This does not mean that the SC/ST population is in majority in such constituencies. The entire electorate chooses its representative from one of the contending candidates drawn from SCs or STs as the case may be. This is one of the significant measures of preferential treatment initiated in India besides taking up other political measures such as offering party positions to these sections at different levels.

At the time of the reorganization of states, a delimitation commission was set up to determine afresh the extent of constituencies in the new Mysore state. According to the decision of the delimitation commission the district was allotted 14 seats to the Mysore Legislative Assembly and two seats to the Loksabha. Among Assembly Constituencies, Puttur and Karkala were recognized as double constituencies in which SCs were reserved a seat each.

The double member constituencies were abolished in 1961 under the provision of the two-member Constituencies (Abolition) Act, 1961. Under section 3 of the Act, the Election Commission was required to divide each two-member constituency into single member constituencies, delimit their extent and decide in which of them seats should be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Accordingly, the Commission amended and revised the delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies order, 1956, and issued the delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies order, 1961. The effect of this change, as far as South Kanara district was concerned, was that the Puttur double-member constituency was split up into two single member constituencies of Puttur and Sullia, a seat being reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the

269 Belthangady, Pané Mangalore, Mangalore I, Mangalore II, Surathkal, Kaup, Udupi, Brahmavar, Kundapur, Puttur, Beemdur and Karkala. Except Puttur and Karkala, others were single constituencies. South Kanara District Gazetteer, op. cit., p. 675
latter constituency. Similarly, the two-member constituency of Karkala was also divided into two single member constituencies of Karkala and Moodbidri, and one seat was reserved for the Scheduled Castes in the latter constituency.\textsuperscript{270}

On 27-1-2000 Dalits of Dakshina Kannada gave a representation to the National Commission for SCs/STs, Bangalore. They requested the authorities to change the Sullia reserved constituency into Scheduled Caste representation. They argued that for 30 years this reserved constituency had remained the same. They also requested that the Virajpet ST reserved constituency in Coorg be shifted to Dakshina Kannada. They also requested the commission to assign a Lok Sabha seat for Scheduled Castes in the district.\textsuperscript{271}

Dalits are also given political representation in the Panchayat Raj Institutions in the district. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts provided an opportunity for mainstreaming of SCs/STs in political, social and economic decision-making process. Article 243(D) makes provision for reservation of SCs and STs in every Panchayat in proportion to the population in that area. Such seats will be filled by direct election and shall be allotted by rotation to different constituencies.

By identifying the so-called socially disadvantaged groups of people into the larger socio-economic and political activities, there has been a broad-basing of Indian democracy both at the Union and State levels. Though their representation has considerably increased, the same cannot be said about the extent of inclusion and participation. According to a research conducted by ‘Society for Participatory Research in Asia’ (PRIA) and its affiliates in twelve states of India, the general public opinion is that Dalits cannot play leadership roles. Not only the dominant

\textsuperscript{270} Ibid, p 676
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid
higher caste groups in the villages feel so, even government functionaries and Dalit leaders reflect similar opinions. This can be attributed to the fact that subjugation by upper castes has not given Dalit leaders the freedom to participate and make judgment in decision making.

The main impediment to Dalit leadership is the low economic and social advancement of the society. Illiteracy and lack of awareness about powers, functions and developmental schemes, poverty, an oppressive caste structure and corrupted bureaucracy are some of the factors that hamper the empowerment of Dalits Obstructions also arise as a result of Dalit caste or sub-caste assertion, with identity politics playing a major role An effective leadership from dalit headed panchayats is still in a formative stage. Political participation cannot be viewed in isolation; efforts to realize other enabling rights as right to education, information, employment and equality must be integrated with efforts to ensure political participation

However, the policy of protective discrimination or reservation policy, a result of these decades-old social protest movements has proved to be beneficial only to a limited section of the Dalits The beneficiaries of this policy are very small in number in comparison to the percentage of their population and form a small segment of the middle class among Dalits which may be termed as Dalit bourgeoisie. The policy needs to be more effective in its implementation and more realistic in taking into account the Dalit population and position

Access to Basic Facilities

Access to basic amenities such as housing, drinking water, sanitation and electricity is vital for the well being of the people. According to the 2001 Census, 54.30% of SCs and 58.06% of STs live in permanent houses in urban areas of Dakshina Kannada district and in
Udupi, 53.05% of SCs and 64.51% of STs live in permanent houses in urban areas. But in rural areas only 19.05% of SCs and 35.58% STs live in permanent houses in Dakshina Kannada district. In Udupi district the 32.57% (SCs) and 31.49% (STs) households having permanent houses. The state average shows that 45.12% of SCs and 37.25% of STs live in permanent houses in rural areas. The mentioned data shows that in Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts, the percentage number of SC and ST households live in permanent houses is still less compared to the other districts in the state. Overall the housing conditions of SCs and STs have improved considerably, primarily because of the massive efforts of the Government in providing houses through various housing programmes such as Ashraya, Ambedkar Housing Programme, Indira Awas Yojana, Neralina Bhagya, etc. over the last 25 years.

