

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**MASTER OF ARTS-POLITICAL SCIENCE  
SEMESTER -II**

**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA(WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO DALIT MOVEMENTS)**

**ELECTIVE-205**

**BLOCK-2**

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First Published in 2019



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## **FOREWORD**

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.

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# **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DALIT MOVEMENTS)**

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## **BLOCK -1**

Unit 1 – Social Movements: Meanings, Significance & Components

Unit 2 – Main Types of Social Movements in India

Unit 3 – “New” Social Movements in the West & India

Unit 4 – Approaches to the Study of Dalit Movement, Overview of  
Literature

Unit 5 – Depressed Classes and Colonial Governments

Unit 6 – Gandhi and Ambedkar on Social Reforms and Representation  
for the Depressed Classes

Unit 7 – Anti Caste Movements in the Colonial Period

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## **BLOCK-2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DALIT MOVEMENTS)**

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### **Introduction to the Block**

This block focuses on the various parties and the roles that they played in the various social movements that happened PAN India with special emphasis on Dalit Movements.

Unit 8 – Dalit Movements in Post Independent India: Emergence, Ideology, and Strategies of Mobilization of Major Dalit Movements – Discusses in detail the emergence along with the strategies adopted during the Dalit movements

Unit 9 – The Republican Party of India: UP & Maharashtra – Introduces the Republican Party of India and their role in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra

Unit 10 – The Dalit Panthers -Discusses the role of Dalit panthers in the upliftment of Dalits

Unit 11 – The BahujanSamaj Party – Discusses the establishment of the BahujanSamaj Party and its role in the upliftment of Depressed Classes

Unit 12 – The Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu – Explains the origin and consequences of Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu

Unit 13 - Dalit Sangharsh Samiti in Karnataka – Explains the origin and contribution of the Dalit Sangharsh Samiti

Unit 14 – Issues & Problems Concerning Dalits – Discusses in detail the issues and problems the plagued the Dalit community

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# **UNIT: 8 DALIT MOVEMENTS IN POST INDEPENDENCE INDIA: EMERGENCE, IDEOLOGY, AND STRATEGIES OF MOBILIZATION OF MAJOR DALIT MOVEMENTS**

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## **STRUCTURE**

8.0 Objectives

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8.2 Emergence of Dalit Movement

8.3 Ideology of Dalit Movement

8.3.1 Ambedkar's Ideology Perspective

8.3.2 Outer world aspect of Dalit Movement's ideology

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8.5.1 Kerala Stipendiary Student Association (KSSA)

8.5.2 Socially Economically Educationally Depressed Indian  
Ancient Natives (SEEDIAN)

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8.6 Strategies and Mobilization of Dalit Movements

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8.7 Dalits and Contemporary Indian Politics

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8.9 Key Words

8.10 Questions for Review

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8.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 8.0 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you should be able to

- Understand a brief history of Dalit community
- Understand the issues and problems faced by Dalit community
- Point out the various significant events that took place during the Dalit struggle to attain dignity
- Understand the role of Ambedkar's in Dalit movements
- Have an idea about Dalit literature and its contributions.
- Identify the root causes of Dalit unrest and suffering
- Evaluate the progress made by Dalit community
- Understand the different mobilizations that took place in Dalit History.
- Define the ideology of Dalit movement

In the succeeding chapter, the significant Dalit movements that took place in India after 1947 (Post Independence) are discussed. The idea of “untouchable” castes residing in the state of India and how it gradually gave power to the phenomena of dividing the thoughts of people based on the rank they belong. Furthermore, the chapter contains an overview of the “Ideology” behind these movements since their emergence and mobilization.

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## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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British rule ended, and India got its Independence in the year 1947. Specific problems that were a cause of concern even before the Independence gradually came out in various forms during the Post Independence time

One of the concerning issues was the “Dalits Movements.” Following in an abstract describing the brief introduction of these movements:

*Abstract: The word “Dalit” comes from Sanskrit, meaning “crushed” or “broken to pieces.” In 19<sup>th</sup> century this word was first used by Jyotirao*



Phule in the mentioning of the atrocities and oppression faced by the “untouchables” castes of Hindus. Dalits are put under the category of “Scheduled Castes” in accordance to the Indian Constitution. The concurrent use of “Dalit” brings an Idea that a certain group of people crushed by oppressive upper castes.

The term “Dalit” was given its new direction of popularity by the economist and representative B.R Ambedkar (1891-1956) who gave an inclusion to all depressed and oppressed people irrespective of their caste and creed. The first group that came into being was termed as “Labor Party,” even including women, people with small scale occupations like farmers and those from backward Hindu classes.

Dalit movement came out as an outrage of the community that always faced discrimination over the years from the so-called “Upper castes” of Hindus. After being denied representations on social and political levels and being deprived of fundamental human rights by all the three *Varnas*, the “NON-DALITS.” Places where occupations were decided based on castes, led to the unrest. There was no place for Dalit’s in 4 varnas and were forced to form a fifth varna named as “*Panchama*.” Dalits as per now profess varied Religious beliefs including Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Christianity, and various other “Folk Religions.” According to the 2011 Census of India they are recorded as over 200 million people, making 16 percent of Indian Population.

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## **8.2 EMERGENCE OF DALIT MOVEMENT**

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In Communal Award (1932), the recommendation put forth by British Raj asked for separate electorates to elect leaders for Dalits. This recommendation faced approval from Ambedkar, but after being disapproved by Mahatma Gandhi, it resulted in the Poona Act. After three years in the Government of India Act, 1935 reservation of seats announced for the scheduled classes. After its Independence (1947) several policies and systems to grant representation to Dalits, including the reservation system for the enhancement of Dalit’s political image, education, and fundamental rights.

## Notes

Babasaheb Ambedkar stands as the central figure in the epistemology of the Dalit universe. He is the reason behind obeisance and reverence shown to him by his Dalit followers. Ambedkar devoted every crucial moment of his life for the cause of Dalit's rights to basic human needs. As the power transferred to a new Congress-led Indian government on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Ambedkar appointed as nation's first law minister. He was appointed as Chairperson of the Constitution Drafting Committee and given the authority to write the constitution of India.

The text prepared by Ambedkar stated the freedom of rights for every individual providing constitutional guarantees and protection. Ambedkar argued for the rights of women as well. He won great support as he put forth the demand to introduce system of reservation of seats in the civil services, schools and colleges for members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There was a hope to eradicate the discriminations and inequalities on socio-economic levels for scheduled classes. Ambedkar resigned in 1951.

In 1952, Ambedkar contested elections but lost to Narayan SadobaKajrolkar.

### Check Your Progress - 1

Q1. Define the Dalit Movement?

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Q2. What is the caste system followed in India?

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## 8.3 IDEOLOGY OF DALIT MOVEMENT

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The underlying ideology of Dalit movement roams around the struggle of the scheduled caste to attain an equal status within the state of India. India being a state that holds citizens belonging to hundreds and

thousands of varied cultures, languages and personal religious beliefs also includes sixteen percent of its worthy residents under the category of “Scheduled Caste” (According to 2011 Census). Dalit movements rose to a recognition level when the rights of these people were always under threat by the ruling and upper castes. They called the “untouchables,” and hence their representation on higher ground became a challenge. Following the pure ideology of state of India, as stated by Mahatma Gandhi, who believed that so-called untouchability or caste discrimination not sanctioned by Hinduism and doesn't include in the true essence of Varna system. Caste discrimination can only purify by removal of “untouchability” clause from it.

According to metaphysical monism of Gandhi: each creature stands as the manifestation of the same ultimate reality, so assumption of superiority by any person is against laws of Nature, God and man. Gandhi Ji equates each Varna's task associated with Dharma. So if each performs their moral duty, therefore there is no sense of inferiority or superiority associated. Consequently, the basic Ideology on the Indian soil nullifies the concept of any discrimination

### **8.3.1 Ambedkar's Ideology Perspective**

Ambedkar has applauded as a great Indian Jurist and Buddhist revivalist. Ambedkar, also known as Babasaheb, was honored with “*Bharat Ratna*” India's highest civilian award in response to his services. His role in the national politics since independence left a remarkable significance on the journey of hundreds of other activists. His ideas clearly stated that he didn't believe in any caste system. He thought that equality is the only way out to a better and prosperous India. He stood by his beliefs and worked in the direction to help people attain equality status throughout India. The caste system in India has three levels including ideological, sociological and anthropological grounds. Ideologists viewed an authoritative point of view for castes whereas anthropologists took a cultural viewpoint. A stratification point of view was put forth by the sociologists. B.R Ambedkar was knowledgeable of his thoughts and beliefs. His more in-depth study and understanding of facts led him to become a founder of his ideology. He after being trained as a social

scientist concluded that prosperity, social progress and stability can only be acquired through equality.

In his prolific writing styles, Ambedkar stated the reasons behind socio-economic unrest as follow:

“It is born out of the struggle for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism which has so completely molded the history of India and the study of which is so woefully neglected by students of Indian History.”(Ori)

(Ori1)

Ambedkar evolved his sociological perspectives of philosophy, where he believed that any form of philosophy might be social, political, or economic should involve the aspects related to actual human problems. His Buddhist beliefs helped him nourish his ideas into practical significance. Ambedkar tried to integrate India socially. His hard work was serving his views to eradicate this curse of discrimination from the society. He belonged to a cast that suffered social discrimination; therefore he made his suffering his ideology to modify the course of history for the upcoming generations. His social thinking stands as one of the bests in Indian society.

### **8.3.2 Outer World Aspect Of Dalit Movement**

#### **Ideology**

19<sup>th</sup> century remains prominent as a period of emergence of Black's movement in America and Dalit's movement in India. As blacks struggled against white supremacy, the scheduled castes in India fought for their rights against the caste system. As seen from an outer world's aspect, Dalit movement comes out as a challenge to the hierarchy and hegemony of the dominant forces, thus proclaiming the varied ideas of fraternity, equality, and liberty.

The Ideology of Dalit movement roots deeply in Indian soil against the oppressors. Though racism is a world issue now but the plight of people in India is more severe due to the caste system that mixes up with economic deprivation. Dalits have suffered social oppression, cultural subjugation, and political marginalization over a considerable period. “Dalit” comes from a relatively new origin of literature. Literary writers

and neo Buddhists started using the term Dalit in literary works as a replacement to “Harijan.” Dalit rights activist writers began to write poems, essays, autobiographies, novels, short stories and plays depicting the plight of Dalits and creating awareness to the world about their deprived rights. This notion of Dalit identity is expressed by the activists in their varied arts to reach general masses.

“Dalit Panther” is terms that assert their identity and depict their struggle to rights and self-respect. This term, on a bigger picture, shows the sections of society that stand oppressed and exploited. This exploitation doesn't just confine to economic exploitation but describes cultural suppression, disapproval from community, and denial of dignity.

In the modern aspect of the context, the term “Dalit” connotes an “Ideology” that seeks fundamental changes that are required to get in practice in the whole social structure. This Ideology has emerged as political struggle and now stands as a political category. If it's deeper aspect is observed, this movement stands as a rebelling movement against Brahministic supremacy. Today, it has gained enough momentum to gain attention of intellectuals and political leaders from almost every state of India. This forward momentum dates back to 1970s where then educated group of Dalits led protests for their rights against unjust and discriminatory social, economic and ethical system which has forced Dalits to believe that they stand on a lower platform to experience isolation, exploitation combined with negation.

During the post-independence era, Dalits continued to experience life insecurity, and there has been a total neglected behavior by Political parties to raise the issues faced by the community. Due to this, Dalits lost their faith in a welfare state. It is due to such a state of affairs that they have begun to question their status in society and every walk of life.

### **8.3.3 Role Of Dalit Literature In Dalit Movement**

#### **Ideology**

The aesthetic nature of Dalit literature brings it very close to the Dalit power concept. Dalit literature and writings clearly demand the needs of Dalits in India through pieces of art. The Dalit Literature asks for

## Notes

recheck and reordering of the cultural aesthetics of the Hindu Upper Class. There is an apparent proposal of separate symbolism, iconology, critique, and mythology — all representing the individualistic importance of Dalits.

Dalit literature is concerned with the socially underprivileged sect of the society and asserts the socio-political status of the ignored group. Literary concept of Dalit movement started in various languages by the writer like Gujarati, Marathi, and Kannada under the guidance of B.R Ambedkar. This literature is in away a militant protest against the Brahminical values described in the upper caste literature. Poets from Marathi language like NamdevDhasal or Narayan Surve and the novelists like DayaPawar, Gaikwad reflect in their writings the agony of the community and demand the remodeling of the social structure to accommodate the writes of the underprivileged classes. The experience of violence, protest, exploitation, and oppression vastly stated in the writings of Mahadev Devanur (Kannada) and Joseph Macwan (Gujarati). It extends the linguistic and generic possibilities of literature and leads them to challenge the existing context of the research. There is an entire new world description of literature that expands the horizons of literature and widens the expressions to reach out to the readers about the plight of underprivileged.

The Dalit writers have written pieces with anger and agony to describe the power that stands with upper-caste Hindus. Dalit literature protests the idea of Brahman's guidance to lower caste as "how to live and spend their lives." This Ideology characterized by the work of Phule, Ambedkar, and Periyar's and put into living order by the Dalit writers. Phule in of the view that Brahaman's lead their lives based on the property that they make through the hard work of their so-called "lower class." He believes that the predominant sect of the society is "Brahmin-Baneyya" and lower caste is only known for oppression and poverty.

Annihilation of caste system is the only way to practice democracy in the state of India. Ambedkar's states that economic reforms cannot produce effective results unless and until the caste system, untouchability, superstitions, and other ills of the society eradicate. Otherwise the vitals of the economy will quickly be eaten by the social ills of the community.

Therefore in his idea it is first essential to bring social reforms and eradicate all the evils and troubles in society that bear injustice. Later such improvements combined with changing economic patterns can only help India become a better progressing country. Ambedkarism believes in reason, morality, and justice as its basic postulates.

The old canons of creative writing were sub versed by the Dalit script. It is subversive but has its creator nature. Following the rights movements of Black Americans and Africans, the Dalit literature came out as a frontline fighter for the rights. This literature stands as a protest to the social structure of the society that deprives Dalits of their fundamental rights. Dalit biography reconstructs the past and acts as a probe to Indian History. It talks about equality, justice, and Fairplay to everybody. It shifts the center to man and glorifies humanly existence in every aspect. It is a positive literature that is not inclusive rather than being exclusive. It brings a hope of equality. Its optimistic approach doesn't provoke tears of despair but days of goodwill. There is a hope of social upliftment.

There is an emergence of a new sense of identity among the Dalits due to the literary advancement of Dalit literature. Dalit literature forges the new ideology of Indian society that is not led by the supremacy of any caste. This ideology has a structure that is rooted to bring equality and justice, thus rejecting the ideas of "untouchability" and impurity, and this very notion is a depiction of Dalit ideology.

There are numerous Indian novels written in English to depict the socio-economic depression faced by the Dalits. These novels speak out as a voice of the marginalized Dalits. Few books to go through as a reference are as follow:

- *Mulk Raj Annand's "Untouchable" and "The sword and the sickle."*
- *Raja Rao's "Kanthapura"*

*Bhabani Bhattacharya's "So many Hungers."*

### Check Your Progress - 2

Q3. Explain Dalit Ideology.

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Q4. What is Ambedkar's perspective of Ideology?

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## **8.4 LIST OF DALIT MOVEMENTS IN POST INDEPENDENCE ERA**

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The Dalit movement trajectory assumes great significance in the post Independence era. This struggle has come a long way as it passed through stages of transformation over the years. A more in-depth analysis of the timeline that explains evolution, growth, and role in mobilizing and empowering Dalit masses sketches its alarming prospects in contemporary society. The whole development can be summed up in two main phases one being the decline phase of Dalit's movement. Various political parties took advantage of the agenda and intervened in politically mobilizing Dalits. The later stage of the post-independence period, from 1970s onwards, again gathered momentum in the form of varied social and political movements of Dalit masses.

### **8.4.1 The Decline Of Dalit Movements**

As for the post-Independence time, stages of inaction and passivity observed in Dalit movements in Karela. Only a few organizations were functional, but they didn't also put any impact on resolving the issues of Dalits. This whole period was quite uneventful. The time after the great scholars of Dalit struggle like Ayyankali, Poikayi Yohannan and Pampady John Joseph. There was a clear dead leadership after the absence of such heroic leaders. The silence also seems to be because of



the Dalits believing that independence might bring reforms to their living standards as well. But apparently, it was not happening at all. There was a sense of political vacuum spread around. Different political parties tried to intervene into the agenda of Dalits. In the princely state of Travancore in south Kerala, the communists and communist-led All Travancore trade union Congress organized an uprising protest. This party through its agricultural labor unions, mobilized the agrarian laborers of Kuttanad region of Alleppey district, majority of them belonging to Dalits.

Further due to the efforts of the party libraries were opened in the villages, reading and writing circles arranged for the workers and people were encouraged to write in the publications. As a result, an association between the communist's movements and Dalits came into being, which mutually benefited both organizations. Communists got their recruits and Dalits got a few basic demands like increased wages, better labor relations, etc.

### **8.4.2 Communist Role**

The contribution of the famous theater, Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC), played a unique role in spreading awareness amongst the people through its various plays. There was an influence of the lyrics of the great poets like Vayalar Ramavarma, PBhaskaran, O.N.V Kurup and others who aimed to bring social reforms and helped in bringing revolutionary changes. Gradually, Government noticed the struggles and started various schools in different areas of the state to facilitate the Dalits in the field of education. As awareness came in, they realized about their fundamental rights and showed signs of self assertion and resistance to injustices. In this way, the Communist movement and its combination with Dalit's struggle helped Dalit's to come out against the improper social customs and practices.

In later years, the 1970s onwards the credibility of Communist movement received a backlash by the Dalits as it gradually made them realize that their particular demands and basic needs did not entertain the way they should be. There was a hidden, misunderstood propaganda that spread and confused Dalits when confronted with difficulty in understanding the principals of freedom, equality, fraternity, etc. as told

by the party. There was considerable criticism done on the party as it compromised the principles to give place to commercialization according to modern times. There was capitalist tendency observed in the policies. Now a situation came when the educated and talented leaders of Dalits could easily see through the propaganda of the party, and false ideology followed.

Assurances given to Dalit, but nothing changed. The savarna section of the party took the benefits of the power. “Dalits” used as a vote bank, and thus the power remained “untouchable” to them as they were to the society. Despite the domination of the party among them, there was no political mobilization of the Dalits. Though they were nominated but never really elected for political leadership. As always, isolated and exploited by the party as well. These circumstances led to a growing distance between Dalits and the party. A similar attitude was then developing for the rest of the parties as well.

### **8.4.3 Role Of Congress**

Congress also came up with a slogan of “Upliftment of the Harijans,” but the moto again lacked dedication. Critics observe that the notion used here was also with interest to convert these groups of Dalits into a reliable vote bank and use them to attain more seats and become popular rather than to deliver what is needed by Dalits. Similar behavior was adopted in Karela as well. The Dalit feeder organizations like Dalit Congress also carried out its political goals and never took an interest in the real problems of the Dalits. Leaders were not interested in protecting the rights of Dalit community. Leaders were told to act only within the goals set by the party. Party governed by the leaders from the upper castes and there were just a few Dalit leaders. Therefore, no apparent progress in the cause observed.