As regard access to safe drinking water, 48.07% of SCs and 28.67% of STs in Dakshina Kannada district having safe drinking water in both rural and urban areas. In Udupi district, 39.66% of SCs and 20.67% of STs having safe drinking water in rural and urban areas. Access to safe drinking water, SCs and STs are in better condition than the general population because most of the households in the district depend on well water for drinking and SCs and STs are mostly the beneficiaries of bore well schemes of the government for drinking water.

Electricity connectivity of SCs and STs in Dakshina Kannada district is 39.23% and 46.84% and in Udupi district, that is 51.17% (SCs) and 43.55% (STs) respectively. The state average shows that 68.51% of SCs and 64.69% of STs having electricity connection. Compared to the

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Annexure –XIII
Annexure-XIV
Annexure-XV
Annexure-XVI
state average percentage of SCs and STs households with electricity, the
district’s SCs and STs percentage of households with electricity are far
behind. In the case of toilets, the undivided Dakshina Kannada district’s
SC and ST households are in a better position than the other district in the
state. That is 29.25% of SCs and 34.44% of STs having toilet facility in
both rural and urban areas of the Dakshina Kannada district. In Udupi,
33.69% of SCs and 24.96% of STs having toilet facility including both
rural and urban areas. Thus, as regards the basic amenities, the SC and
ST populations in the District are little far behind the SCs and STs
populations in the other districts in the state.

Karnataka has performed well in the provisioning of electricity to
SC households. It is the first among the southern states to do so, and this
is an outcome of some very pro-active interventions to provide free
electrical connectivity to SC and ST households. Districts with a
percentage of households below the state percentage (68.51%) are
Bellary, Bidar, Bijapur, Chamarajnagar, Chikmaglur, Chitradurga,
Dakshina Kannada, Davangere, Gadag, Gulbarga, Haveri, Kodagu,
Koppal, Mysore, Raichur, Shimoga, Tumkur and Udupi.

To sum up, most of the programmes implemented have been
successful in providing services to SCs and STs such as free housing,
drinking water supply, roads and electricity connectivity. Though there
are gamut of programmes to improve the education and economic status,
the degree of affectivity is only marginal. The district has still a large
percentage of SCs and STs below poverty level and lacks access to
improve their human development status. However, compared to other
districts in the state, SCs and STs in the district are better in education,
health and economic status. The Organizations which work with this

276 Annexure-XVII
communities in the district closely, claim that initial efforts made by Ranga Rao and other support from government departments, which followed the same ideology after him to bring Dalits far better in socio-economic conditions compared with their population in the other districts of Karnataka state.

**Emergence of Dalit Sangarsha Samiti (DSS)**

The impetus for the formation of Dalit Sangharsha Samiti in Dakshina Kannada came from outside mainly through the experience of the Dalit Movement as a whole in the state. It speaks for the larger import of the Dalit Movement across the state wherein each and every district came under its impact. It also shows that, irrespective of the region, Dalits had come to share a common situation all over the state. The efforts of social reformers such as Kudmul Ranga Rao and the intervention of the state on behalf of SCs had resulted in a two-fold situation on the one hand, Dalits were absorbed within the fold of Hinduism, and on the other, only a stratum from within them had substantially gained from state largesse. In Dakshina Kannada Dalits had increasingly identified themselves with the Hindu religious practices and therefore, gods, temples and other related practices had become near and dear to them. Dalits elsewhere in Karnataka, however, were caught up in different experiments. Therefore, Dalit Sangharsha Samiti (DSS) faced a different set of challenges in the district.²⁷⁷

However, the Boosa episode, associated with B Basavalingappa, caused a mass movement of Dalits in some parts of Karnataka as discussed earlier, especially in Bhadhravathy, Bangalore and Mysore in

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²⁷⁷ Ibid
the 1970s It spread to other parts of Karnataka too Mr. Somashekar, a billava (Backward caste) of Sakleshpur of Hasan district organized a branch of DSS in Mangalore in 1980-81. His experience as an employee of Navabharath Press in Mangalore made him spread the message of DSS across some Dalit families in Dakshina Kannada.