Dalits' leader argues that the Dalit emancipation program of the congress party followed the approach that didn't follow the real essence of the whole process. It didn't behave as a strengthening process, that was taking place within the community. The only moto left in the party was to make the Dalits dependent on it rather than making them independent.

### 8.4.4 Role Of Other Major Political Parties

The Dalits betrayed by other parties as well as they were by the Congress and Communists. The goals to achieve their rights overlooked by both national and regional parties. All parties possess Dalit feeder organizations that work on the propaganda of earning vote banks and protecting party interests instead of giving Dalits their due rights and engaging them in mobilizing and empowering of Dalits. Dalit leaders understood the dynamics and are now trying to organize themselves as “Dalit communitarian politics” to transform the Dalit community in organized political power to empower Dalit political mobilization.

#### Check Your Progress - 3

Q5. Explain the role of Congress and Communist parties in Dalit Movements.

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Q6. Discuss the reason for the decline in Dalit Movement.

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## 8.5 EARLY DALIT MOVEMENTS

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The initial period post the Independence era was an uneventful one. No gross progress observed, and no remarkable contribution done. The caste Dalit organizations were only following the traditional tasks and customs. There were lesser meetings organized. However, during the later part of the 1960s, there was an emergence of certain Dalit organizations that contained specific ideological characteristics. There was a clear opposition observed in the caste-based discrimination of Dalit’s identity, and there was an apparent struggle to uphold the secular,

democratic and national character. There was also a slight militant character observed amongst the masses. Organizations that were active during 1970s and 1980s gradually dismantled and were later dissolved in the 1990s. These included organizations like Kerala Stipendary Students Association (KSSA), Kerala Harijan Students Federation (KHSF), Socially Economically Educationally Depressed Indian Ancient Natives (SEEDIAN), National Dalit Liberation Front (NDLF), etc.’

### **8.5.1 Kerala Stipendiary Student Association**

#### **(Kssa)**

Dalit community student’s protection constituted another cause of concern; hence, their stipendary benefits Kerala Stipendary Students Association (KSSA) established in Kottayam district (1967-1968).The foremost leaders like K.K Manmadan, S.Rajappan were actively involved in the functioning of this organization thus protecting the rights of the students who belonged to varied castes including Dalit Christians. But the only drawback that came forth was that it only worked for the reservation benefits of the Dalit students and didn’t work off other Dalits issues or causes. With time KSSA was merged into SEEDIAN. A similar organization named Kerala Harijan Students Federation (KHSF) also worked for the student’s welfare.

### **8.5.2 Socially Economically Educationally**

#### **Depressed Indian Ancient Natives (Seedian)**

The most essential and prominent Dalit Organization was Socially Economically Educationally Depressed Indian Ancient Natives (SEEDIAN). Started as a study group, during 1969-70 under the leadership of M.J Prasad, K.K.S Das and other significant leaders, it established in Kottayam. It helped to organize study classes for lower caste people who belonged to different age groups, and careers thus engaging students, youngsters, women, laborers and confronted various issues faced by Dalits. Their concerns were labeled as constitutional issues as they were denied rights even to own property.SEEDIANoften criticized for its aggressive approach since it showed a dynamic nature

and agitations against discrimination. This criticism was always nullified by the leaders who termed it as an effort of survival by the underprivileged castes.

The ideology that followed by SEEDIAN based on the idea of Dalit identity as a subjugated nationhood. Dalits should get a nationality status rather than just being confined to a “caste.” Their legitimate political right of being considered as an equal citizen stated in the ideology. The Dalit nationality concept negates the caste system and gives life to thoughts of Ambedkar. SEEDIAN demanded a status for Dalits as secular, democratic and national right. SEEDIAN had a Dalit majority from all Religions, including Dalit Christians as its members.

The energy and passion of SEEDIAN was vibrant for an extended period. Its activities carried in many districts including Malappuram, Pathanamthitta, Alapuzza etc. It organized awareness programs, conducted seminars, and carried out teachings to tackle the Dalit problems. Like other organizations, the functioning of SEEDIAN also declined in 1990s due to in-party clashes of leadership. Confident leaders wanted to retain Ambedkar’s ideology whereas others wanted to uphold the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideologies. As a result, SEEDIAN also ended in dissolution.

During the era of SEEDIAN, another organization named “National Dalit Liberation Front” (NDLF) came into being in 1988. It was a joint venture by Dalit organizations from different states to strengthen the ideology that counts Dalits as an oppressed community. Many organizations collaborated. Even after the dissolution of SEEDIAN, the NDLF continued its functioning as the representative of Dalits.

### **8.5.3 Resurgence Of Dalit Movement**

After a long silent phase of the inaction of Dalit movements, there was a significant revival that observed in various states, especially Kerala. It happened in the late 1970s. There were numerous organizations on local, regional, state, and national levels that were rising for the rights of Dalits.

**Check Your Progress - 4**

Q7. What is SEEDIAN?

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Q8. Write a note on Kerala Stipendiary Student Association (KSSA).

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## **8.6 STRATEGIES AND MOBILIZATION OF DALIT MOVEMENTS**

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The history of India has witnessed a long-drawn process of mobilization and struggle of two major camps of different ideology. One represents the weak, powerless, marginalized lower class that mainly includes the lower castes, Dalits. Who are trying their best to attain an equality status. On the other hand, are the state quo ranks are at their best to keep up the ruling “hand” on others. After independence, all these conflicts came up as a far more complex state of affairs state the rival ideological churning and conflicts to the fore in the Constituent Assembly. The provision of fundamental human rights began to depend on the demands put forth by communities rather than a self-effort by governments.

The struggles of Dalits had been a real long march for them to get “centralized” coming from all peripheries for their human settlement. Parmar, a leader of Dalit Panther, firmly believes that the history of Dalits, tribals, and other lower castes somehow vanished or withered during their struggles. Hence, a vital part of it blurred. The contemporary cultural mobilization of Dalits provides evidence in the form of creative efforts that look for the “missing roots” done by the community intellectuals. Brahminic tradition survives due to its ruling attitude and weakening of the labor class.

### 8.6.1 Four Major Mobilizations

With time, Dalits went through a significant change after being introduced to education. Gaekwad's efforts contributed a lot. Sanskrit *Pathshalas* introduced. Status of pundits conferred to some Dalits known as "Garo Brahmins" in Gujarat by Arya Samaj. Earliest mobilization in Dalits as explained by Parmar initiated in Gujarat due to the brave Dalit martyr VirMahya. Story goes by the point that King Siddharaj of Chalukya dynasty (11<sup>th</sup> Century) built a vast stepwell, but water didn't come out. A myth said that a man's sacrifice was needed provided that the man possesses exceptional qualities. Vir Madhya, a Dalit was found. This brave son of Dalits agreed for sacrifice in exchange for acceptance of "The first Dalit charter of Human rights." His demand was accepted. In respect to his sacrifice his community began to be called "Mahyavanshis," the descendants of VirMahya.

Later, the Dalit literature tried its best to find the missing links in their history by tracing all the Dalit saints and heroes. During all this time, the Dalits in Gujarat were continued to be under the influence of Brahminic supremacy. After Gandhi's appearance on the national scenes, Dalits began to join the Congress.

In the 1930s, Dalit emerged as comparatively stronger and powerful jobbers in various industries, e.g., textile industry. Majoor Mahajan, a Gandhian textile mill worker's union was the first step of organized mobilizational activities for the Dalits. Dalits from around the country began to participate. The executive committee formed, and Dalits joined in significant numbers. Gradually the men power increased. There was a distinction between Dalit members and "masters" that began to be substantial. There was again a misleading environment which resulted in the exploitation of vulnerable ordinary dalit workers.

In 1938-39, "Chingari" was started in Ahmedabad for mobilizing the Dalits for rights and solidarity. Between 1947-50, dalit mobilization took place in Gujarat in two significant forms. An agitation launched by Dalits in Ahmedabad for hotel or restaurant entry and the other was for their entry into city public transport. States like Bharuch and Surat also observed the unrest. Temple entry mobilization was the most sensitive one. Congress resisted the agitation by the Dalits. Doors of the Supreme

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Court's door knocked at the end of the agitation that wanted an entry to Swaminarayan Temple at Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Since Independence, the Dalits did mobilization for various major agitations. Reportedly, Four major agitations. Ambedkarite movement was the critical root of all the mobilizations that took place. The Republican party, firstly in the 1960s, mobilized Dalits in Saurashtra for land occupation. The movement was heated for a decade and resulted in thousands and millions of Dalits in jails. Time passed, and the othersignificantdalit mobilization started in the masses of Dalit living in Gujarat in the form of "Dharmantar" (religious conversion) to Buddhism. This mobilization was on the call of Ambedkar in the year 1956. To escape the insult and indignity that came from the rude ruling Hindu castes, these Dalit Hindus converted into Buddhism. This conversion became necessary to save themselves from the atrocities and to assert their identity.

Another mobilization was seen coming since the Independence time. This mobilization came out from the *dalitakhada*(gymnasium) from Ahmedabad. This gymnasium gave training to a few workers who then became the representatives of Ambedkarie movement and further gave teachings in a way to produce militant dalit leadership in areas adjacent to and inside Gujarat. Dalit Panther Movement was the other, and by count, the fourth mobilization observed in 1970s that initiated in the form of literary work. This literary movement was so influential in its type that today, it occupies a significant position in the literature and stands as an essential landmark for the Dalit Society. During the anti-reservation agitations by Dalits in 1980s, the outcome of literary movements began to bear fruitful results. It was the shocking point when the upper castes in Gujarat also started anti-reservation agitation. The *savarnas* not just opposed the anti-reservation agitation but also began to attack Dalits. There was an apparent retaliation seen by the Dalits where they stood in counter agitation for nearly 102 days.

*Savarnas* did not stop here and continued to launch protests against various other causes of lower castes for example The OBC's quota for Mandal castes of Gujarat. It was beneficial for Dalits as they found new allies in the form of tribals and Parmar states. There was a stiff resistance



observed, and an apparent retaliation came out. A trio made, and it was avarnavs.savarna (*Dalits, OBC's and tribals joined hands against the oppression*). *The unrest caused, but unluckily savarnas* were again the winners. There was dismantling of organizations, changing of leaderships and this resulted in breakage of the trio. Hindutva jumped in and put forth a game plan to mix up Hindu society and began the propaganda to curb the re-mobilization of the avarnas. This unrest left them de-mobilized and de-motivated. Attacks on Dalits, tribal Christians, Muslim minorities became common, and retaliation was now an even tricky struggle.

### Check Your progress - 5

Q9. What was the first mobilization that took place?

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Q10. How was the trio formed and between which parties?

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## 8.7 DALITS AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

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Indian constitution has a space for Dalits where special provisions for their social and economic upliftment given but the concessions mainly limit to accommodate Dalits who remain Hindu. The converted Dalits who seek religious asylum by converting to other religions also need reassurances of justice. Many Dalits are forced to become a part of Hindutva ideology. Government has reserved seats for the Dalit and Tribal representatives in its national and state parliaments. The upper-caste landlords running different groups across the country are still a

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significant concern for Dalits. Their opposition to Dalit rights and special treatment still stands in the way of Dalit prosperity.

Dalits acquired places at senior political levels. Babu Jagjivan Ram chaired the Deputy Prime Minister office of India in 1997; First Dalit President K.G Balakrishnan became the first Dalit Chief Justice of India. A prominent Dalit, Mayawati, became the CM of Uttar Pradesh in 2007. C A change in voters attitude observed who considered their combined issues a reason for vote casting rather than the “caste” system. Certain Dalits won seats to various offices a couple of times in a row, e.g., Damodaram Sajivayya (Andhra Pradesh), Mayawati four times CM of Uttar Pradesh, CM of Bihar was also a Dalit named Jitan Ram Manjhi.

Dalits have progressed substantially to occupy various positions as successful business holders and in other walks of life as well. Laws are governing the anti-discrimination policy, but still the social stigma continues to make Dalit suffer the agony of being treated as a lower caste. History bears witness to innumerable incidents where Dalits have suffered because of the discrimination. Educated Dalits somehow manage to attain higher offices. The tension amongst the Dalits and Non-Dalits continue to prevail owing to the rigid mentality of certain aspects of society who still consider them “untouchables.”

The need of the hour is that equality moto of the great ancestors of Indian Independence followed and everyone living inside the state of India get their due rights. Dalits, along with other minorities have been subject to intolerance, unacceptance, rejection and much more. Though, the government made policies for saving Dalits from oppression but still there is a lot more to be done to put these reforms into practice. The first step should be the eradication of caste-based discrimination from the thoughts of people through education and awareness. No Political movement puts significant effect on the thinking of people other than the primary knowledge that fed into the mindsets. Without proper guidance and change of mindset, one cannot achieve these goals.

Dalits have a long history of struggle in various states and overall India. Detailed campaigns and movements are mentioned in chapters to follow.

**Check Your Progress - 6**

Q11. Mention the steps taken by the government for the preservation of Dalit rights.

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Q12. Name a few Dalit leaders who obtained positions at higher offices.

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## 8.8 LET US SUM UP

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- Dalits considered as a group of individuals belonging to “untouchable” caste
- Dalits have suffered a long history of oppression and isolation
- Ambedkar was one of the most prominent Dalits to make significant contributions in Dalit’s history
- SEEDIAN AND KSSA like organizations initially did fantastic work for Dalits but later lost their significance due to political involvements
- Dalit literature played a significant role in creating awareness about the plight of Dalits in India
- Despite four significant mobilizations, Dalits continue to suffer.

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## 8.9 KEY WORDS

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- Dalit: Underprivileged group of people that termed as “lower caste”
- Ambedkarism: Ambedkar’s belief about the equality of Dalits with other communities
- Solidarity: Unity
- Contemporary: Living or acting at the same time
- Ideology: A system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms

the basis of economic or political theory and policy

- Under-privileged: a person not enjoying the same standard of living of rights as the majority of people in the society.
- Epistemology: the theory of knowledge that describes scope and method, and the distinction between justified belief and opinion

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## 8.10 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- Define the ideology of Dalits movement?
- Give a summary of the struggles of Dalits in India?
- Who was Ambedkar? What was his role in Dalit Progress?
- Explain some crucial organizations that played important role in Dalit Movements?
- Name notable leaders of Dalit struggle?

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## 8.11 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- U. R. Ananthamurthy, *Samskara: A Rite for a Dead Man*, trans. A. K. Ramanujan
- Premchand, “Deliverance” *The World of Premchand*, trans. David Rubin
- R. Ambedkar, *Essential Works*, ed. Valerian Rodriguez

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## 8.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. The word “Dalit” derived from Sanskrit meaning “crushed” or “broken to pieces.” In 19<sup>th</sup> century this word was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the mentioning of the atrocities and oppression faced by the “untouchables” castes of Hindus. Dalits are put under the category of “Scheduled Castes” in accordance to the Indian Constitution. The concurrent use of “Dalit” brings an Idea that this certain group of people crushed by oppressive upper

- castes.....(answer for check your progress-1 Q.1)
2. The caste system followed in India goes by the rule of four significant castes where Dalits stand with no place and significance. They are considered as fifth class the “untouchables” as the rule of upper caste.....(answer for check your progress-1 Q.2)
  3. Dalits' ideology is a belief of Dalits to attain equality in all fields of life. Their thinking linked to a struggle that asks for acceptance of them as equal citizens and to be granted life, economic, social securities as a fundamental human right.....(answer for check your progress-2 Q.3)
  4. Ambedkar's perspective is his self-based ideology where he fought for the rights of all the weak classes of society regardless of their caste or gender. His thinking is to give minorities their due rights and representation of all the forms of life and eradicates the ills in society to prevail justice.....(answer for check your progress-2 Q.4)
  5. Congress also came up with a slogan of “Upliftment of the harijans,” but the motto again lacked dedication. Critics observe that the notion used here was also with interest to convert these groups of Dalits into a reliable vote bank and use them for the purposes to have more seats and become accessible rather than to deliver what is needed by Dalits.(answer for check your progress.Communist movement and its combination with Dalit's struggle helped dalit's to come out against the improper social customs and practices. In later years, 1970s onwards the credibility of Communist movement received a backlash by the Dalits as it gradually made them realize that their certain demands and basic needs not entertained the way they should be.....(Answer for check your progress -3 Q3)
  6. Decline in Dalit's movement took place after Independence when Dalit's struggle became inactive owing to the belief that Independence would grant equal rights to everyone and that the

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new government would recognize the efforts of Dalit and give them their due status.....(answer for check your progress-3 Q4)

7. The most essential and prominent Dalit Organization was Socially Economically Educationally Depressed Indian Ancient Natives (SEEDIAN). Started as a study group, during 1969-70 under the leadership of M.J Prasad, K.K.S Das and other significant leaders, it established in Kottayam. It helped to organize study classes for lower caste people who belonged to different age groups, and careers thus engaging students, youngsters, women, laborers and confronted various issues faced by Dalits.....(answer for check your progress-4 Q.7)
8. Dalit community students and their stipendary benefits Kerala Stipendary Students Association (KSSA) established in Kottayam district (1967-1968).Theforemost leaders like K.K Manmadan, S.Rajappan were actively involved in the functioning of this organization thus protecting the rights of the students who belonged to varied castes including Dalit Christians..... (answer for check your progress-4 Q.8)
9. The Republican party, firstly in the 1960s, mobilized Dalits in Saurashtra for land occupation. The movement was heated for a decade and resulted in thousands and millions of Dalits in jails....(answer for check your progress-5 Q.9)
10. *Savarnas* did not stop here and continued to launch protests against various other causes of lower castes for example The OBC's quota for Mandal castes of Gujarat. It was beneficial for Dalits as they found new allies in the form of tribals and Parmar states. There was a stiff resistance observed, and an apparent retaliation came out. A trio made, and it was avarna vs savarna (*Dalits, OBC's and tribals joined hands against the oppression*). The unrest caused, but unluckily savarnas were again the winners... (answer for check your progress-5 Q10)
11. Government has reserved seats for the Dalit and Tribal representatives in its national and state parliaments.....(answer for check your progress-6 Q.11)

12. Dalits acquired places at senior political levels. BabuJagjivan Ram positioned as Deputy Prime Minister of India in 1997; First Dalit President K.G Balakrishnan became the first Dalit Chief Justice of India. A prominent Dalit, Mayawati, became the CM of Uttar Pradesh in 2007.....(answer for check your progress-6 Q.12)

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# **UNIT 9 - THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF INDIA – UP AND MAHARASHTRA**

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## **STRUCTURE**

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Philosophy of the Republican party of India, UP and Maharashtra

9.3 Politics of India

9.3.1 Types of political parties

9.3.2 Role of political parties

9.3.3 Republican of Uttar Pradesh

9.3.4 Republican of Maharashtra

9.3.5 Political parties

9.4 Let Us Sum Up

9.5 Key Words

9.6 Suggested Readings and References

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## **9.0 OBJECTIVES**

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In this unit you are going to study the philosophy of the Republican Party of India – UP and Maharashtra: These being the aims and objects of the Party, the attitude of the Party in public affairs will be governed by the following principles:

(1) It will treat all Indians not only as being equal before the law but as being entitled to equality and will accordingly foster equality where it does not exist and uphold it where it is denied.

(2) It will regard every Indian as an end in Himself with a right to his own development in his own way and the State as only a means to that end.

(3) It will sustain the right of every Indian to freedom, religious, economic and political-subject to such limitations as may arise out of the need for the protection of the interest of other Indians or the State.