He laid a great deal of stress on the ideas of Dr B.R Ambedkar, i.e. on Education, organization and agitation His association with Late Prof. B Krishnappa who was the principal leader of DSS made him a prominent figure in Dakshina Kannada. In due course, Mr Somshekar came to be assisted with B. Ramakrishna of Puttur, M Devdas of Mangalore, Ram Kumar of Madikeri and several others.278

During 1980s DSS took up issue-based agitations in some parts of Udupi and Mangalore taluks in the then undivided Dakshina Kannada. As a start, DSS mounted pressure on the district administration to grant two acres of land to landless Dalits in Pejawara of Udupi district This development became the base for other agitations for the rights of Dalits in the undivided Dakshina Kannada district

The Dalit Movement under the aegis of Dalit Sangarsha Samiti in Dakshina Kannada unlike in other districts of the state, especially Mysore, started almost on different note. To put it in a nut shell, the Dalit Sangharsha Samiti in Dakshina Kannada became more of an agitation rather than a movement. It took up a few issues for mobilization rather than for fusing together a shared understanding on the goals and purposes to be pursued and strategies and tactics to be employed Educating and organizing across sub-caste categories and establishing common grounds between those sub-caste entities did not become a part of the Dalit

278 Naik, Dayanand op cit , p 232
Movement in Dakshina Kannada. It restricted itself to issues as and when they came up.

DSS also got involved in various negotiations with revenue and police departments at Karkala, Belthangady, Puttur, Katipalla, Bantwal, Sullia and other parts of the district in response to the grievances of Dalits. DSS also placed demands before the concerned authorities for promoting the cause of education, hostel facilities, admission to educational institutions, issues of promotion of the employees, reservations etc. The Dalit Employees Federation, one of the wings of the DSS, also played an active role.

D G Sagar wing (Devnoor Mahadev) and the Jayanna Wing (Late Prof. B Krishnappa) which were popular in Mysore districts have had their influence in Dakshina Kannada. Their presence was also felt in Dakshina Kannada. However, Dalits of the Krishnappa group were more actively responding to day to day activities in the district than the former. Indeed, the Krishnappa group claimed that it had 5,000 members in its organization in the district.279

This group is actively involved in agitational politics under the name of Krishnappa. In the recently held state level conference of Dalits, in 2003 it decided to call itself Mahatma Prof B Krishnappa Stapita Dalit Sangharsha Samiti.

Prior to the split of the DSS between Jayanna (Late Prof. B Krishnappa) and Sagar (Devnoor Mahadev) groups one of the prominent DSS groups that emerged in Dakshina Kannada in 1994-95 was Samatha Sainik Dal (SSD) and Dalit Praja Vimochana (DPV) which believed in not legal procedures but a militant attitude.

279 Naik, Dayanand op cit, p 232-233
However, they did not survive in Dakshina Kannada for long. In April, 2003 Karnataka Dalit Sangharsha Samiti (Ambedkar Vaada) led by the Mavalli Shankar wing stepped into the district. This is the result of one more split of Prof. B. Krishnappas' wing at the state level in 2002-2003.

**Emerging Trends**

Given the trends at the state level, DSS activities in Dakshina Kannada are internally split to the extent that the reservation policy is determining who belongs to what Dalit wing. It also underscores which Dalit sub-caste is supporting whom. At present, in Karnataka there are two prominent blocs of Dalits (Sagar vs Jayanna or Right vs Left) who differ with each other on the crucial issue of reservation. The Jayanna group and the Sagar group are not merely factions today within a larger organization but they advance almost different interests. The former has stressed caste-based reservations thereby focusing on identifying the sub-caste entities. The latter on the other hand completely rejects the former and advances the idea of reservation under the banner of Dalit identity. The DSS activities in Dakshina Kannada are not an exception to these two positions adopted by Dalit Politics. Though they do not have any ties at any level of the organization and differ on ideological positions they still accept the reservation system provided by the Constitution. Along with this two-fold orientation, a good number of Dalit activists have successfully created a social base for BSP which is at present not only active but also resourceful in the name of its Pay Back to the Society agenda. All these three groups (DSS, (J)DSS and (S)BSP, while