(4) It will uphold the right of every Indian to equality of opportunity subject to the provision that those who have had none in the past shall have priority over those who had.

(5) It will keep the State ever aware of its obligations to make every Indian free from want and free from fear.

(6) It will insist on the maintenance of liberty, equality, and fraternity and will strive for redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class and of the nation by nation.

(7) It will stand for the Parliamentary System of Government as being the best form of Government both in the interest of public and in the interest of the individual.”

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## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

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The **Republican Party of India (RPI)**, often called the **Republican Party** or simply **Republican**) is a political party in India. It has its roots in the Scheduled Castes Federation led by B. R. Ambedkar. The 'Training School for Entrance to Politics' was established by Ambedkar in 1956 which was to serve as an entry point to the Republican Party of India (RPI). The first batch of the school consisted of 15 students. Its first batch turned out to be last batch as the school was closed after Ambedkar's death in 1956.

The Independent Labor Party (ILP) was a political organization formed under the leadership of B. R. Ambedkar on 15 August 1936. It opposed the brahmanical and capitalist structures in India, supported the Indian working class and sought to dismantle the caste system. The formation of the ILP was not welcomed or supported by the communist leaders, who argued that it would lead to a split in the working-class votes. Ambedkar replied that communist leaders were working for the rights for the worker but not for the human rights of Dalit workers. In his work *Annihilation of Caste*, Ambedkar put forth the idea that caste is not merely the 'division of labor' but 'division of laborers' based upon graded

inequality. In the 1937 Provincial elections, the ILP secured 14 of the 17 seats in which they contested. This included 11 of the 13 contested seats that were reserved for traditionally oppressed communities. In 1938, the ILP, with the support of the Congress Socialist Party, organized a march of 20,000 tenants from the Konkan region to Bombay, marked the largest pre-independence peasant mobilization in the region. In the same year, it also joined with Communists to organize Bombay textile laborers in opposition to a bill intended to control strike actions by the laborers. ILP opposed the bill in the Bombay Legislative Assembly

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## 9.2 PHILOSOPHY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF INDIA

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**India** is a country in South Asia. It is the seventh-largest country by area, the second-most populous country, and the most populous democracy in the world. Bounded by the Indian Ocean on the south, the Arabian Sea on the southwest, and the Bay of Bengal on the southeast, it shares land borders with Pakistan to the west; China, Nepal, and Bhutan to the north; and Bangladesh and Myanmar to the east. In the Indian Ocean, India is in the vicinity of Sri Lanka and the Maldives; it's Andaman and Nicobar Islands share a maritime border with Thailand and Indonesia. India is a secular federal republic governed in a democratic parliamentary system. It is a pluralistic, multilingual and multi-ethnic society. India's population grew from 361 million in 1951 to 1 billion 211 million in 2011. During the same time, its nominal per capita income, increased from \$64 annually to \$2,041, and its literacy rate from 16.6% to 74%. From being a comparatively destitute country in 1951, India has become a fast-growing major economy, a hub for information technology services, with an expanding middle class. It has a space program which includes several planned or completed lunar missions. Indian movies, music, and spiritual teachings play an increasing role in global culture. India has substantially reduced its rate of poverty, though at the cost of increasing economic inequality. India is a nuclear weapons state, which ranks high in military expenditure. It has disputes over Kashmir with its neighbors, Pakistan and China,

unresolved since the mid-20th century. Among the socioeconomic challenges India faces are gender inequality, child malnutrition, and rising levels of air pollution. India's land is megadiverse, with four biodiversity hotspots. Its forest cover comprises 21.4% of its area. India's wildlife, which has traditionally been viewed with tolerance in India's culture, is supported among these forests, and elsewhere, in protected habitats.

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## 9.3 POLITICS OF INDIA

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The **politics of India** works within the framework of the country's constitution. India is a federal parliamentary democratic republic in which the President of India is the head of state and the Prime Minister of India is the head of government. India follows the dual polity system, i.e. a double government (federal in nature) that consists of the central authority at the Centre and states at the periphery. The constitution defines the organizational powers and limitations of both central and state governments, and it is well recognized, rigid and considered supreme; i.e. the laws of the nation must conform to it.

There is a provision for a bicameral legislature consisting of an upper house, the Rajya Sabha (Council of States), which represents the states of the Indian federation, and a lower house, the Lok Sabha (House of the People), which represents the people of India as a whole. The Indian constitution provides for an independent judiciary, which is headed by the Supreme Court. The court's mandate is to protect the constitution, to settle disputes between the central government and the states, to settle inter-state disputes, to nullify any central or state laws that go against the constitution and to protect the fundamental rights of citizens, issuing writs for their enforcement in cases of violation. There are 545 members in the Lok Sabha, out of which 543 are elected from the 543 Indian constituencies and other 2 are from the Anglo-Indian community. There are 245 members in the Rajya Sabha, out of which 233 are elected by indirect elections by single transferable vote and other 12 members are elected/nominated by the President of India. Governments are formed through elections held every five years (unless otherwise specified), by

parties that secure a majority of members in their respective lower houses (Lok Sabha in the central government and Vidhan Sabha in states). India had its first general election in 1951, which was won by the Indian National Congress, a political party that went on to dominate subsequent elections until 1977, when a non-Congress government was formed for the first time in independent India. The 1990s saw the end of single-party domination and the rise of coalition governments. The elections for the 16th Lok Sabha, held from April 2014 to May 2014, once again brought back single-party rule in the country, with the Bharatiya Janata Party being able to claim a majority in the Lok Sabha.

### 9.3.1 Types Of Political Parties

There are two types of political parties in India - National Party and Regional/State party. Every political party must have a symbol and must be registered with the Election Commission of India. Symbols are used in the Indian political system to identify political parties and so that illiterate people can also vote by recognizing the party symbols.

In the current amendment to the Symbols Order, the Commission has asserted the following five principles:

1. A party, National or State, must have a legislative presence.
2. A National party's legislative presence must be in the Lok Sabha.  
A State party's legislative presence must be in the State Assembly.
3. A party can set up a candidate only from amongst its own members.
4. A party that loses its recognition shall not lose its symbol immediately but shall be allowed to use that symbol for some time to try and retrieve its status. (However, the grant of such facility to the party will not mean the extension of other facilities to it, as are available to recognized parties, such as free time on Doordarshan or AIR, free supply of copies of electoral rolls, etc.)

5. Recognition should be given to a party only on the basis of its own performance in elections and not because it is a splinter group of some other recognized party.

### 9.3.2 Role Of Political Parties

As with any other democracy, political parties represent different sections among the Indian society and regions, and their core values play a major role in the politics of India. Both the executive branch and the legislative branch of the government are run by the representatives of the political parties who have been elected through the elections. Through the electoral process, the people of India choose which representative and which political party should run the government. Through the elections any party may gain simple majority in the lower house. Coalitions are formed by the political parties, in case no single party gains a simple majority in the lower house. Unless a party or a coalition have a majority in the lower house, a government cannot be formed by that party or the coalition.

India has a multi-party system, where there are a number of national as well as regional parties. A regional party may gain a majority and rule a particular state. If a party is represented in more than 4 states, it would be labelled a national party. Out of the 66 years of India's independence, India has been ruled by the Indian National Congress (INC) for 53 of those years, as of March 2014.

The party enjoyed a parliamentary majority save for two brief periods during the 1970s and late 1980s. This rule was interrupted between 1977 and 1980, when the Janata Party coalition won the election owing to public discontent with the controversial state of emergency declared by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The Janata Dal won elections in 1989, but its government managed to hold on to power for only two years.

Between 1996 and 1998, there was a period of political flux with the government being formed first by the nationalist Bharatiya Janata

Party (BJP) followed by a left-leaning United Front coalition. In 1998, the BJP formed the National Democratic Alliance with smaller regional parties, and became the first non-INC and coalition government to complete a full five-year term. The 2004 Indian elections saw the INC winning the largest number of seats to form a government leading the United Progressive Alliance, and supported by left-parties and those opposed to the BJP.

On 22 May 2004, Manmohan Singh was appointed the Prime Minister of India following the victory of the INC & the left front in the 2004 Lok Sabha election. The UPA ruled India without the support of the left front. Previously, Atal Bihari Vajpayee had taken office in October 1999 after a general election in which a BJP-led coalition of 13 parties called the National Democratic Alliance emerged with a majority. In May 2014, Narendra Modi of BJP was elected as Prime Minister of India.

Formation of coalition governments reflects the transition in Indian politics away from the national parties toward smaller, more narrowly based regional parties. Some regional parties, especially in South India, are deeply aligned to the ideologies of the region unlike the national parties and thus the relationship between the central government and the state government in various states has not always been free of rancor. Disparity between the ideologies of the political parties ruling the Centre and the state leads to severely skewed allocation of resources between the states.

### 9.3.3 Republican Of Uttar Pradesh

**Uttar Pradesh** is a state in northern India. With roughly 200 million inhabitants, it is the most populous state in India as well as the most populous country subdivision in the world.<sup>[18]</sup> It was created on 1 April 1937 as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during British rule, and was renamed *Uttar Pradesh* in 1950. The state is divided into 18 divisions and 75 districts with the capital being Luck now. The main ethnic group is the Hindavi people, forming the demographic plurality. On 9 November 2000, a new state, Uttara hand, was carved out from the state's Himalayan hill region. The two major rivers of the state,

the Ganga and Yamuna, join at Allahabad (Prayagraj) and then flow as the Ganga further east. Hindi is the most widely spoken language and is also the official language of the state.

The state is bordered by Rajasthan to the west, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi to the northwest, Uttarakhand and Nepal to the north, Bihar to the east, Madhya Pradesh to the south, and touches the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh to the southeast. It covers 243,290 square kilometers (93,933 sq. mi), equal to 7.34% of the total area of India, and is the fourth-largest Indian state by area. Agriculture and service industries are the largest parts of the state's economy. The service sector comprises travel and tourism, hotel industry, real estate, insurance and financial consultancies. The economy of Uttar Pradesh is the third-largest state economy in India with ₹15.42 lakh crore (US\$220 billion) in gross domestic product and a per capita GDP of ₹61,000 (US\$880). Uttar Pradesh ranks twenty eighth among Indian states in human development index. President's rule has been imposed in Uttar Pradesh ten times since 1968, for different reasons and for a total of 1,700 days.

The natives of the state are generally called UP-waale, or more specifically either Awadhi, Bageli, Bhojpuri, Braji, Bundeli, Kannauji, or Rohilkhandi depending upon their region of origin. Hinduism is practiced by more than three-fourths of the population, with Islam being the next largest religious group. Uttar Pradesh was home to powerful empires of ancient and medieval India. The state has several historical, natural, and religious tourist destinations, such as Agra, Ayodhya, Vrindavan, Lucknow, Mathura, Varanasi, Allahabad and Gorakhpur.

The state is governed by a parliamentary system of representative democracy. Uttar Pradesh is one of the seven states in India, where the state legislature is bicameral, comprising two houses: the Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly) and the Vidhan Parishad (Legislative Council). The Legislative Assembly consists of 404 members who are elected for five-year terms. The Legislative Council is a permanent body of 100 members with one-third (33 members) retiring every two years. Since Uttar Pradesh sends the largest number of legislators to the

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national Parliament, it is often considered to be one of the most important states with respect to Indian politics. The state contributes 80 seats to the lower house of the Indian Parliament, Lok Sabha and 31 seats to the upper house of the Indian Parliament, Rajya Sabha.

Uttar Pradesh government is a democratically elected body in India with the Governor as its constitutional head and is appointed by the President of India for a five-year term. The leader of the party or coalition with a majority in the Legislative Assembly is appointed as the Chief Minister by the Governor, and the Council of Ministers are appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. The governor remains a ceremonial head of the state, while the Chief Minister and his council are responsible for day-to-day government functions. The council of ministers consists of Cabinet Ministers and Ministers of State (MOs). The Secretariat headed by the Chief Secretary assists the council of ministers. The Chief Secretary is also the administrative head of the government. Each government department is headed by a Minister, who is assisted by an Additional Chief Secretary or a Principal Secretary, who usually is an officer of Indian Administrative Service, the Additional Chief Secretary/Principal Secretary serve as the administrative head of the department they are assigned to. Each department also has officers of the rank of Secretary, Special Secretary, Joint Secretary Etc. assisting the Minister and the Additional Chief Secretary/Principal Secretary.

For purpose of administration, the state is divided into 18 divisions and 75 districts. Divisional Commissioner, an IAS officer is the head of administration on the divisional level. The administration in each district is headed by a District Magistrate, who is an IAS officer and is assisted by a number of officers belonging to state services.

The Uttar Pradesh Police is headed by an IPS officer of the rank of Director General of Police. There are 8 Police Zones, 18 Police Ranges and 75 police districts in the state. An IPS officer in the rank of Inspector General of Police heads the zones, whereas an IPS officer of the rank of Deputy Inspector General of Police heads the ranges. A Superintendent of Police, an IPS officer and assisted by the officers of the Uttar Pradesh Police Service, is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and related issues in each district.



The judiciary in the state consists of the Allahabad High Court in Allahabad, the Luck now Bench of Allahabad High Court, district courts and session courts in each district or Sessions Division, and lower courts at the tehsil level. The President of India appoints the chief justice of the High Court of the Uttar Pradesh judiciary on the advice of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India as well as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Other judges are appointed by the President of India on the advice of the Chief Justice of the High Court *Subordinate Judicial Service*, categorized into two divisions viz. Uttar Pradesh civil judicial services and Uttar Pradesh higher judicial service is another vital part of the judiciary of Uttar Pradesh. While the Uttar Pradesh civil judicial services comprise the Civil Judges (Junior Division)/Judicial Magistrates and civil judges (Senior Division)/Chief Judicial Magistrate, the Uttar Pradesh higher judicial service comprises civil and sessions judges. The Subordinate judicial service (viz. The district court of Etawah and the district court of Kanpur Dehat) of the judiciary at Uttar Pradesh is controlled by the District Judge.

Politics in Uttar Pradesh has been dominated by four political parties, the Samajwadi Party, the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Indian National Congress, and the Bharatiya Janata Party. Politicians from Uttar Pradesh have played prominent roles in Union Government of India with some of them having held the high positions of Prime Minister. Uttar Pradesh has been called India's under-achiever because it has provided India with eight prime ministers while remaining a poor state.

### **9.3.4 Republican Of Maharashtra**

Maharashtra is a state in the western region of India and is India's third-largest state by area. It has over 112 million inhabitants and its capital, Mumbai, has a population of approximately 18 million. Nagpur is Maharashtra's second, or winter, capital. Government in the state is organized on the parliamentary system. Power is devolved to large city councils, district councils (Zila Parishad), sub-district (Taluka) councils, and the village parish councils (Gram panchayat). The politics of the state are dominated by the numerically strong Maratha–Kunbi community. There are national and

regional parties in the state, serving different demographics, such as those based on religion, caste, urban and rural residents.

The government of Maharashtra is conducted within a framework of parliamentary government, with a bicameral legislature consisting of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly and the Maharashtra Legislative Council. The Legislative Assembly (Vidhan Sabha) is the lower chamber and consists of 288 members, who are elected for five-year terms. There are 25 and 29 seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and others, respectively. The Legislative Council (Vidhan Parishad) is the upper chamber and is a permanent body of 78 members. The government of Maharashtra is headed by the Chief Minister, who is chosen by the party or alliance with a majority of members in the Legislative Assembly. The Chief Minister, along with the council of ministers, drives the legislative agenda and exercises most of the executive powers. However, the constitutional and formal head of the state is the Governor, who is appointed for a five-year term by the President of India on the advice of the Union government.

### **9.3.5 Political Parties**

Since its inception in 1960, and also of predecessor states such as Bombay, the politics of Maharashtra has been dominated by the Indian National Congress party. Maharashtra became a bastion of Congress party stalwarts such as Yashwantrao Chavan, Vasantdada Patil, Vasant Naik, and Shankarrao Chavan.

Sharad Pawar has been a significant personality in state and national politics for nearly forty years. During his career, he has split Congress twice, with significant consequences for state politics. After his second parting from the Congress party in 1999, Sharad Pawar formed the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) but joined a Congress-led coalition to form the state government after the 1999 Assembly elections.

The Congress party enjoyed a nearly unchallenged dominance of the state political landscape, until 1995 when the coalition of Shiv Sena and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) secured an overwhelming majority in the state, beginning a period of coalition governments. Shiv Sena was the larger party in the coalition. From 1999 until 2014, the NCP and INC

formed one coalition while Shiv Sena and the BJP formed another for three successive elections, which the INC-NCP alliance won. Prithviraj Chavan of the Congress party was the last Chief Minister of Maharashtra under the Congress-NCP alliance that ruled until 2014.

For the 2014 assembly polling, the alliances between the NCP and Congress and between the BJP and Shiv Sena broke down over seat allocations. In the election, the largest number of seats went to the BJP, with 122 seats. The BJP initially formed a minority government under Devendra Fadnavis; but as of December 2014, Shiv Sena has entered the Government, which now enjoys a comfortable majority in the Maharashtra Vidhansabha.<sup>1</sup>

Other parties in the state include the All India Forward Bloc, the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena, the Communist party of India, the Peasant and workers party, the All India Majlis-e Ittihad al-Muslimin, Bahujan Vikas Aghadi, the Samajwadi Party, various factions of the dalit-dominated Republican Party of India, the Bahujan Samaj Party, and the Socialist party.

After the state of Maharashtra was formed on 1 May 1960, the INC was long without a major challenger, and enjoyed overwhelming support from the state's influential sugar co-operatives, as well as thousands of other cooperatives, such as rural agricultural cooperatives involved in the marketing of dairy and vegetable produce, credit unions, etc.<sup>1</sup>

For the better part of the late-colonial and early post-independence periods in Bombay state and its successor, Maharashtra state, the politics of the state have been dominated by the mainly rural Maratha–Kunbi caste, which accounts for 31% of the population of Maharashtra. They dominate the cooperative institutions; and with the resultant economic power, control politics from the village level up to the Assembly and Lok Sabha.

As of December 2016, of the 366 MLAs (Legislative Assembly has 288 MLAs and Legislative Council has 78) combined, 169 (46%) are Marathas. Major past political figures of the Congress party from Maharashtra—such as Keshavrao Jedhe, Yashwantrao Chavan Shankarrao Chavan, Vilasrao Deshmukh, and Sharad Pawar—

## Notes

have been from this group. Of the 18 Chief Ministers so far, as many as 10 (55%) have been Maratha. Since the 1980s, this group has also been active in setting up private educational institutions.

Following disputes between Sharad Pawar and the INC president Sonia Gandhi, the state's political status quo was upset when Pawar defected from the INC, which was perceived as the vehicle of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty, to form the Nationalist Congress Party. This offshoot of the Congress party is nevertheless dominated by the Maratha community.

Shiv Sena was formed in the 1960s by Balashaheb Thackeray, a cartoonist and journalist, to advocate and agitate for the interests of Marathi people in Mumbai. Over the following decades, Shiv Sena slowly expanded, and took over the then Bombay corporation in the 1980s. The original base of the party was among lower middle and working class Marathi people in Mumbai and the surrounding urban areas, the leadership of the party came from educated people. However, since 1990s there has been dada-ization of the party. By the number of Marathas elected on the Shiv Sena ticket in the last few elections, the party is emerging as another Maratha party.

The BJP is closely related to the RSS and is part of the Sangh Parivar. The party originally derived its support from the urban upper castes, such as Brahmins and non-Maharashtrians. In recent years the party has been able to penetrate the Maratha community by fielding Maratha candidates in elections.

The Shiv Sena–BJP coalition came to power at the state level in 1995, which was a blow to the INC. In 2006, a split within Shiv Sena emerged when BAL Thackeray anointed his son Uddhav Thackeray as his successor over his nephew Raj Thackeray. Raj Thackeray then left the party and formed a new party called Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS). Raj Thackeray, like his uncle, has also tried to win support from the Marathi community by embracing anti-immigrant sentiment in Maharashtra, for instance against Biharis.

After the Maratha–Kunbi, the Mahars are numerically the second largest community. Most of the Mahars are followers of Buddhism and fall under the scheduled caste (SC) group. Since the time of B. R. Ambedkar,

the Mahar community has supported various factions of the Republican Party of India (RPI). There are 25 seats reserved for tie SC. Parties such as NCP, BJP, and the Congress field candidates from other Hindu SC groups like Mang and Chambhar for the reserved seats, to thwart the candidates of the RPI.

**Check Your Progress**

1) What do you know about Republican party of India?

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2) What was the reason for Independence of India?

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## 9.4 LET US SUM UP

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You have learnt about the philosophical outlooks of the Republican Party of India – UP and Maharashtra. All factions of the RPI except Prakash Ambedkar's Bharipa Bahujan Mahasangh have reunited to form a Republican Party of India (United).

In 2011, the party aligned itself with the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance.

Rakhi Sawant resigned from Rashtriya Aam Party and joined Republican Party of India (A) in June 2014 and expressed her desire to work for dalits. Rakhi serves as party's state vice-president and president of woman wing.

In September 2015, the RPI (A) was one of 16 parties in Maharashtra to lose its registration for not submitting audited balance sheets and IT return documents since 2005. Thus they have lost their official election symbols.

Athawale is only member in Member of Parliament in Upper House of the Indian parliament. He is currently Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment Department with Disability Affairs from July 2016 in Narendra Modi ministry.

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### 9.5 KEY WORDS

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- **Autonomy:**The right or condition of self-government
- **Intervention:**The action or process of intervening.
- **Satyagrah:**A policy of passive political resistance, especially that advocated by Mahatma Gandhi against British rule in India.
- **Swaraj:** Self-government or independence for India.
- **Inherently:**In a permanent, essential, or characteristic way

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### 9.6 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- Write a brief note on 'The Training School for Entrance to Politics' and the Republican Party of India (RPI).
- Write about the Republican of Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra.
- Throw some light on the political dynamics of India after independence.
- Describe the role of political parties in Indian politics.

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### 9.7 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. The **Republican Party of India (RPI)**, often called the **Republican Party** or simply **Republican**) is a political party in India. It has its roots in the Scheduled Castes Federation led by B. R. Ambedkar. The 'Training School for Entrance to Politics' was established by Ambedkar in 1956 which was to serve as an entry point to the Republican Party of India (RPI). The first batch of the school consisted of 15 students. Its first batch turned out to be last batch as the school was closed after Ambedkar's death in 1956.....(answer to Check Your Progress 1 Q1)
2. One reason why the British were reluctant to leave India was that they feared India would erupt into civil war between Muslims and Hindus. The country was deeply divided along religious lines. In 1946-47, as independence grew closer, tensions turned into terrible violence between Muslims and Hindus. In 1947 the British withdrew from the area and it was partitioned into two independent countries - India (mostly Hindu) and Pakistan (mostly Muslim). Around 2 million people fled from their homes to areas of Pakistan or India where they would not be a minority, violence continued for some time after final partition, and there were disputes over territory between the two newly created countries. Jawaharlal Nehru went on to become the first Prime Minister of India and a key force in making the country a stable, democratic state. ....(answer to Check Your Progress 1 Q2)

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# UNIT 10: THE DALIT PANTHERS

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## STRUCTURE

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Ideology
- 10.3 History
- 10.4 Achievements
- 10.5 Dalit Literary Movement
- 10.6 Organization
- 10.7 Leadership of Dalit Panthers
- 10.8 Divisions in the Movement
- 10.9 Let us Sum Up
- 10.10 Keywords
- 10.11 Suggested Readings and References
- 10.14 Answers to Check your Progress

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## 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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The aims and ideas of Dalit panthers help in realizing their goals. It also helps in answering why it was created.

The fundamental aim of Dalit panther is to combat caste discrimination. Dalit Panthers aimed at the destruction of a caste system and to build on the organization of all oppressed sections like landless poor peasants and urban industrial workers along with Dalits.

In this chapter, you will learn about the deli panther movement, cause of its creation, achievements and leadership.

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## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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Who is the Dalit panther?

The Dalit Panthers emerged as a resistance group against caste discrimination. Known to have based their political strategies on the US Black Panthers – a social movement that fought against police brutality during the Civil Rights Movement.



it's a social organization was founded by Named Deasil and J. V. PA war on 29 May 1972 in the Indian state of Maharashtra. The movement's heyday lasted from the 1970s through the 1980s, and it was later joined by many Dalit-Buddhist activists.

To start with let us go to the crucial aspect, who are the Dalits? What is their condition in the general public? The term 'Dalit' is a Marathi word and truly signifies 'ground' or 'broken to pieces' and it was first promoted by the Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra by which they implied the Scheduled Caste population. Later on, there had been endeavors to expand this definition to any persecuted gathering (Chandra, 2004). Dalits, for the most part, allude to the Scheduled Castes alone, the casts that in the Hindu Varna framework were outside the Varna framework and were known as Avarnas or Ati-Shudras. They were considered as sullied and untouchables and were put in the rank pecking order which propagated disparity. There are even a few people who incorporate the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, the Other Backward Classes and even other changed over minorities into this classification. For our present reason, we will, notwithstanding, allude to the SCs alone and not different classes. The Dalits comprise around 15 percent of the Indian populace and have a place with the lower rungs of the Indian culture, monetarily and socially. As indicated by the 1991 enumeration their number was 138 million people i.e., around 15.8 percent of the Indian populace. As indicated by the 2001 enumeration they comprise more than 1,666 lakhs and around 16.2 percent of the whole populace. They are spread all through the nation however they are moved more in certain states like Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, and Maharashtra. Their population is spread all through the parliament and assembly constituencies voting demographics however in the nation, in general, it comprises around 33% of the electorate (Chandra, 2004).

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## **10.2 IDEOLOGY**

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## Notes

The main ideology of the Dalit Panthers movement was Dalit socialism, Anti-Brahmanism, Anti-castism.

As it was inspired by the Black Panther movement they had some similarities too,

### Similarities

- Both groups supported rights for all those at the bottom of society
- Dalit Panthers' structure based on Black Panthers' presidential structure
- Both saw violence as a legitimate means for their desired ends

### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I:

1. Discuss the similarities and differences between the Black Panthers and the Dalit Panthers:

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## 10.3 HISTORY

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Before knowing history you should know Who is a Dalit? Members of scheduled castes and tribes, Neo-Buddhists, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion.

The Dalit Panthers were inspired by the Black Panther Party, a socialist movement that sought to combat racial discrimination against African-Americans, during the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, which occurred in the mid-20th century. The initiative to form the Dalit Panther movement was taken up by Namdeo Dhasal, J. V. Pawar, Raja Dhale and Arun Kamble in Bombay.

The Black Panther Party acknowledged and supported the Dalit Panthers through the Black Panther newspaper, which circulated worldwide every week from 1967-1980.

Most of the organization's members were young men, some of whom were Neo-Buddhists. Most of the leaders were literary figures whose academic qualifications ranged from not having a basic education to master's degrees. The controversy over Raja Dhale's article titled "Kala Swatantrya Din" (Black Independence Day), published in *Sadhana*, the Dalit Panthers' official publication, on 15 August 1972, created a great sensation and built recognition for the Dalit Panthers through Maharashtra. The Panthers' support of Dhale during this controversy brought him into the movement and made him a prominent leader.[5] The leadership split after disagreements over its future and over if other castes should be allowed to join. The name 'Dalit Panther' was taken up by others in many parts of Maharashtra as well as in other states, such as Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

The Dalit Panthers emerged to fill the vacuum created in Dalit politics resulting from B.R. Ambedkar's Republican Party of India splitting into factions. The Dalit Panthers led a renaissance in Marathi literature and art. They advocated for and practiced radical politics, fusing the ideologies of Ambedkar, Jyotirao Phule, and Karl Marx. Crucially, the Dalit Panthers helped invigorate the use of the term Dalit to refer to lower-caste communities. Their manifesto, issued in 1973, fit the Ambedkar spirit into a broader Marxist framework and heralded the rise of an autonomous Dalit perspective in post-Independence India.

Where did it all begin?

To understand the emergence and need for the Dalit Panther Movement, it's best to trace back to the early 1950s and look at the mass conversions from Hinduism to Buddhism that was going on at the time. Caste discrimination was particularly prevalent in India in the early 20th century, which prevented the "Untouchables" from using public water tanks, entering Hindu temples, and sitting in classrooms with Caste Hindus, seeking dignified employment, and having social contact with higher castes. Many thought that this discrimination was rooted in the hierarchical ideology of Hinduism, and that caste was, therefore, a direct result of this religion. The first significant attempt of escaping this hierarchical social structure, and a way of resisting caste discrimination

## Notes

at the time, was led by B.R Ambedkar in what we know to be the Dalit Buddhist Movement (also known as the Neo-Buddhist Movement): a socio-political movement by Dalits in India in which Hindus converted to Buddhism as a method of resistance.

“He wanted Untouchables to reject the Hindu social order without forfeiting their Indian Cultural Heritage, and he saw in Buddhism a rational and moral ethic that would challenge the obscurant elements of Hinduism and provide a philosophy of action for Untouchables.”

Ambedkar therefore radically re-interpreted Buddhism, and the movement rejected Hinduism, challenged the caste system and promoted the rights of the Dalit Community. Although scholars have since debated whether the conversion was a successful way of escaping caste – as every religion has its ideological ideas around caste despite the anti-caste discourses, this was still a significant factor in the history of the Dalit Panthers and how they came into being.

Fast forward 20 years and these Dalit's who had converted to Buddhism became writers in what scholars have named the Little Magazine Movement, which challenged the monopoly of high-caste Hindu's and brought anti-establishment literature to the masses through Marathi literary magazines. These writers created a new language through which Dalit resistance to power and oppression could become a public discourse and established a trend for Dalit politics in which virtually every Dalit who could write, did so before becoming an activist. The Dalit Panthers, who were formally established in 1972, were rooted in this little Magazine Movement and were deeply inspired by the Black Panther Movement of America. Their militant literature, community service, and political struggle were something that the Dalit's were familiar with, and so a lot of their movement was inspired by their Civil Rights struggle.

On completing their first year they presented their work plan and goals also, informed about progress and hurdles.

**Our Programs:**

- 1) More than 80 percent of India's population lives in the villages. Of those, landless peasants are 35 percent, and 33 percent of all landless agricultural laborers belong to scheduled castes. (Those Dalit poor peasants who do own pieces of land, own a negligible amount). The question of the landlessness of the Dalit peasants must be resolved.
- 2) Landless peasants must immediately get excess land through the application of the Land Ceiling Act. Waste and jungle land must likewise be distributed.
- 3) Feudal survival is still to be found in the villages. Due to this, Dalits are cruelly oppressed and exploited. Landlords and rich peasants get social prestige along with wealth. Due to this, the atrocities on Dalits have grown endemic. This system has clamped itself on the Dalit's chest, affecting every part of his life, from day to day living to the deeper economic questions. This system must be destroyed.
- 4) The wages of landless laborers must be increased.
- 5) Dalits must be allowed to draw water from public wells.
- 6) Dalits must live, not outside the village in a separate settlement, but in the village itself.
- 7) All means of production must belong to the Dalits.
- 8) Exploitation by private capital must cease.
- 9) Social, cultural and economic exploitation must be removed and socialism must be built in India. Misleading nationalization must give away to a true introduction of socialism.
- 10) All Dalits must be assured of daily wages.
- 11) Unemployed Dalits must be given unemployment benefits.
- 12) All Dalits must be given free education, medical facilities, and housing and good quality cheap grains.
- 13) When giving employment in educational institutions, the requirements to declare one's caste and religion must be immediately removed.
- 14) The government must stop giving grants to religious institutions immediately and the wealth of religious places must be used for the benefit of Dalits.
- 15) Religious and casteist literature must be banned.

## Notes

- 16) The division in the army along caste lines must be ended.
- 17) Black marketers; hoarders, money-lenders and all those exploiting the people economically must be destroyed.
- 18) The prices of essential commodities must be refunded.

We will build the organization of workers, Dalits, landless, poor peasants through all city factories, in all villages. We will hit back against all injustice perpetrated on Dalits. We will well and truly destroy the caste and Varna system that thrives on the people's misery, which exploits the people and liberates the Dalits. The present legal system and state have turned all our dreams to dust. To eradicate all the injustice against the Dalits, they must themselves become rulers. This is the people's democracy. Sympathizers and members of the Dalit Panthers are ready for the final struggle of the Dalits.

### Check your progress 2

2. What were the ambitions of the Dalit Panthers?

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3. Who are Dalits and why are Dalits considered untouchable?

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## 10.4 ACHIEVEMENTS

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Despite their main aim is to protect against police, the Black Panthers destroyed society norms as they opened free health care clinics, a tuition-free school, food bank, etc. The Black Panthers were founded in 1966, sparked from the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. Their original aim was to patrol African American neighborhoods to protect against police brutality. The main idea of this movement was based on Marxist theory

as they believed that there is discrimination being done based on American and African people, as the caste system of black and white people

### **10.4.1 Success Of Dalit Panthers**

Dalit movement was disbanded just after it was started. This movement was started in Maharashtra in 1972, and it was more obsessed with repression and fear of the caste system for the people living in rural areas. Youth were having a protest against the injustice being done by Hindus who were degrading them and established an organization where males and females were protecting each other. Dalit men were more helping women to get protected from abuse for showing concern to gender equality. "Chairs", also referred to as study circles, are also held to empower women in which they learn to confront bureaucratic authority (Contursi, 1993). In this movement, about 1000 people came to protest in 1988. Their biggest success is the strong sense of community and connection they have towards each other. Ambedkar therefore radically re-interpreted Buddhism, and the movement rejected Hinduism, challenged the caste system and promoted the rights of the Dalit Community. Although scholars have since debated whether the conversion was a successful way of escaping caste – as every religion has its ideological ideas around caste despite the anti-caste discourses, this was still a significant factor in the history of the Dalit Panthers and how they came into being.

### **10.4.2 Failure Of Dalit Panthers**

Despite the success, the Dalit movement went through split which was a great loss and made the situation unstable. There was no leadership in Dhale movement due to which this was failed in the end, as there were no bond and cooperation between leaders and no preparation were made for tackling problems. Namdeo Dhasal was failed to make this movement up to the mark as Raja Dhasal elected him for the leadership of the whole movement. This movement needed more marketing and slogans for their success. Due to differences between Buddhism and Marxism this whole

split movement of Dhale and Dhasal was started and came up to a high level but did not go the National level because of lack of resources and no leadership. Fast forward 20 years and these Dalit's who had converted to Buddhism became writers in what scholars have named the Little Magazine Movement, which challenged the monopoly of high-caste Hindu's and brought anti-establishment literature to the masses through Marathi literary magazines. These writers created a new language through which Dalit resistance to power and oppression could become a public discourse and established a trend for Dalit politics in which virtually ever Dalit who could write, did so before becoming an activist. The Dalit Panthers, who were formally established in 1972. Most of the leaders were well educated but lacked experience when it came to organizing a political movement. With the Dalit Panther's seemingly radical position shown within the 1973 manifesto, Dhale had indicated his dismay over its publication. Dale argued that the manifesto was not a representation of the Panthers' ideology but was simply published without the consensus of the working committee. This divergent nature of the Dalit Panthers arguably led to its initial split and potentially. These were rooted in this little Magazine Movement and were deeply inspired by the Black Panther Movement of America. Their militant literature, community service, and political struggle were something that the Dalit's were familiar with, and so a lot of their movement was inspired by their Civil Rights struggle

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## **10.5 DALIT LITERARY MOVEMENT**

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Hopeless and leaderless, the demise of Ambedkar left the 'Dalit Panthers' without a unifier; devoid of a figurehead who would have their grievances recognized and press the government's buttons for greater rights for the 'scheduled castes' with what little influence he had. It became like a dream, far from being fulfilled, and for the Dalit's a nightmare, leaving them demoralized. It yet again, left the Dalit population feeling dejected, as if been put in checkmate and worst of all back to being 'untouchables' with their efforts swept behind in synchrony with their leader's death



Not all was bleak though. The 1960s saw a new wave of educated youth, all Dalits, that thrived on poetry, prose as a passive means of getting their message across. Their determination to have their rights recognized was unparalleled. It was uncommon for anyone to not know that the media was dominated by Brahmins and the majority of media conglomerates were Brahmin as well. The educated Dalits affirmed faith in the power of the pen. These educated youths with their awakened sense of consciousness entered the literary realm, which was primarily dominated by caste Hindus and their supposedly sophisticated writings. This young generation or the new Dalit intelligentsia wanted to articulate themselves in their own words and their style, without a sense of burden. In other words, this was an attempt by the Dalit Panthers to un-caste the literary world. In brief, a period of frustration and despondency gave birth to the Dalit Literary Movement.

The Dalit Literary Movement commenced with the notion of 'speaking for oneself'. This later developed into identifying problems, envisaging problems experienced by the scheduled castes. The collective effort to channelize their thought through their writings paved way via Little Magazine movement of 1967 which, in the words of Lata Murugkar, "challenged and protested against the monopoly of the established caste Hindu writers' ideology in the literary field"

Conclusively, it can be understood that the Dalit Panthers that are often confused with the Black Panthers in the USA, were not as fierce compared to their American counterparts, even though they used literature to get their movement across. In times of a revolution, to be the stronger party, the use of force is necessary.

They called themselves 'Dalit' meaning downtrodden or ground down because it was a casteless term that both acknowledged and challenged their history of class oppression; and 'Panthers' because they were supposed to fight for their rights like Panthers, and not get suppressed by the strength and might of their oppressors. The movement was characterized in the beginning as Buddhist and vaguely socialist but as having no specific political ideology. As the Panthers became better organized and more popular, they went beyond the criticism of caste and addressed issues of economics, gender, and class. The SC, ST Sub-Plan,

## Notes

or IndirammaKalalu, is a budget allocation by the Government of Andhra Pradesh for the welfare of Dalits. The law was enacted in May 2013. SCs and STs have separate panels for spending. The plan was meant to prevent the government from diverting funds meant for SCs and STs to other programs, which was historically the case. As of 2013, no equivalent national plan existed. Scheduled Castes Sub Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan funds are often diverted by state governments to other purposes. While the Indian Constitution has provisions for the social and economic uplift of Dalits to support their upward social mobility, these concessions are limited to Hindus. Dalits who have converted to other religions have asked that benefits be extended.