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280 Ibid, pp 234-236
281 DSS (J) -Dalit Sangarsha Samiti (Jayanna-Late Prof. B. Krishnappa)), DSS (S) - Dalit Sangarsha Samiti (Sagar -Devnoor Mahadev), BSP- Bahujan Samajavadi Party
advancing their interests, have demonstrated that there is no internal relationship among themselves. Further, the trend in the DSS in Dakshina Kannada is in a way being caught up in a system of deeply divided party interests especially the BSP, JD (U), JD(S), Congress and BJP.\footnote{Naik, Dayanand op cit., pp 237-239}

Dalit Sangharsha Samiti is made up of a large number of mass organizations. As of today, Dalit Students Federation, Dalit Writers and Artists Federation, Dalit Employees Federation and Dalit Workers Federation are the most important among them. Apart from these organizations, there are a number of other organizations working in Dakshina Kannada district which are associated with it. Most of them are caste-based even though they are working under the banner of ‘Dalits’ or ‘Babasaheb Ambedkar’ \footnote{Ibid}

Recently the Karnataka Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (KDSS) in founded by B Krishnappa has drawn up a plan to revitalize dalit movement in Karnataka. The plan is aimed at resurrecting the dalit pride. The Samiti will reconstitute all the district committees in Karnataka and train youths who are active in organizational affairs to take forward the programmes of the Samiti based on the ideals of architect of Indian Constitution B. R Ambedkar.

Venkatagiriayya, state convener of KDSS told that the office-bearers of the Samiti are touring the state in their endeavour to give new thrust to the dalit movement. Opining that the caste system is getting further strengthened due to the right to property conferred on individuals, where the rich get richer, Venkatagiriayya said this has given rise to a host of problems on the socio-economic front across the country.
Referring to condition of dalits in the Dakshina Kannada, he said, there is nothing much to crow about. They are denied the basic right to shelter, drinking water, power supply and education and many of dalits continue to work for the landlords despite the Land Reforms Act, he said plight of agricultural and plantation workers is worse and most of them are affected by destruction of agricultural lands due to industrialization. Demanding that the State Government make earnest efforts to implement the Mohammad Peer report aimed at ameliorating the condition of the backward Koraga community, Venkatagiriayya said, the government must also take steps to regularize the services of Pourakarmikas in urban local bodies, a majority of whom are working on a contract basis. The Samiti also urged the authorities to construct Ambedkar Bhavan and set up his statue in the city.\textsuperscript{284}

The Emergence of the Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) in Dakshina Kannada

The rise and growth of BSP in North India has had its impact on Dalit activities elsewhere in India. Eventually, each and every state in India came under the influence of BSP as it spoke about Dalits in the name of Bahujans directly as B.R Ambedkar did through the Republic Party of India. The BSP came into existence in the district in September 7, 1997. Indeed, it must be remembered that the Karnataka Dalit Sangharsha Samiti (KDSS) led by (Late) Prof. B. Krishnappa accepted the BSP ideology and declared itself a major wing of the BSP. The other wing of the DSS led by Devanoor Mahadev in Karnataka had chosen to be with the Janata Dal. This resulted in a major political split within the DSS.

\textsuperscript{284} The Times of India, May 3, 2009
regarding party affiliations rather than on the ideological question. According to the calculation of the party leadership, there are 96% Dalits and the rest are drawn from Muslims, Christians, Backward Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the district. The BSP has been working with the aim of liberating the Bahujans from the clutches of the exploiting forces and providing social justice to the former. It has attracted a large number of Dalits to its fold in a short time.

The Dalit leadership in the contemporary times has shifted its focus from bringing various types of social reform among Dalits for attainment of political power through mobilizing them in the State. The Dalit leaders from the BSP criticize, from their platform, the exploitative attitude of the upper castes and classes to influence their voters. The provocative speeches help the Dalit leaders to energize and attract the Dalit masses. The atrocities on Dalits, coercion and oppression of the Dalits are highlighted by these leaders who ask and convince Dalits that it is through the political power that they can overcome their subordinated social, economic, educational and political status in the society.