The commencement of the Dalit literature happened specifically with the point of 'representing oneself' which slowly formed into the onset of the issues, conceiving the encounters of the abused areas of the general public. The aggregate exertion to channelize their idea through their works cleared the way of Little Magazine development of 1967 which, in the expressions of Lata Murugkar, "challenged and protested against the monopoly of the well-settled caste of Hindu writers' belief system in the artistic field". The current of challenge pervaded with the harsh encounters of the Dalits that can be followed in Arjun Dangle's sonnet "Revolution" where he communicates how the lower communities were the "companions" with the upper position Hindus as long as they were the Shudras following all the 'code of standing' constrained upon them. In any case, a changed personality from Shudras to Dalits turned into a matter of disturbance to the upper classes as he says "Burn, burn those strike at ambition" (Dangle, 43). In this manner, the ones who revolt to guarantee their new character are requesting fairness, and thus are to be 'burned'. The sonnet spreads out the tirelessness of varnashrama in spite of autonomy however in a changed state. In another poem by Tryambak Sapkale entitled "That Single-Arm", a dissent ballad, imparts a disavowal of the oppression of "poor people" by the "rich" which is appeared as conceivable just with a refusal to persevere through any shameful acts and separations. The ballad passes on the distinction between the two ages, father and the child, whereby the dad is just taking a look at the photos of the abuse of the poor because of the rich, suggesting his quiet

acknowledgment of such a structure. Though the child demonstrates cutting off the assailant's arm as he clarifies the thought process while he says, "for the vision of that solitary arm/will stay before them" (Sapkale, 6). This suggests the soul of revolt and invalidation for any sort of out of line treatment. The sonnet doesn't refer to rank as the issue yet the issue of class, which was viewed as a gesture in the standing and besides raises a voice against abuse. Additionally, the short stories delivered during this period assault the fixity of work on the premises of class that limits riches just to a specific segment of society while the rest, therefore, stays subordinate upon them. This thought is enunciated through Bandhumadhav's "The Poison Bread" that reflects the dependence of the lower class on the rich landowners not just for because of their long followed class and class hierarchy but also besides of the depreciation of material belonging. The story is set in autonomous India as the proprietor in his disavowal to give a portion of grain in return of the labor work of the grandfather, a Mahar, says "you're never again the Mahar-Mangs of past times worth remembering, to ask for a lot of corn. You are currently Harijans! You have even begun asserting correspondence, so I was told, eating and drinking with us at the city lodgings. Thus, there remains positively no distinction between us, does there?" (Bandhumadhav, 168). The story explains the invalidation concerning upper standings to regard the lower class as their equivalents despite the annulment of untouchability and furthermore the powerlessness of the lower positions to guarantee that fairness which is their right. The grandfather, a model of this circumstance, bites the dust of the unhealthy bread that he takes from the landowner yet asks his grandson to "never rely upon the well-established bread-related with our standing", inferring a need to split away from the "customs". Crafted by this period, evaluated the upper standing/high society segment yet additionally mocked the clerical area of the lower ranks who under the attire of they are late obtained white-collar class status expected a misguided feeling of predominance and set themselves apart from their lower position. Arjun Dangle's short story is introduced on a similar thought whereby Waghmare, a Mahar, who has as of late ascended the social stepping stool, begins keeping up as what he calls "class" by concealing his personality at most events even to the

degree of changing his surname. He additionally veers away the 'Backward Class Association', his lower-class companion Awale and furthermore his significant other's relatives, all of which he thinks would ruin his notoriety for being an official. Indeed, even so, the cognizance of his rank haunts him all through and he at long last goes up against it as his very own child was beaten at the school since he had water from his colleague's jug. The triviality of the assumption of superiority from those of the other not so wealthy classes is broken quickly, relaying that you may leave the class yet the caste would not leave you.

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## 10.6 ORGANIZATION

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The Dalit Panthers based much of their ideological aims off of Ambedkarite philosophy. Ambedkar, unlike Gandhi, saw that to organize against caste oppression and the tyranny of the caste system, a movement built on liberation was essential, rather than one based simply on sympathy for the Dalit. Ambedkar influenced the formation of the Dalit Panthers due to his more radical ideology of using education and electoral politics as a means of creating social change. Ambedkar was one of the first scheduled caste members to stand up for the scheduled castes, proclaiming that for a total restructuring of society to be successful, all those suffering from socially or economically exploitative times must unit under one movement. Ambedkar's "We must become a ruling community" became the prominent saying of the movement.

Ambedkar's philosophy proclaimed the transition from Hinduism to Buddhism, becoming a major ideological facet for the Dalit Panthers; Neo-Buddhism became the new form of religion, derived from Ambedkar's interpretation and alteration of Buddhist ideas. With the conception of the Dalit Panther movement, a mixed Ambedkarite and Marxist ideology provided the revolutionary and radical platform for its political inclinations.

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## 10.7 LEADERSHIP OF DALIT PANTHERS

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While discrimination against Dalits has declined in urban areas and the public sphere, it still exists in rural areas and the private sphere, in everyday matters such as access to eating places, schools, temples and water sources. Some Dalits successfully integrated into urban Indian society, where caste origins are less obvious. In rural India, however, caste origins are more readily apparent and Dalits often remain excluded from local religious life, though some qualitative evidence suggests that exclusion is diminishing.

The Dalit Panther manifesto was written in the year 1973, one year after the introduction of the Panther movement. The manifesto functions as the preface to the movement whereby the points and goals are spread out. The manifesto starts with the reference of the position of the Panthers as they separate themselves from their recently engaged exercises of "passionate upheaval" (Manifesto, 233) to being a "political association" (Manifesto, 233). The expectation behind this was to widen the belief system of the development as not restricted to a specific area of standing yet enveloping everyone who is the casualties of a few of the other types of abuse. They assaulted the government guaranteeing it to have fathered Hindu feudalism and foregrounded their goal of "social change". Expanding the importance of their transformation, the surmising of the word Dalit was additionally enlarged.

The Panthers additionally assaulted the general public and government in their proclamation as their Baba Saheb's aphorism of "freedom, fairness, and clique under the Hindu primitive framework changed to segregation, imbalance, and misuse. In this way, they dismissed this sort of autonomy guaranteeing it to not to be a "genuine freedom" and hence inferring it void or more regrettable freedom of just a specific area. The manifesto likewise denounces Gandhi and his belief system guaranteeing his inclusion with the issue of untouchability as being only pointed at his bigger intention of freedom battle. They additionally impugn his concept of "change of heart" as a pointless interest against the reason for abuse. Likewise, they additionally dispose of the other ideological groups, congress, and Left parties, to have disregarded to take all things considered "the class struggle with the struggle against untouchability". They additionally differentiates amongst everyone of who are their

## Notes

"Friends" and who are their "Enemies" as the former incorporated all the abused areas of society and the political and Left parties that, similar to them, intends to "separate the position framework and class rule" The last segment, on the other hand, incorporates the exploiters and the ideological groups that support "religious or casteist legislative issues". Therefore by expanding the significance of the term Dalit and relating it to all the abused masses, regardless of class, redirecting from Ambedkar who was composing for the Shudras and ati-shudras. These are the couple of parameters inside which the Dalit Panther Party endeavored to characterize itself. Guaranteeing themselves to be the relatives of Ambedkar, their redirection from Ambedkarite belief system is critical. Gail Omvedt commenting on similar says that the Panthers' "push was to universalize the Dalit way of life as less experience. This separated it from the Dalit development of Ambedkar's time, which had acknowledged the detachment of monetary and social circles, of class and standing, now and then disregarding the financial circles generously".

The Panther's impact upon them from the Black Panthers development in America is likewise referred to inside the proclamation. One of the real purposes behind the ascent of Black Panthers development was the requirement for monetary rebuilding as they tested both the white foundation and the standards to a degree. Both the developments infer a change from self-liberation to self-strengthening where they depend on themselves and their political position for the upliftment of the misused segment of the general public. In any case, one of the urgent perspectives that recognize Dalit Panthers from the Black Panthers is that the previous dissimilar to the Black Panthers were journalists first and after that lobbyist. They utilized the writing as an apparatus to express their position and to explain their goals.

According to the 2014 NCAER/University of Maryland survey, 27 percent of the Indian population still practices untouchability. The figure may be higher because many people refuse to acknowledge doing so when questioned, although the methodology of the survey was also criticized for potentially inflating the figure. Across India,

Untouchability was practiced among 52 percent of Brahmins 33 percent of Other Backward Classes and 24 percent of non-Brahmin. Untouchability was also practiced by people of minority religions – 23 percent of Sikhs, 18 percent of Muslims and 5 percent of Christians. According to statewide data, Untouchability is most commonly practiced in Madhya Pradesh (53 %), followed by Himachal (50 %), Chhattisgarh (48 percent), Bihar (47 %), Uttar Pradesh (43%)

Examples of segregation have included the Madhya Pradesh village of Ghatwani, where the Scheduled Tribe population of Bhalai does not allow Dalit villagers to use public borewell for fetching water and thus they are forced to drink dirty water. In metropolitan areas around New Delhi and Bangalore, Dalits and Muslims face discrimination from upper-caste landlords when seeking places for rent.

The politicized idea of the Dalit Panther development is additionally presented in the "Projects" that they set down in the declaration as to the target of their association whereby they stressed on the redistribution of land, dismissal of medieval framework and casteism, increment in wages of work, business openings, free training, and fairness. This can be viewed as a central point that follows the development of the Dalit Literary development of the sixties and the seventies into a political association where the individuals from the party passed on their animosity through their works as well as we're really adjusting themselves for the productive endeavors went for the upliftment of the mistreated areas.

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## **10.8 DIVISION IN THE MOVEMENT**

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Dalit panthers divided its organization in 1947. These differences occurred due to the political issues of Dhale and Dhasal. Dale was having infiltration with communists while Dhasal was holding Ambedkar of caste movement so the majority of members were with Dhale. After this split, both Dhale and Dhasal underwent four more movements that were Mass Movement (by Raja Dhale), Maharashtra Dalit Panthers (by ArunKamble), Dalit Panthers (by Sangare and Mahatekar) and Dalit Panthers (by NamdeoDhasal). Several Dalit groups are rivals and sometimes communal tensions are evident. A study found more than 900

## Notes

Dalit sub-castes throughout India, with internal divisions. Emphasizing any one caste threatens what is claimed to be an emerging Dalit identity and fostering rivalry among SCs.

A DLM (Dalit Liberation Movement) party leader said in the early 2000s that it is easier to organize Dalits on a caste basis than to fight caste prejudice itself.

Balmikis and Paris in the 1990s refused to support the BSP, claiming it was a Jatav party but over 80 percent of Dalits from all united Dalit castes voted BSP to power in 2007.

Many converted Dalit Sikhs claim a superior status over the Hindu Raigars and Ravidasis and sometimes refuse to intermarry with them. They are divided into that regulate their marriage alliances. In Andhra Pradesh, Mala and Madiga were constantly in conflict with each other, but as of 2015 Mala and Madiga students work for a common Dalit cause at the university level. Although the butchers are generally viewed as a higher caste than Bhangis, the latter refuses to offer cleaning services to Khateeks, believing that their profession renders them unclean. They also consider the Balai, Dhobi, Dholi, and Mogya as unclean and do not associate with them.

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## 10.9 LET US SUM UP

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The Dalit Panthers was a social organization founded by Namdeo Dhasal, Raja Dhale, and Arun Kamble in April 1972 in Mumbai. Formed in the state of Maharashtra in the 1970s, they ideologically aligned themselves to the Black Panther movement in the United States. During the same period, Dalit literature, painting, and theater challenged the very premise and nature of established art forms and their depiction of society and religion. Many of these new Dalit artists formed the first generation of the Dalit Panther movement that sought to wage an organized struggle against the varna system. Dalit Panthers visited "atrocities" sites, organized marches and rallies in villages, and raised slogans of direct militant action against their upper-caste aggressors.



The Dalit Panthers' Manifesto defines Dalits as "all those who are exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion." They classified "American imperialism" in the same category as "Hindu feudalism"; with both being examples of caste hierarchy. They also asserted that while Hindu feudalism may have spawned caste inequality, its extension by the modern Indian state had created an oppression "a hundred times more ruthless."

Their firm stance and rallying message across Maharashtra made their members frequent targets of state surveillance and brutality. Their legacy lives on in states across India, including in Tamil Nadu's VCK Dalit Panthers Political party.

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## 10.10 KEYWORDS

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- **Aggressive Violence:** behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.
- **Anti-Brahminism:** against the violence of the upper class
- **Anti-casteism:** against discrimination
- **African American:** a black American
- **Ambedkar's ideology:** the ideology of republicanism
- **Brahmin:** a socially or culturally superior person, especially a member of the upper classes from New England
- **Civil Disobedience:** the refusal to comply with certain laws or to pay taxes and fines, as a peaceful form of political protest.
- **Civil Rights:** the rights of citizens to political and social freedom and equality.
- **Caste Hierarchy:** a system or organization in which people or groups are ranked one above the other according to status or authority.
- **Caste:** a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a style of life which often includes an occupation, ritual status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions of purity and pollution

## Notes

- Dalit: in the traditional Indian caste system) a member of the lowest caste.
- Discrimination: the unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people or things, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex.
- Democratic: relating to or supporting democracy or its principles.
- Manifesto: a public declaration of policy and aims, especially one issued before an election by a political party or candidate.
- Racism: Racism is the belief in the superiority of one race over another.
- Untouchable: belonging to the lowest-caste Hindu group or the people outside the caste system.

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## 10.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- Trace the emergence of the Dalit Panther Movement.
- What were the ideologies and leaders who made the Dalit Panther group?
- Explain the circumstances of the rise and fall of the Dalit Panthers.

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## 10.12 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 10.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. Similarities:

Both teams supported rights for all those at an all-time low of society

Dalit Panthers' structure supported Black Panthers' presidential structure

Both saw violence as a legitimate suggests that for his or her desired ends

Differences:

The Black Panthers had a really specific enlisting strategy that protected them from infiltrators (such as the police) and enabled them to continue their work while not an amazing variety of recruits, however, as compared, the Dalit Panthers allowed anyone in this needed to hitch and this created ideologic problems

## Notes

The Black Panthers area unit still having a bearing nowadays despite the cluster not being living

Panthers whereas the Dalit Panthers looked as if it would have a restricted impact on the caste structure

Though the Black Panthers had a clear Marxist political ideology the Dalit Panthers did not have a clear ideological perspective black Panthers didn't have a conflict inside their ideology and leadership whereas the Dalit Panthers did e.g. Neo Buddhism vs Marxism.....(answer to Check Your Progress 1 Q1)

3.

- The Panther's ambition was to unite the Dalit community.
- According to the Dalit Panthers, the main issue that Dalits faced is lack of education, shelter, jobs, bread and water, land and their unequal social status.
- They repel against the anti-Dalit policy of the government.
- They concentrated on the issues of Dalit women, land disputes and trade the Shiva Sena activities.
- Dalit Panthers have full belief in constitutional methods.

They demanded Dalits. ....(answer to Check Your Progress 2 Q2)

Dalits, also known as "Untouchables," are members of the lowest social group in the Hindu caste system. The word "Dalit," meaning "oppressed" or "broken," is the name members of this group gave themselves in the 1930s. A Dalit is born below the caste system, which includes four primary castes: Brahmins (priests), Kshatriya (warriors and princes), Vaishya (farmers and artisans), and Shudra (tenant farmers and servants). Indians believed that people were born as Untouchables as punishment for misbehavior in previous lives. An Untouchable could not ascend to a higher caste within that lifetime; Untouchables had to marry fellow Untouchables and could not eat in the same room or drink from the same well as a cast member. In Hindu reincarnation theories, however, those who scrupulously followed these restrictions could be rewarded for their behavior by a promotion to a higher caste in their next life.

The caste system and the oppression of Untouchables still hold some sway in Hindu populations. Even some non-Hindu social groups observe caste separation in Hindu countries. ....(answer to Check Your Progress 2 Q3)

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# UNIT – 11: THE BAHUJANSAMAJ PARTY

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## STRUCTURE

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 The origin of Bahujan samaj party
- 11.3 History of Bahujan samaj party
- 11.4 Loksabha
- 11.5 Rajyasabha
- 11.6 Ideology of Bahujan samajh party
- 11.7 Strategy of Bahujan samajh party
- 11.8 Quick facts about Bahujan samaj party
- 11.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.10 Keywords
- 11.11 Questions for review
- 11.12 Suggested Readings and References
- 11.13 Answers to Check your progress

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## 11.0 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- Define the literal meanings of the word “Bahujan”
- Understand how was the Bahujan samaj party was formed.
- Understand The etymology of the Bahujan samaj party
- understand the philosophy of forming Bahujan samaj party.
- Understand the political background of the Bahujan samajh party
- Understand the policies and aims and objectives of the Bahujan samaj party
- Understand the relationship between upper and lower castes of Hindus in past
- Understand rajyasabha and loksabha and its distribution of representatives
- Understand the role of Bahujan samaj party in loksabha and rajiyasabha

- Understand the upper caste reaction to the bahujansamaj party

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## 11.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY

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The Bahujan Samaj party (BSP) is a national political party in founded in Uttar Pradesh, India that claims to represents the people of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes of Hindus and other religious minorities. It was formed in 14<sup>th</sup> April,1984. It was founded by kanshi Ram, a member of Dalit community. At the time of its formation, the Bahujan (people in majority) involving 85 percent of India's population, split up into 6,000 various castes and numerous religion. The party drew inspiration from the Dalit activist and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. Bahujan samaj party was the second largest party when 2017 elections were held in Uttar Pradesh winning 19 seats in total. Bahujan samaj party's election symbol is an ELEPHANT facing left. Sudhindrabhadoria is the only official spoke person of the Bahujan Samaj Party. The symbol of elephant is of great significance as it is a sign of physical strength and will- power with peace as elephant is a giant animal and a sign of peace .The deep rooted meaning of this symbol is majority as bahujans refers of people in majority with immense power and strength who can fight against the ones who treat them as slaves. It is tough, fearless, peaceful as well as full of strength.

The Bahujan samaj Party (BSP) has been recognized as a National Party within the Indian form of government and its quality beneath Mayawati has been bit by bit on the condition. Despite the very fact that the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has been making an attempt to woo the opposite communities by giving them party tickets nonetheless it's known because the party of the Dalits. In the UP election command in could, 2007. BSP captured 206 seats out of total 403. Its main rival—The SP below M.S. Yadav may muster the strength of ninety seven solely. The BJP was additionally trounced and will bag fifty one seats. The Congress may manage to induce solely twenty two seats despite Rahul Gandhi's efforts to the utmost.

## Notes

Such a monumental triumph in UP elections cask the Samajwadi Party's stalwarts to the last fiber. each the national parties stood jolted. M.S. Yadav was vanquished as he didn't management ever deteriorating law and order state of affairs in UP. The critics attributed this triumph to her strategic role. She managed to stay Dalits happy and succeeded in building bridges with higher castes and Muslims. Besides, she may sense the general public ire and rancorous mood against the SP Government. She in public secure to penalize M.S. Yadav and Amar Singh (M.P.) and restore law and order within the state. She brought state politics out of the Mandal and Kamandalstraight jackets. She built-bridges with Brahmins whom she had been vehemently denouncing within the past. Before the election she had declared, "You can see astounding results, we are going to not want any coalition partner." Her prediction came resolute be true. In her last speech on the election eve she aforementioned, "People currently notice we tend to didn't compromise on ideology to remain in power. we tend to ar honest to Dr. Ambedkar's ideal of social equality. currently the opposite castes have additionally acknowledged our commitment. "In a writing, on her signal finish it absolutely was therefore commented, "Mayawati's inclusive politics having paid off at the candidacy, the BSP currently has the Dalits, Muslims and higher castes—pretty abundant the pre-Mandal-Kamandal Congress combination cutting across communities—as its audience.... The individuals of UP tasted the fruits of identity politics and have found them unsavory. What they currently need is real development electricity infrastructure and safety from criminal parts. ...It is tall task for Mayawati the perennial important person. however, as monarch in 2007 she currently has the overwhelming mandate to act."

The party has been enjoying the role of a spoiler to break the National parties within the elections. The Bahujan samaj party leader is hoping to unfold her internet wider by contesting a couple of seats within the succeeding assembly elections. She might not be ready to fare well however she will be able to be a decent spoiler particularly for the Congress that banked upon Dalit and Muslim votes significantly.



**Check your progress -1**

Q1. When and where was the Bahujan samaj party formed?

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Q2. Who is inspiration for the creation of Bahujan samaj party?

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Q3. What is the symbol of bahujansamaj party and what does it mean?  
Explain briefly.

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## **11.2 THE ORIGIN OF BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY**

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The Bahujan Samaj party (BSP) may be a national party in based in Uttar Pardesh, Asian nation that claims to represents the individuals of regular castes, regular tribes of Hindus and alternative non secular minorities. it had been fashioned in ordinal Apr,1984. it had been based by kanshi Ram, a member of Dalit community. At the time of its formation, the Bahujan (people in majority) involving eighty five % of India's population, break up into half-dozen,000 numerous castes and various faith. The party thespian inspiration from the Dalit activist and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. Bahujan samaj party was the second largest party once 2017 elections were control in Uttar Pradesh winning nineteen seats in total. Bahujan samaj party's election image is associate degree

## Notes

ELEPHANT facing left. Sudhindrabhadoria is that the solely official spoke person of the Bahujan Samaj Party. The image of elephant is of nice significance because it may be a sign of physical strength and will-power with peace as elephant may be a large animal and a symptom of peace. The deep nonmoving which means of this image is majority as bahujans refers of individuals in majority with large power and strength. United Nations agency will fight against those United Nations agency treat them as slaves. it's robust, fearless, peaceful likewise as choked with strength.

One reason for the rising importance of the BSP in these States is that the numerical strength of Dalits. In Madhya Pradesh, Dalits square measure around fifteen.2% of the population, in Chhattisgarh around eleven.6%, and in Rajasthan around seventeen.2%. Dalits square measure scattered in several pockets of those States and may influence the election leads to several Assembly seats. as an example, in Madhya Pradesh, there square measure around sixty Assembly seats (in a House of 230+1 nominated) wherever Dalit votes have the capability to influence election results. within the 2013 Assembly election in Madhya Pradesh, the BSP got half dozen.3% of the vote. As there was a distinction of around 8 May 1945 within the votes secured by the victorious BJP and also the Congress, several political analysts were of the opinion that if the Congress and also the BSP had collectively oppose the election, the result could be totally different. In Chhattisgarh, the Dalit population plays a very important role in crucial election leads to regions like Janjgir-Champa, Raigarh and Bastar. In fact, Kanshi Ram, the founding father of the BSP, understood the potential for Dalit politics that lies in these regions and oppose his 1st parliamentary election from Janjgir in 1984. In Rajasthan too, the Dalit population is scattered in most elements of the State and had already declared itself in past elections. In eleven Assembly constituencies contiguous province, there square measure concentrations of Dalit communities. While it's true that the BSP alone cannot win several seats in these States, by forming Associate in Nursing alliance with any dominant political force, it will influence the results, in those places resolutely so. within the past, the BSP had not been in favour of forming alliances with different political parties, given its preference to

create social alliances of castes and communities directly. however, the party has modified its strategy lately. The BSP's recent expertise in state, wherever it affianced with the Janata decaliter (Secular), Associate in Nursing its success in formation an understanding with the Samajwadi Party for the province by polls indicate a amendment of mind. The BSP is additionally keen to expand its base in these States. No different axis of mobilization is probably going to challenge the BSP's influence among Dalits. this provides the BSP nice negotiating power in placing deals with different parties in these States. In fact, the BSP has been making an attempt to strengthen its organisation, from booth units to the State units. Previously, Kanshi Ram had tried to develop State leaders. however, this effort withered away when his unwellness and death. currently BSP chief Mayawati is following this strategy to nurture numerous lines of State leaders. This strategy is giving the party visibility. A section of Dalit voters in these 3 States appears to be aggravated with their BJP-led governments because of numerous reasons. Cases of atrocities against Dalits, problems with reservation, and also the Rohith Vemula case have upset several Dalits, and also the BSP has been making an attempt to mobilise its campaign on these lines.

The Congress is probably going to be politically associated electorally compelled to create an alliance with the BSP to induce Dalit support within the forthcoming elections and forestall fragmentation of anti-BJP votes. A tie-up with the BSP would conjointly facilitate the Congress in different States within the 2019 parliamentary elections. The BJP, in turn, would really like to forestall opposition unity and keep these elections multipolar. it's making an attempt to minimise the impact of the Una atrocities, Rohith Vemula's suicide, and growing doubts over its intentions concerning reservation by organising numerous programmes on B.R. Ambedkar and by promoting small caste-based identity politics to interrupt Dalit unity. The BSP isn't opposed general party or movement, which has challenged and wanted to remodel the fundamental structure of the Indian structure, replacement caste and therefore the incidental social oppression, economic exploitation and political domination by associate egalitarian society. Rather it's a celebration within the system reforming it within the lightweight of its own ideology

## Notes

and philosophy. According to the Harish. S. Wankhede “in the post Ambedkar era, Kanshi Ram became truth torch bearer of Amberkarite struggle within the field of India”. the foremost significant contribution of Kanshi Ram is his conception of Bahujan as a viable political body and a political strategy controlling the balance of power. Bahujanwad was meant to enlarge the potential body to say eighty fivep.c of the population. the concept of Bahujan could also be copied to sage Phooley and even Ambedkar’s strategy of constructing use of contradictions among the ruling categories. however their effective fusion and ‘operationalization’ is to be attributable to KanshiRam . His artistic genius is mirrored within the coinage of names he gave to his organizations, like BAMCEF, and DS-4 or the catchy slogans with that he mobilized individuals. By declaring “JiskiJitniSankhyaBhari, UskiUtiniBhagedari”, he re-emphasized the rights of the individuals to share political power and revived the strong Ambedkarite sense of dignity and self respect within the masses World Health Organization were largely reduced to a vote bank of the higher caste leadership of the upper class parties . He set associate example of selflessness, sacrifice, simplicity and devotion publicly life

It is not nonetheless clear what would be the impact of the BJP’s efforts, however the BSP has quite powerfully emerged as a 3rd force for the forthcoming Assembly elections. The BSP might play a vital role not simply in determinant the end result of the Assembly elections this year, however conjointly in giving form to a non-BJP Mahagathbandhan, or grand alliance, before the 2019 Lok Sabha election.

### Check your progress-2

Q4. What is the literal meaning of Bahujan?

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Q5. To whom the bahujans are being referred?

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## 11.3 THE HISTORY OF BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY

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For a long time, the caste system has affected the Hindus in every aspect of their lives whether it is concerned with their social activities or religious one. They have discriminated people on the basis of the dharmas they belong to. This caste system was originated in ancient India. In modern era, it has its value limited to job and educational purposes.

The rural communities have been discriminated according to their castes. In Vedic period (1500-1000 BCE) there were two varnas, Arya Varna and dasa Varna. At the end of Vedic period, new castes were emerged. Then there was late Vedic period (1000-600 BC) ,second urbanization (500-200BCE), classic period (320-650 CE), late classic and early medieval period (650-1400 CE), medieval Islamic sultanates and Mughal empire period ( 1000-1750) , Later Mughal period (1700-1850) and so on in which people were discriminated on the basis of castes and their dharmas and were treated accordingly .high post Jobs were only given to people belonging to upper castes and the rest were for lower castes and other minorities. This inequality leads to the formation of Bahujan samaj party to reserve the rights of lower castes and other minorities who were in majority but were treated as slaves by their fellows. Kanshi Ram (Saheb or Bahujan nayak) raised his voice against this inequality and worked for the upliftment of minorities and low caste people for their betterment and helped them to secure their rights. In 1964, he became an activist and started working for the rights of lower caste people and minorities as he was facing these issues lately. In 1981, he formed Dalit shoshitsamaj samiti (DSSS). He founded his own party known as BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1984.he fought elections in the year 1984 and represented his party in Chhattisgarh .in 1982, he wrote a book THE CHAMCHA AGE for the Dalits and supported the minority and people of the lower caste. According to ram; “the party would fight against the first election to lose, will fight next election to get

notice and third to win". In 1988, he competed against V.P Singh in Allahabad but lost, he again competed against east Delhi and stood fourth. Then he went for 11<sup>th</sup> look sabha and later on, he bequeathed his leadership to Mayawati. throughout his life, he conquest for the rights of the lower caste people and minorities and asked for social justice and social respect for each individual.

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### 11.4 LOK SABHA

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Lok sabha is that the lower house of the Indian parliament system. The members representatives chosen by elections on the premise of universal adult franchise. they're on their seats for 5 years or till any order from prime cathedral. presently the house has 545 seats , two representatives of the appointive members of the angloindian Community . 131 seats of people are reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes . the scheduled caste has eighty four seats whereas the scheduled tribe has forty seven.

The Loksabharepenstatives appointment is for 5 years started from their initial meeting however this period will be inflated or reduced by the parliament of law. An exercise to redraw Lok Sabha constituencies' boundaries is allotted by the Boundary government of Asian country each decade supported the Indian census, last of that was conducted in 2011. This exercise earlier conjointly enclosed distribution of seats among states supported demographic changes however that provision of the mandate of the commission was suspended in 1976 following a constitutional change to incentivize the planning programme that was being enforced. The seventeenth Lok sabha was electoral in could 2019 and is that the latest to this point. a massive portion of the landmass was underneath the command of britishers. The britishers rule the sub continent through the central state of Asian country and a viceroy of indians workplace was created underneath the British rule out that majority were britishers. The Indian councils act in 1892 was provided the voters in every provinces that inflated the ability of legislative assembly. Although, these inflated Indians power over sub continent however the britishes still didn't allow them to use

their powers for his or her favours, and therefore the voters terribly tiny. This Indian council act of 1909 and government of India act 1919 swollen and allowed a lot of Indians to participate in. then, the govt of India act 1919 provided them provincial autonomy and helped them to propose a federal structure in India. Britishers passes the Indian independence act in 1947 that states the partition of India in favour of Muslims as they were facing issues within the sub continent into, India and Islamic Republic of Pakistan, that were to be 2 distinguished names of the sub continent ,until they'd every enacted a replacement constitution. The Constituent Assembly was divided into 2 for the separate nations, with every new Assembly having sovereign powers transferred thereto for the several dominion.

The Constitution of India was adopted on twenty six Gregorian calendar month 1949 and came into result on twenty six Jan 1950, proclaiming India to be a sovereign, democratic republic. This contained the introduction principles of the law of the land which might govern India in its new kind, that currently enclosed all the princely states that had not acceded to Islamic Republic of Pakistan According to Article seventy nine (Part V-The Union.) of the Constitution of India, the Parliament of India|Republic of India consists of the President of India and therefore the 2 houses of Parliament called the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) and therefore the House of the individuals (Lok Sabha). Members of the Lok Sabha are directly electoral by the individuals of Bharat, on the premise of Universal franchise. Elections are by the individuals on to the Lok Sabha and every state is split into territorial constituencies below 2 provisions of the Constitution:

Each state "is" assigned variety of seats within the Lok Sabha in such a way that the magnitude relation between that number and its population was as near to uniform as potential. This provision doesn't apply for states having a population of but half dozen million (60 lakhs). the quantity of seats per state has been frozen below the constitutional change of 1976.

## Notes

Each state is split into territorial constituencies in such a way that the magnitude relation between the population every body and also the variety of seats assigned thereto (in each case, one) stay a similar throughout the state. This principle is upheld by the boundary reviews mentioned higher than.

Notes:

The expression "population" whereas distributing seats among states refers to the population discovered at the census of 1971, per the Constitutional change of 1976.

The expression "population" whereas distributing constituencies inside a state refers to the population discovered at the census of 2011. Prior to the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, BSP shaped a Mahagathbandhan. The Mahagathbandhan (or Grand Alliance), or just the Gathbandhan (Allianceis) AN anti-Congressanti- BJPIndian political alliance shaped within the run-up to the 2019 election underneath the leadership of 2 former Chief Ministers of state, Akhilesh Yadav of the Samajwadi Party and Mayawati of the Bahujan Samaj Party, along sideAjit Singh's Rashtriya Lok dekaliter different and several other political parties, contesting in numerous states of Asian country

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## 11.5 RAJYA SABHA

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The Rajya Sabha or Council of States is that the higher house of the bicameral Parliament of Asian country. It presently contains a most membership of 245, of that 233 are electoral by the legislatures of the states and union territories mistreatment single transferable votes through Open Ballot whereas the President will appoint twelve members for his or her contributions to art, literature, science, and social services. Members sit for staggered terms lasting six years, with elections each year however nearly a 3rd of the 233 designates up for election each 2 years, specifically in even-numbered years. The Rajya Sabha meets in continuous sessions, and in contrast to the Lok Sabha, being the lower house of the Parliament, the Rajya Sabha, that is that the higher house of Parliament, isn't subjected to dissolution. However, the Rajya Sabha, just



like the Lok Sabha is prorogued by the President. The Rajya Sabha has equal footing in legislation with the Lok Sabha, except within the space of provide, wherever the latter has dominant powers. within the case of conflicting legislation, a joint sitting of the 2 houses is command, wherever the Lok Sabha would hold bigger influence attributable to its larger membership. The vice chairman of Asian country (currently, Venkaiah Naidu) is that the ex-officio Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, World Health Organization presides over its sessions. The Deputy Chairman, World Health Organization is electoral from amongst the house's members, takes care of the day-after-day matters of the house within the absence of the Chairman. The Rajya Sabha command its initial sitting on thirteen night 1952. Rajya Sabha meets within the eponymic chamber in Parliament House in New Delhi. Since eighteen Gregorian calendar month 2018, the Rajya Sabha has facility for coincident interpretation all told the twenty two official languages of Asian country.

In the Indian federal structure, the Rajya Sabha could be a representative of the States within the Union law-makers (hence the name, Council of States). For this reason, the Rajya Sabha is granted powers that shield the rights of States against the Union. Union-state relations The Constitution empowers the Parliament of Asian nation to create laws on the matters reserved for States. However, this may solely be done if the Rajya Sabha 1st passes a resolution by a common fraction supermajority granting such an influence to the Union Parliament. The union government cannot create a law on a matter reserved for states with none authorisation from Rajya Sabha. Creation of All-India Services The Rajya Sabha, by a common fraction supermajority will pass a resolution empowering the govt. of Asian nation to make additional All-India Services common to each Union and States, together with a judicial service associated an escort service. The Secretariat of Rajya Sabha was started consistent to the provisions contained in Article ninety eight of the Constitution. The same Article, that provides for a separate helper workers for every House of Parliament, reads as follows:- ninety eight. Secretariat of Parliament – every House of Parliament shall have a separate helper staff: providing nothing during this clause shall be construed as preventing the creation

## Notes

of posts common to each house of Parliament. Parliament might by law regulate the appointment and also the conditions of service of persons appointed to the helper workers of either House of Parliament. The Rajya Sabha Secretariat functions below the general steering and management of the Chairman. The most activities of the Secretariat broadly embrace the subsequent :

- (i) providing help and support to the effective functioning of the Council of States (Rajya Sabha);
- (ii) providing amenities as admissible to Members of Rajya Sabha;
- (iii) coupling varied Parliamentary Committees;
- (iv) getting ready analysis and reference material and delivery out various publications;  
accomplishment of tasks within the Sabha Secretariat and progressing to personnel matters; and
- (v) getting ready and commercial enterprise a record of the daily proceedings of the Rajya Sabha and delivery out such alternative publications, as could also be needed regarding the functioning of the Rajya Sabha and its Committees. In the discharge of his constitutional and statutory responsibilities, the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha is power-assisted by the Secretary-General, UN agency holds the rank resembling the cupboard Secretary to the govt of Bharat. The Secretary-General, in turn, is power-assisted by senior functionaries at the amount of Secretary, further Secretary, Joint Secretary and alternative officers and workers of the Secretariat. gift secretary-general is Desh Deepak Verma, IAS.[13] Media Rajya Sabha tv (RSTV) may be a 24-hour daily continuous parliamentary TV channel owned and operated by the body. The channel aims to supply in-depth coverage and analysis of parliamentary affairs particularly its functioning and policy development. throughout sessions, RSTV provides live coverage and presents analysis of the proceedings of the House still as alternative daily parliamentary events and developments

**Check your progress -3**

Q6. What is the role of kanshi ram in bahujansamaj party? Explain briefly.

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Q7. What is meant by loksabha and rajiyasabha?

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## **11.6 THE IDEOLOGY OF BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY**

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In India, people are mainly divided into four castes according to their dharma and karma, that is. brahmin, kashtarians, Vaishyas, shuddra, the upper and lower castes lived in segregated communities. Vaishyas and shuddras are treated as slaves, brahmims would not eat any sort of food from shuddras and one could only marry within their castes. This discrimination leads to the formation of Bahujan samaj party. The basic ideology of the party is “Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation”. The party also hold a strong believe in social justice. The main physiology for the formation of Bahujan samaj party was to give equal right to lower castes of Hindus that were given to brahmin and kashtarians. It was for other minorities as well that includes Sikhs, Muslims, Parsi, Christians etc. Despite all these discriminations, Dalits and other lower castes Indians stood and raised the voices against this injustice.

According to historians, until 16<sup>th</sup> century this caste system was of limited importance to Indians and people could easily marry in other cases. Later on, this caste system was banned in Independent India and quota system was introduced for government jobs and educational institutes for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In 1989, other backward classes (OBCs) were given the opportunity to avail jobs through quota system and get admissions in educational institutes. The OBCs lie in between upper castes and the lowest castes. In modern era,

## Notes

this caste system has almost finished specially in colonies having different castes living side-by-side. B.R. Ambedkar, leader of Bahujan samaj party is an inspiration for the people of lower castes. Further, Satish Chandra Mishra, a senior person of the party is from upper caste. The Bahujan Samaj Party 1st created headway in geographical area, Kanshi Ram's home state, however his primary political task was to wean the Chamars of the state from Congress. The BSP contested elections for the primary time in UP within the 1984 Parliamentary Elections and therefore the following 1985 Assembly Elections. Between 1984 and 1989, the BSP may win no seat, but its base among Dalits, particularly government staff grew.