Division among Dalits

Dalits of the district were wooed by various political parties especially the Congress, Janasangha, Communist party, Janata Dal, BJP and recently BSP. Dalits have, however, remained marginal in the shaping of these parties. They were used by political parties to subserve their own purpose. Although the very concept "Dalit" itself was not unanimously accepted at the political level, every political party had

286 Ibid
programmes drawn up for them and many of them came to be associated with one or the other political party.

However, the term Scheduled Castes denotes a combination of various castes brought under a schedule for constitutional purposes. The existence of caste and sub-caste realities in Dakshina Kannada supported by their cultural practices, expressed in purity and pollution, have resulted in a high degree of fragmentation among them which it is not easy to undo. The sharp differences between the different segments—the landed, employed and educated on the one hand, and the landless, unemployed and uneducated on the other has also contributed to the fragmentation in a big way. However, the reason for the continued fragmentation between different Dalit groups is not so much on account of ideological differences as on cultural practices. For instance, the Koragas have remained almost outside the world of Dalits in Dakshina Kannada though they are included in a common schedule. Moreover, the SCs and STs have always seen themselves as ethnically different as reflected in their endogamous relationships.

Social fragmentation has reinforced ideological differences. Dalit factions are not fully in agreement today as to what constitutes the term ‘Dalit’. The disagreement over the understanding of the term Dalit not only continues in the region but it has also widened the gap between various castes and sub-castes of Dalits.

The question of caste identity, as far as the distribution of State-sponsored resources are concerned, has become a major factor in Dakshina Kannada where each and every sub-caste wishes to maintain its separate identity; they have refused to fuse themselves together under

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287 Naik, Dayanand op cit., p 24
288 Ibid., p 247
a single identity called Dalits. These developments within the Dalit category in Dakshina Kannada have been widening the gap between them. The BSP is only limiting itself to bring them together on a political platform and has kept quiet with regard to the cultural differences among them. The preferential policy schemes of the State play a major role in continuing the rift by pitting one caste group against the other in terms of benefits received.\textsuperscript{289}

Regarding the issue of untouchability, all the alliances demanded in their memorandum but it seems only a formality since there is no clear-cut recommendation of policies and programmes to end it. Dalit should have done more study and come up with a proposal to end untouchability as soon as possible since it is a real tragedy and is practiced on and within Dalits. Causes of continuing the practice of caste discrimination is people believing caste and Indian democracy which encourages the formation of democratic participation along the lines of identity as a culprit to continue the caste system.

Caste discrimination against the Dalit is deep-rooted in the society and economy and quick-fix solutions through the law alone will not help. Effective Dalit assertion will be productive when all Dalits come to a consensus on a common pro-Dalit understanding, leaving all their partisan political agendas, biases and prejudices behind.\textsuperscript{290}

Thus, the Dalit empowerment projects of undivided Dakshina Kannada can be divided into the following major phases:

- Missionary and colonial Influence: Basel Mission played a major role in attracting Dalits to the field of Christianity and imparting to them a degree of education. Colonial policy too, to the extent that it reached down to Dalits, accords a degree of formal equality to them;
- Kudmul Ranga Rao and the Social Reforms Phase: Kudmul Ranga Rao plays, by far, the most important role in improving the miserable lot of untouchables in the district and in singling out education as an important tool in that direction. These reforms, which found approval and applause from Gandhi, eventually led to checkmating missionary influence on untouchables and bringing them into the Hindu fold.

- The phase of State patronage. Following Independence and the Constitutional provisions for Scheduled Castes, the State inaugurated a series of special provisions for Dalits.

- The Phase of struggles under the leadership of Dalit Sangharsha Samiti: Although Dalit Sangharsha Samiti is not a development internally from the Dalit Movement in Dakshina Kannada, it soon began to relate itself to certain issues in the district.

- The emergence of sub-caste identity and BSP: Assertion of sub-caste identity and demand for reservation benefits accordingly has become an important development in recent years.

As mentioned above, all the events show the overview of the social, economic, political and recent status of the Dalits in post Kudmul Ranga Rao phase. In the process of development and spread of the new awakening in the district is decisively shaped and deeply interwoven by the ideological development of Kudmul Ranga Rao. His attempt is important to develop a discourse, organization, leadership and social base for particular region. The ideological formation of Ranga Rao’s phase regarding the empowerment of the depressed classes is also closely associated with a systematic networking of welfare institutions of later Ranga Rao phase in the region. However, events and eventualities in the

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291 Naik, Dayanand op cit, 248-249
present century approximately reflected the ideological developments of
the early centuries.

Thus, the last three decades have witnessed certain profound
changes in social, education and economic status of Dalits in the
undivided Dakshina Kannada district of Coastal Karnataka. All the
endeavours was carried out fairly successfully through an expansion of
organizational network and deployment of innovative strategies reflected
favourably to the ideological developments constructed by the earlier
social reformers of the region.