In the 1989 elections, Kanshi Ram determined to oppose Rajiv Gandhi within the Amethi body, however withdrew at the last moment. Thus, by 1989, the BSP emerged because the second most important and documented party in UP. It profited from the decline of the Congress and created inroads into its ancient vote banks, consisting of the Dalits, a part of the BCs and therefore the minorities. As Kanshi Ram declared, "we might not win even a single seat, however we tend to area unit planning to demonstrate our strength". Aware that the Dalits alone couldn't bring it to power, the BSP has been creating aware tries to expand its share of influence by winning over higher castes. Within a brief span of your time BSP became a national political party on Nov twenty five, 1997. little question that BSP has created aspirations among Dalits at the grassroots level for capturing political power. Before the formation of BSP twenty years back Dalits were happy with their suppressed position. After that they were offered political offices at the mercy of political bosses of the parties LED and dominated by the higher status. But, with the formation of their own organization they started aiming to become MLAs, MPs, MLCs, and Rajya Sabha and even the Chief Minister of a state on their own while not patronage and every one this has happened inside twenty years and through this era BSP has shared political power within the largest state (UP) of the country four times (1993, 1995, 1997, 2002) and Mayawati has become the CM thrice. In 2007 Mayawati became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh by winning associate relative quantity within the State Legislative Assembly, with none alliance. The BSP

within the early Nineteen Nineties tried to unfold from UP into northern states of geographical area, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh ,Rajsthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Delhi. In geographical area throughout the February 1992 geographical area Assembly elections, the BSP emerged as the main opposition party as most of the Akali sections boycotted the polls. It won 9 assembly and one Lok Sabha seat. within the Lok Sabha elections of 1996 it won 3 seats in Punjab. however since then its performance has been deteriorating in Punjab. In the finish it should be same that Dalit movements contend a crucial role to make the consciousness among the weaker sections of the society. Jyoti Rao Phooley, B.R. Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram's contribution is vital during this series. Dalits which were facing the discrimination on the idea of caste currently can aim to share political power. The Bahujan Samaj Party has provided a platform to the present section of the society through which they'll vie within the democracy. This has been doable attributable to the series of Dalit Movements launched by leaders like Phooley, Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram.

The Bahujan Samaj Party has become a permanent and important player within the national politics in Republic of India. but because the Dalits are divided into several sub-caste and every one the Dalits don't vote for BSP the party faces nice challenges to make a supportbase for itself during a state like geographic area wherever the Dalits quantitative relation in population is that the highest within the country.

**India's caste system is among the world's oldest forms of surviving social stratification. The BBC explains its complexities.**

**Check your progress-4**

Q8. What do you mean by the caste system of hindus?

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Q9. What is the role of Dalits in Bahujan Samaj party?

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## **11.7 STRATEGY OF BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY**

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The Bahujansamaj party was formed on the birth date of B.R. Ambedkar by Kanshi Ram on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1984.

The policies of Bahujansamaj party include:

- The party is with Dalits and criticizes the people of upper caste which they ended later on.
- It claims and supports to end the social inequality among the people living in India and enterprises the Dalits
- It aims for having political power so it could help Dalits and other people to uplift their social status.
- It aims to be a adjudicator of politics and helps the society and make it a better place to live in
- To remove unviability
- To secure the rights and interests of Dalits women
- To eliminate the Brahmin system and eradicate their aim of inequality
- To praise the efforts of Kanshi Ram or Baba Saheb by constructing different educational institutions by his name.
- To eliminate child labour
- To secure the rights of Dalits and their places
- To flourish cottage industries
- To promote state sector
- To strengthen agriculture and to help farmers having no land
- To end corruption
- To make India self-reliant
- To promote women empowerment
- To create peace and prosperity

- To eliminate the use of Dalits by upper caste people and land lords
- To make government responsible
- To resolve country dispute through mutual discussions
- To develop good and friendly realtions with neighours and shake their hands for peace
- To obey the policy of peaceful co existence
- To secure a permanent seat in india as security council
- To promote social gatherings where people can discuss things friendly and help others
- To allow people to move to different sects and castes peacefully

Later on, the bahujansamaj party gave muslims and buddhist a prominent place in their party and stopped criticizing upper castes which helped them in winning majority seats during electins in uttarpardesh , India.

**Check your progress -5**

Q10. What are the policies of the bahujansamaj party for the Dalits?

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Q11.What are the main strategies of the bahujansamajh party and what helped them to win most of the seats in their elections?

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**11.8. QUICK FACTS ABOUT BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY**

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## Notes

Date of formation : 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1984- present

Founder :Kanshi Ram

Symbol : elephant

Founded against : caste system in india

Physlosophy :Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation

Related people :Kumari Mayawati

Areas of involvement : Untouchable

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## 11.9 LET US SUM UP

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- In ancient India, people were identified and treated according to their castes and social status, that is. Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudra, the upper and lower castes lived in segregated communities
- Kanshi Ram stood against the Indian law and against the inequality and did his level best to secure the rights of people belonging from lower castes and minorities like Sikhs, Muslims, Parsis, and Buddhist.
- Bahujan samaj party was formed in 1984.
- The party drew inspiration from the Dalit activist and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
- The word Bahujan is a Pali term which literally means “too many” or “Bulk”. It is displayed in the “bahujanaHitayaBahujanaSukhaya” by Gautama Buddha. He used the term Bahujans to refer those people who were in majority and were facing racism and opposition on the basis of their castes
- The basic ideology of the party is “Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation”
- The symbol of elephant is of great significance as it is a sign of physical strength and will- power with peace as elephant is a giant animal and a sign of peace .
- Bahujan samaj party was the second largest party when 2017 elections were held in Uttar Pradesh winning 19 seats in total



- . In 1989, other backward classes (OBCs) were given the opportunity to avail jobs through quota system and get admissions in educational institutes. The OBCs lie in between upper castes and the lowest castes. In modern era, this caste system has almost finished specially in colonies having different castes living side-by-side
- It aims for a better , prosperous and peaceful India
- It was made to protect the rights of Dalits and help them to attain a respectful social status in the society.
- Lok sabha is the upper house of parliament of india and rajiyasabha is the house of lower parliament of india.
- The members representatives chosen by elections on the premise of universal adult franchise. they're on their seats for 5 years or till any order from prime minister. presently the house has 545 seats , two representatives of the appointive members of the angloindian Community . 131 seats of people are reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes . the scheduled caste has eighty four seats whereas the scheduled tribe has forty seven.
- Rajiyasabha presently contains a most membership of 245, of that 233 are electoral by the legislatures of the states and union territories mistreatment single transferable votes through Open Ballot whereas the President will appoint twelve members for his or her contributions to art, literature, science, and social services

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## 11.11 KEYWORDS

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- Bahujana : majority of people or bulk
- Satisfaction : layer formation
- Contested : to compete or to fight
- Precede: come before something
- Bequeath: leave or cede , surrender , give up
- Upliftment : lift someone or rise someone
- Accountable : responsible

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## 11.12 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- What is the career of Kanshi Ram and how did he uplift the status of lower caste people and minorities including Sikhs, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Buddhists etc.
- Will this caste system and discrimination ever come to an end?
- What are the main points for the formation of Bahujan Samaj Party?
- Who were Dalits and how did they help in formation of Bahujan Samaj Party and upliftment of lower caste people and minorities?
- Name notable members of Bahujan Samaj Party including people from upper caste?

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## 11.13 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- "National Parties: Bahujan Samaj Party". India Mapped. Retrieved 18 April 2019.
- ^ "BSP stands for social equality". Deccan Herald. 11 February 2008. Archived from the original on 14 March 2016. Retrieved 13 March 2016.
- ^ "Cong damaged cause of social justice: Mayawati". Hindustan Times. 10 April 2009. Retrieved 4 June 2016.
- "Ms. Mayawati said she would devote her life for the self-respect movement". The Hindu.
- "Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)". *Elections.in*. Retrieved 18 April 2019.

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## 11.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check your progress-1

The Bahujan Samaj party was formed on 14th April, 1984 in Uttar Pradesh, India. (answer to check your progress-1 Q.1)

The party drew inspiration from the Dalit activist and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. (answer to check your progress-1 Q.2)

Bahujan samaj party's election symbol is an ELEPHANT facing left. Sudhindrabhadoria is the only official spoke person of the Bahujan Samaj Party. The symbol of elephant is of great significance as it is a sign of physical strength and will- power with peace as elephant is a giant animal and a sign of peace. The deep rooted meaning of this symbol is majority as bahujans refers of people in majority with immense power and strength who can fight against the ones who treat them as slaves. It is tough, fearless, peaceful as well as full of strength (answer to check your progress 1 Q.3)

### Check your progress-2

The word Bahujan is a Pali term which literally means "too many" or "Bulk". It is displayed in "bahujanaHitayaBahujanaSukhaya" by Gautama Buddha. He it for those people who were in majority and were facing racism and opposition on the basis of their castes ( answer to check your progress 2 Q.4)

Bhujana refers to those people who were in majority and were facing racism and opposition on the basis of their castes. Jotiraophule used this term too to refer hindus lower castes as slaves. The scrupulous set of caste groups explained as "Bahujan" has varied with context; in the state of Maharashtra. It points to castes, twice birth and does not include any of the castes existing in the Hindu society. (answer to check progress 2 Q.5)

### Check your progress -3

Kanshi Ram (Saheb or Bahujan nayak) raised his voice against this inequality and worked for the upliftment of minorities and low caste people for their betterment and helped them to secure their rights. In 1964, he became an activist and started working for the rights of lower

## Notes

caste people and minorities as he was facing these issues lately. In 1981, he formed Dalit shoshitsamaj samiti (DSSS). He founded his own party known as BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY on 14th April, 1984. He fought elections in the year 1984 and represented his party in Chhattisgarh. In 1982, he wrote a book THE CHAMCHA AGE for the Dalits and supported the minority and people of the lower caste. According to him; "the party would fight against the first election to lose, will fight next election to get notice and third to win". In 1988, he competed against V.P Singh in Allahabad but lost, he again competed against east Delhi and stood fourth. Then he went for 11th Lok Sabha and later on, he bequeathed his leadership to Mayawati. Throughout his life, he fought for the rights of the lower caste people and minorities and asked for social justice and social respect for each individual (answer to check your progress 3 Q6)

Lok Sabha is the upper house of parliament of India and Rajyasabha is the house of lower parliament of India. The members representatives chosen by elections on the premise of universal adult franchise. They're on their seats for 5 years or till any order from prime minister. Presently the house has 545 seats, two representatives of the appointive members of the Anglo-Indian Community. 131 seats of people are reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The scheduled caste has eighty-four seats whereas the scheduled tribe has forty-seven. Rajyasabha presently contains a total membership of 245, of that 233 are electoral by the legislatures of the states and union territories through single transferable votes through Open Ballot whereas the President will appoint twelve members for his or her contributions to art, literature, science, and social services (answer to check your progress Q7)

### Check your progress-4

In India, people are mainly divided into four castes according to their dharma and karma i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, the upper and lower castes lived in segregated communities. Vaishyas and Shudras are treated as slaves, Brahmins would not eat any sort of food

from shuddras and one could only marry within their castes. This discrimination leads to the formation of Bahujan samaj party. (answer to check your progress 4 Q8)

The people of lower caste and the minorities including Sikhs, Muslims, parse, Christians and Buddhist faced too many problems weather it is related to their social activities or religious. They were treated as slaves. in short there was inequality throughout the India. Dalits raised the voices against this injustice and inequality and supported the minorities and lower caste people and helped them to secure their rights for their betterment. ( answer to check your progress 4 Q9)

### **Check your progress-5**

The party is with dalits and criticizes the people of upper caste which they ended later on.Itcalims and supports to end the social inequality among the people living in india and enterprises the Dalits. It aims for having political power so it could help Dalits and other people to uplift their social status. To eliminate the use of Dalits by upper caste people and land lords and to secure the rights of Dalits women and uplift their women empowerment. (answer to check your progress 5 Q10)

It aims to be a adjudicator of politics and helps the society and make it a better place to live in. To remove unviability. To secure the rights and interests of Dalits women To eliminate the brahmin system and eradicate their aim of inequality to praise the efforts or kanshi ram or baba saheb by constructing different educational instituions by his name.To eliminate child labour.To secure the rights of Dalits and their places

The bahujansamaj party gave muslims and buddhist a prominent place in their party and stopped criticizing upper castes which helped them in winning majority seats during electins in uttarparadesh , India. (answer to check your progress Q11)

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# UNIT – 12: THE DALIT MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU

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## STRUCTURE

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Tamil Nadu
  - 12.2.1 Physiography
  - 12.2.2 Political History of Early Nationalism in Tamil Nadu
- 12.3 Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu
  - 12.3.1 Socio-economic and political status of the Dalit's of Tamil Nadu
  - 12.3.2 Significant Dalit Communities in Tamil Nadu
    - 12.3.2.1 Paraiyas
    - 12.3.2.2 Valluvas
    - 12.3.2.3 Chakkilias
    - 12.3.2.4 Pallas
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- 12.4 Political Parties of Dalits in Tamilnadu
  - 12.4.1 Dalit MakkalMunnetraKazhagam
  - 12.4.2 Ambedkar MakalIyakkam
  - 12.4.3 PuthiyaTamilagam.
  - 12.4.4 Tamil Nadu ThalthapathaMakkalMunertraKazhagam.
  - 12.4.5 Bahujan Samaj Party.
- 12.5 Formative Period of Dalit Awareness
  - 12.5.1 Emergence of Leaders
  - 12.5.2 PandithamaniAyothidasar
  - 12.5.3 Appadurai
  - 12.5.4 AyyaKannu
  - 12.5.5 Boosami
  - 12.5.6 Awakening through press
  - 12.5.7 One Paisa Tamilan
  - 12.5.8 Formation of Caste Associations
  - 12.5.9 Educational Institutions
- 12.6 Political Contributions of Dalits in Tamilnadu
- 12.7 Social Contributions of Dalits in Tamilnadu

- 12.8 Conclusion
- 12.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 12.10 Keywords
- 12.11 Questions for review
- 12.12 Suggested Readings and References
- 12.13 Answers to Check your Progress

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## 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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The following chapter will enable you to

- Know about the physiography of Tamilnadu
- Learn about the socio-economic status of Dalits in Tamilnadu
- Name the significant communities of Dalits of Tamilnadu
- Know the political parties of Dalits in Tamilnadu
- Identify the political contributions of Dalits in Tamilnadu
- Know the prominent socio-political figures of Tamilnadu
- Pinpoint the impact of Dalit Movement in Tamilnadu

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## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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Indeed, even as we are in the 21st century, standing separation, a deep-rooted practice that dehumanizes and sustains a brutal type of segregation keeps on being polished. India where the training is widespread in spite of the presence of an enactment to stop this, 160 million Dalits of which 49.96% are ladies keep on enduring segregation. The segregation that Dalit ladies are exposed to is like racial separation. Dalits are thrice separated, treated as untouchables and as outcaste. Just because of their rank, face sex segregation being ladies lastly financial impoverishment because of inconsistent pay difference, with low or came up short on work. It not just legitimizes the treatment of Dalit ladies as a sex object and advances tyke marriage. As different pieces of nation in Tamil Nadu additionally Dalit are confronting difficulties because of their position and sex separation.

**Check your progress -1**

Q1. Which kind of segregation is faced by Dalits?

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Q2. What is the average ratio of Dalit Women in their total population?

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## 12.2 TAMIL NADU

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Tamil Nadu is arranged between  $8^{\circ} 5'$  and  $13^{\circ} 35'$  Northern scopes and  $76^{\circ} 15'$  and  $80^{\circ} 0'$  longitude East of Greenwich. It has a zone of 1,30,057 square kilometers. Along the entire length of the western part, a good ways off from the ocean differing from 80 to 160 km runs the scope of the Western Ghats, a precarious and rough mass averaging 1220 meters over the ocean level and ascending to 2440 meters. The Palghat Gap around 25 km in width is the main checked break in the extraordinary look after divider. Toward the south of this hole, the range is known as 'Anaimalai.' On the east are the Palni Hills on which is arranged the popular slope station of Kodaikanal. The inclines of the Western Ghats are secured with substantial evergreen backwoods. These slants are wellsprings of the waterways Kaveri, Vaigai and Tamraparni. The Nilgiris and the Anaimalai are slope bunches with greatest tallness. In the well-known Ootacamund territory of the Nilgiris locale, the most astounding pinnacle of Doddabetta is arranged, 2640 meters over the ocean level. The Eastern Ghats start in Orissa and go through Ganjam locale of Orissa and run southwest through every one of the regions lying among Ganjam and Nilgiris level. Their height is 610 meters on the normal and their most astounding pinnacles are under 1830 meters. No stream of any significance ascends from these reaches in this State. The



precipitation in the district is controlled by the southwest storm (June to September) and the upper east wind (October to December). The upper east rainstorm is more critical to Tamil Nadu than the southwest. The significance of the upper east rainstorm forcefully recognizes the State from the remainder of the nation where the southwest storm assumes the real job. The locale of Chingleput, South Arcot, Thanjavur, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli depend for the most part on the northeast wind. The average precipitation is 1020 to 1140 mm in South Arcot and Thanjavur regions and 760 to 890 mm in others. The locale of North Arcot, Salem, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli in the focal district rely upon both the rainstorm (northeast and southwest), and the precipitation is between 760 to 1020 mm. Nilgiris relies upon the southwest storm with an average rainfall of 1520 to 1780 mm. The normal rainfall in the State changes over a broad scope of 640 to 1910 mm for every year. The waterways of the state stream eastbound from the Western Ghats and are altogether downpour nourished. The lasting waterways are Palar, Cheyyar, Ponnaiyar, Kaveri, Meyar, Bhavani, Amaravati, Vaigai, Chittar, and Tamraparni. The non-perpetual streams are the Vellar, Noyil, Siruliar, Gundar, Vaipar, Valparai and Varshali. The 760 km long Kaveri is the incredible stream of the State.

### 12.2.1 Physiography

The term 'Tamil Nadu' alluded with regards to this proposal secured the domains where Tamil was overwhelmingly spoken inside the recent Madras Presidency. Tamil Nadu is arranged on the southeastern side of the Indian landmass. During the time of study, Tamil Nadu involved twelve areas. They were Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Tanjore, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai, Ramnad, Tirunelveli, Coimbatore, Salem and the Nilgiris. The landmass of the state can be isolated into two standard divisions: (i) the eastern waterfront plain and (ii) the bumpy area along the north and the west. The beachfront plain is generally subdivided into:

(a) the Coromandel plain containing the regions of Chingelput, South Arcot and North Arcot,

(b) the alluvial plain of the Cauvery delta reaching out over Tanjore and part of Tiruchirappalli regions, and

(c) the dry southern fields in Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli regions.

### **12.2.2 Political History Of Early Nationalism In Tamil Nadu**

Tamil Nadu has an antiquated history that returns somewhere in the range of 6000 a long time. The state speaks to the core of Dravidian culture in India, which preceded the Aryan culture by just about a thousand years. It is commonly held that the designers of the Indus Valley Civilization of the fourth thousand years BC were Dravidians. Tamil Nadu, with the other southern states, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Kerala today structure the archives of the Dravidian culture. The Dravida nation, of which current Tamil Nadu framed apart, was supposedly under three traditions, Chola, Pandya and Chera from the fourth century BC. The Cholas involved the present Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli regions and encompassing regions and exceeded expectations in military adventures. In the second century BC a Chola sovereign, Elara, vanquished Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Pandyas exceeded expectations in exchange and learning. They controlled the regions of Madurai and Tirunelveli and part of South Kerala. A Pandyan King sent an international safe haven to the Roman Emperor Augustus in the first century BC. The Cheras were terrific on the West Coast, which is today Focal North Kerala. The Pallavas of Kanchi rose to unique quality in the fourth century AD, what's more, commanded the south for an additional 400 years. In the 6th century, they overran the Chola domains and conveyed their arms similar to Ceylon. The renowned Alvars and Nayanars, sage-artists, thrived during the Pallava period. These later Cholas added to the improvement of craftsmanship and design. In the thirteenth century the Pandyas ended up overwhelming. Their kingdom was an incredible focus of worldwide exchange. The ascent of Vijayanagar spelled the decrease of the Pandyas. Vijayanagar eventually vanquished them, and their regions were added to the Vijayanagar Empire. With the breaking down of the Vijayanagar Empire, Tamil Nadu was divided a few trivial lords." The ascent of the Muslim power in India had its effect on Tamil Nadu. In any case, all around, Tamil Nadu

stayed unaffected by the political seizures in north and focal India. With the foundation of the East India Company at Madras in 1639, another section was opened throughout the entire existence of Tamil Nadu. By 1801, the whole of Tamil Nadu with the exception of individual French and Danish Settlements had been brought under British rule. Individuals had a place with various ethnic gatherings had come and settled in Tamil Nadu. The overwhelming networks in the state were Kallars. Muthurajas, Vanniars, Vellalas, Nadars, Muslims, Dalits, and Brahmins. The expansion of the Vijayanagar rule over Tamil Nadu brought about the progression of Telugu Reddiyars and Naidus from Andhradesa. A more significant part of the individuals were farming workers who did not have land. They were entirely reliant on day by day compensation for their employment.'

### Check your progress -2

1. What is the geographical location of Tamilnadu?

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2. What is the old name of Focal North Kerala?

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## 12.3 DALIT MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU

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The Dalit development in Tamil Nadu has a long and checkered history. IyotheeThass, Erattaimalai Srinivasan, M.C.Rajah, N.Sivaraj and L.ElayaperumalVai. Balasundaram was a portion of the stalwarts related with the development at different stages. The author of the Self-Respect

## Notes

Movement and the DravidarKazhagam, Periyarâ, E.V.Ramasami, (Women associations gave title at Women Conference in Chengalpet in 1929.)Who was likewise among the early victors of the Dalit cause? One of the soonest sorted out undertakings for the Dalit purpose was maybe a notice submitted to the Governor of Madras Presidency in the mid-1890s on the alarming living states of Paraiyars, one of the two head social gatherings among Dalits, in the then Chengalpat locale. Following this, Paraiyars and different segments of Dalits were relegated what was named "Panchamalandâ" Throughout the years this land was gotten by station. Hindu usurpers were infringing upon the arrangement against the exchange of its proprietorship. A hundred years after the fact, in 1994, a development was propelled in a similar region to reestablish the land to its legitimate proprietors. This fomentation, wherein two individuals passed on in police terminating, denoted the start of the present period of the Dalit development in the state. During the 1990s, the Dalit reaction was to get sorted out. The provincial evolutions exhibited the quality emerging from numbers and solidarity, yet in addition, drew out some inborn restrictions. Initially, obviously was the reality they didn't have the assets, the staff, and authority to develop and support enormous scale developments. Of the three, influence was the most pivotal. It is in this setting the administrations of K.Krishnasamy and Thirumavalavan must be valued, the previous a therapeutic professional, and the later an all-around put government official. The two gave low maintenance help to bothered individual Dalit at first, then they moved toward becoming pioneers of Dalit Movements and have since developed as political characters. The DPI, one of the vast Dalit political developments in Tamilnadu since the 1990s has been strikingly dynamic in taking up the issues of standing abominations on Dalits in the northern pieces of the state. Its amazing dissents against position abuse and adherence to Periyarâ's radical social qualities were once outstanding. The contentions among Dalits and Thevars, a position Hindu social gathering, the southern locale are not new in the state and Dalits have generally been in a wrong way.

### 12.3.1 Socio-Economic And Political Status Of The Dalit's Of Tamil Nadu

The financial and political situation of the individuals during the pioneer period in Tamil Nadu is an essential investigation. The untouchables who were one-fifth of the entire populace of the Madras Presidency were persecuted, stifled discouraged and contaminated as residue. They were socially, financially, politically, and instructively in reverse. The untouchables have been held somewhere around the Caste Hindus by systematic abuse. Social what's more, religious conventions were in activity against the discouraged classes for hundreds of years. They were denied access to open well, tanks and streets. They were denied passage into the sanctuaries. They couldn't look for admission to specific schools and universities run with the help of the State. Affirmation was rejected to certain Post Workplaces, Courts and Government Offices. The everyday life and the living states of the discouraged classes were amazingly despicable. The spot of their home was called 'cherT or ghetto. This was at a significant-good ways from the homes of high society Hindus. The ghettos did not have even the essential offices and enhancements. The more significant part of the discouraged classes were utilized as rural workers. Some were allocated small undertakings like searching. Destitution drove them to the degree of promising themselves to the proprietors for entireties changing somewhere in the range of 40 and 50 rupees. Along these lines, they turned into the deep-rooted bondage for an allowance as a great deal. During the opportunity development, the national chiefs understood the significance of partner them in the governmental issues. The administration likewise took measures to inspire their condition by positive segregation. With the end goal of definite separation, the arrangements of Scheduled Standings and Scheduled Tribes were readied. Numerous increments and erasures were made in the rundown. After opportunity additionally, the outlines were adjusted for the motivation behind giving reservations to them. In 1985, the Tamil Nadu government recognized 78 names of Scheduled ranks. Some significant positions are copied either as equivalent words or as

sub-standings of a level. In this manner, the 78 titles can be gathered into six general classifications:

1. Paraiyan (Adi Dravida Panchama, Paraiyan, Sambavar and Vettiyan)
2. Pallan (Devendrakulathan, Kudumban, Pallan, Pannadi and Kadaiyan)
3. Sakkiliyan (Arunthathiyar, Madari and Pagadai)
4. Kuravan
5. Valluvan (Tiruvalluvar and Valluvan) and
6. Others (all other castes not coming under any of the five groups).

The initial five gatherings comprise of 17 sub-positions and record for 95 percent of the all-out populace of Dalits in Tamil Nadu while the others represent the rest. They are spread over the whole State. The Chengalpattu and South Arcot locale have a high level of Dalits.

### **12.3.2 Significant Dalit Communities In Tamil Nadu**

The following are the major Dalit communities in Tamilnadu with a brief account of their whereabouts.

#### **12.3.2.1 Paraiyas**

The 'Paraiyas' of Tamil Nadu, who structure a sizeable segment of the Tamil society, might be taken as the run of the mill agents of the Depressed Classes in the South. It is from their standing name that the word 'Paraiya' which means an 'Outcaste' has been begat and added to the English language. 'Paraiyas' structures a particular position with various sub-ranks. They have their own standards, station headmen and Panchayats. They monitor their conventions and utilizations from infringement by the ranks above and underneath theirs. "They are, similarly with the higher ranks, loaded up with that compound of pride of birth, eliteness, and envy called position feeling."

The word 'Paraiya' is of incredible semantic intrigue. Different roots are ascribed to its beginning. One view is that 'Paraiya' is gotten from the root word 'Parai' which means a sort of drum; the 'paraiyas' are viewed as conventional drum blenders. A few researchers raise issue with this deduction on the accompanying grounds. The 'Paraiyas' go about as drum-blenders just on events like celebrations, relationships and burial services of high standing Hindus. However, they regularly connect with

themselves as shoemakers, weavers, and cultivators. In Kannada additionally, the word 'parai' signifies drum. However, the Depressed Classes in Karnataka are not called 'Paraiyas.' Instead, they are called as 'Holeyas.' In Tamil Nadu, 'Paraiyas' are by all account not the only drum-mixers. In this association, the hairdressers also go about as drummers during bubbly events. In specific territories of Tamil Nadu, there is a different position called Melakkaran whose calling is pounding a drum called Melam. One of the Gods of the Tamils, Siva, is said to play a sort of drum called 'Utukkai' while his first fan 'Nanti' is a specialist player of a kind of drum called 'Mattalam.' Be that as it may, the Lord or the Nanti isn't viewed as Paraiyas. "It appears in the most elevated degree unlikely that a huge and at one time ground-breaking network ought to owe its name to a periodic occupation, which one of its divisions imparts to different standings." Just once does the word 'Paraiya' happen in Sangam writing? It is found frequently in the engravings of the Cholas of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries A.D. In old Tamil literature, the blenders of fight drums are called Valluvas and Pulaiyas. Pulaiyas are additionally depicted as drum-blenders during burial service parades. The drum which is utilized on such events is called 'Capparai' which means memorial service drum. The word 'Paraiya' must have first been connected uniquely to those Pulaiyas who beat drums during burial service processions. Later, the word came to be connected to all Pulaiyas. The word 'Paraiya' is determined by individual researchers from the word 'Paraiyar' which signified a line of Chera Kings, as per 'Pathitruppattu,' a Sangam Classic. The relatives of the Chera Kings, Perunceraliumporai and Kutakkollanceraiurnporai, who were crushed by Cholas, were called Paraiyas.

### **12.3.2.2 Valluvas**

Valluvas are an area of the Paraiyas. In the archaic Tamil society, they appreciated the status of clerics. Indeed, even to-day Valluvas go about as ministers at the functions of Paraiyas, Chakkilas and other Depressed Classes. They are educated researchers in Tamil writing. They have incredible aptitude in medical procedure and go about as provincial specialists. Tiruvalluvar, the creator of Tirukkural, is viewed as a Valluva by rank. The legend that Tiruvalluvar was conceived of a

Brahmin father and a Paraiva or puaiva mother was a prepared story. In the previous versions of Tirukkural, this story does not discover a place. Be that as it may, it is found in later releases. The Valluvas involved the pride of spot in the antiquated Tamil society. TivakaraNikantu, a Dictionary of the Eleventh Century, makes reference to the Valluvas as illustrious clerics who performed burial service obsequies in the lord's family. The advantageous position held by the Valluvas in the old Tamil Society is uncovered by the post-Sangam exemplary. At the point when the Brahmin ministers supplanted them, the status of the Valluvas started to crumble. Their endeavors to recover their lost position were foiled by the Brahmins who had the support of the rulers. It was in indignation that the Valluvas set the gossip afloat that it is an evil sign to see a solitary Brahmin on one's way. This is accepted by many even today.

### **12.3.2.3 Chakkilias**

The Chakkilias found in Tamil Nadu are not locals of the dirt. It appears that they moved to the Tamil area from Andhra Desa and Mysore State. This is reasoned from the way that they talk either Telugu or Kannada. It isn't known with respect to when this relocation occurred. Notice of ChakkilianKuntil (plot of the Chakidlian) is made in an engraving of the Chola time frame (1030 A.D.) Madigas, the partners of the Chakkilias in Karnataka, guarantee that they are the 'offspring of Matangi.' The Chakkilias of Tamil Nadu don't know of their birthplace. The Chakkilias appear to be one of the old occupants of the Dravida Country. They are as antiquated as the Paraiyas. It is said that the Matangas, who were vanquished by the Western Chalukyan King Mangalesa (567-610 A.D), were the ancestors of Madigas. As indicated by H.A. Stuart, they had a place with a decision tradition called 'Matanga.' It might be derived that the Chakkilias, like the Paraiyas, were an old clan who were enslaved as Untouchables by the Brahmins and other high-rank Hindus as a result of their dietary pattern.

### **12.3.2.4 Pallas**

The level of distance of the Pallas is besides that of the Paraiyas. The 'Pallas' structure a significant section of the town society since they structure the greater part of horticultural workers. They are excellent at developing paddy. Their womenfolk are great at planting and weeding



paddy. There are numerous references to ladies of the last class, to be specific, Kataiciyar. The title Kataiyar additionally means the Pallas. The antiquated chivalrous clans called Mallas portrayed in Sangam works of art were most likely the predecessors of the Pallas. The word 'pallam' in Tamil methods a pit or low-lying district. This clarification isn't tasteful. The 'Pallas' and Pallis (Padaiyatchi or Vannia Kula Kshatriyas) viewed themselves as relatives of Pallavas who once led over Andhra and Tamil districts. They accept the title of Muppan (old individual),

. All customs associated with the root of the Pallas substantiated the reality that they were an ancient network of Tamil Nadu, and that they were proprietors of land and cultivators of wetland. The Pallas are efficient network, and they are sub-partitioned into various sub-orders. The vestige of this network is justifiable from a few variables, including the exhibition of wild ox sacrifice. The depressed state in which this network is discovered today might be disclosed by its inability to adjust to the way of life of the Aryanised gatherings of Tamil society.

### **12.3.2.5 Madigas**

The Madigas are disseminated all through Mysore locale; however, 88 percent of this rank is found in Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur Districts. It is expressed that a Western Chalukya King Mangalesa (567-610 A.D.) vanquished Mantangas, yet it is inferred that they were a slope clan and the ancestors of the Madigas. Madigas guarantee to the offspring of Matangi. Matangi is a Sanskrit name for Kali, and it is conceivable that the Madigas once had a considerable influence in the love of the Goddess. The work of Chakkiliya and Madiga ladies in Sakti love adds shading to this supposition. Matanga implies a Candala, a man of the most minimal standing, an outcast, a kirata, mountain dweller, a savage. The Madigas usually call themselves Matangi Makkalu or 'offspring of Matangi or Durga', who is their Goddess. It is plausible that the Matangas were a native race of little significance to have left any record of them. The tutelary divinity of the Madigas is Mathamma or Matangi who is said to be adored by the Komuttis under the name of Kanyapararneswari. Madigas communicate in Kannada or Telugu as indicated by the region they live in. The Kannada Madigas don't between

wed with the Telugu Madigas who are cowhide laborers. They pursue a crude method for tanning and getting ready cowhide.

**Check your progress -3**

3. What type of issues are taken by DPI since 1990s?

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4. What is another famous name of Mallas?

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## **12.4 POLITICAL PARTIES OF DALITS IN TAMIL NADU**

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Political parties are like a backbone for the survival of any community in any system. They play a very significant role as a bridge between masses and government officials. These are some notable political parties of Dalit Movement in Tamilnadu.

### **12.4.1 Dalit Makkalmunnetrakazhagam**

Dalit MakkalMunnetraKazhagam (Dalit Popular Progressive Federation), an ideological group in the Indian province of Tamil Nadu. The gathering works for the privileges of Dalits. The leader of the collection is Dalit Kudimagan. Dalit Kudimagan remained in the Lok Sabha races 2004 from the body electorate Madras Central and got 293 votes (0.06%). DMMK was a piece of the Dalit third front in Tamil Nadu in the 2004 decisions.

### 12.4.2 Ambedkar Makkaliyakkam

Ambedkar Makkaliyakkam (Ambedkar Popular Unity), is a political development in the Indian province of Tamil Nadu working for the upliftment of Dalits. The leader of AMI is Vai. Balasundaram.

### 12.4.3 Puthiyatamilagam.

Puthiyatamilagam is an ideological group situated in Southern Tamil Nadu. It advocates for the rights and welfare of Devendrakula Vellalar standing. Its originator President is K. Krishnaswamy.

### 12.4.4 Tamil

#### Nadu Thalthapathamakkalmunertrakazhagam.

TamizhagaMakkalMunnetraKazhagam (Tamil People's Progressive Federation) is an ideological group in the Indian province of Tamil Nadu. Its Leader is P. John Pandian. The gathering Headquarters is arranged in  
563, Shanti Colony, M.K.P Nagar, Palayamkottai, Tirunelveli

### 12.4.5 Bahujan Samaj Party.

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is a national level ideological group in India. That was shaped to speak to Bahujans (truly signifies "individuals in dominant part"), alluding to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Castes (OBC), alongside religious minorities. As indicated by Kanshi Ram, when he established the gathering in 1984, the Bahujans involved 85 percent of India's populace, yet were separated into 6,000 distinctive castes. The meeting professes to be propelled by way of thinking of Gautama Buddha, B. R. Ambedkar, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Narayana Guru, Periyar E. V. Ramasamy and Chhatrapati Shahuji Maharaj. Kanshi Ram named his protégée, Mayawati, as his successor in 2001.

#### Check your progress -4

5. Who was third front in Tamil Nadu in the 2004 decisions?

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6. Which political party is situated in southern Tamilnadu?

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## **12.5 FORMATIVE PERIOD OF DALIT AWARENESS**

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Sometime before the rise of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian political scene, the subject of the inspiration of the Depressed Classes or Untouchables had been taken up by some social reformers and change associations with a specific level of sincerity. In the later 50% of the nineteenth century, JyotibaPhooley in the Bombay Presidency and SasipadaBandopadhyaya in Bengal attempted a few endeavors towards the social height of the Depressed Classes. After the arrangement of the National Social Gathering through the activity of Mahadev Govind Ranade in 1887, the issue of the evacuation of unapproachability could be examined in its discussion. In Malabar, in 1903, Sri Narayan Guruswami, a Thiyya socio-religious reformer, shaped an affiliation called S.N.D.P. Yogam (Sri Narayan Dharma ParipalanYogam) for the spread of training among the Thiyyas just as their Sanskritization. In 1905, Vithal Ramji Shinde, the social reformer of the Bombay Presidency, shaped the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India for advancing the discouraged Classes' elevate. The general public assumed a critical job in the spread of training among the Depressed Classes in western India.' Dalits in Tamil Nadu likewise saw arousing in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Numerous pioneers developed among the Dalits. Various station affiliations were shaped. Instructive foundations were begun. Most importantly, the press likewise had its job in making mindfulness among the Dalits.

### 12.5.1 Emergence Of Leaders

It is an acknowledged cultural marvel that the childhood of the lower ranks in a creating nation depends to a great extent on the nature of composed authority made accessible to the individuals. For reasons, for example, absence of education, numbness, customary qualities and traditions, lack of expectations and desires, the booked standings have commonly acknowledged and as a rule, felt mollified with the 'most minimal position' labeled on with countless social inabilities. Pioneers like Ayothidasar, Srinivasan, Appadurai, Ayyakkannu, and Boosami developed during this period.

### 12.5.2 Pandithamaniayothidasar

Ayothidasar was conceived in the year AD 1845 at Tenampet in Chennai city. His dad Kandasamy was an Adi Dravida. He had his instruction at Nilgiris. He began creating enthusiasm for Tamil and aced Tamil writing. He turned into a decent writer. During his days, distance was by and by in the general public for the sake of religion and Sastras. This caused him to become familiar with the belief and Sastras. He began to find out about the Shiva and Vaishnava ideas. He additionally started to test and comprehend Dwaita and Adwaita's reasoning. He began contending against these ways of thinking as they had no roots. The non-accessibility of instruction to the untouchables made him take activities to give them training and started various instructive organizations. He began distributing books on the history of early man and their lifestyle. This created fearlessness in the discouraged who were in constant dread, because of numbness. He composed a book named 'Local Adi Dravidas' in the year 1906. This book depended on the instructing of Thirukkural and the different chronicled actualities of early Tamils and their kingdom. He was an extraordinary mastermind and essayist. He composed numerous books 'BuddharAdivedam', 'TiruvalluvarAaraichi', 'KuralKadavulVazhthu', 'Ambikai Amman', 'Marugakadavul', 'HarishandranPolgal', 'IndirarDesaSaritram', 'YadharthaYesha Brahmana Vibaram', 'Gajamukha Moorthy Unmal', 'KabaleeshwarVibhuthiAaraichi' and 'Trikural'.

### **12.5.3 Appadurai**

Appadurai was destined to Gabriel an Adi Dravida and Akhilandeswari on fifteenth August 1890. After Ayothidasar, numerous Dalits grasped the Buddhism. Appadurai was one such individual. Ancestors of Appadurai's folks perceived Christianity, since they couldn't endure the faction of Hindus abusing them for their low conceived status. To hold their amazingness, Brahmanism acquired division society based on the work and rank. In any case, Buddhism isn't care for that. Buddhism is celebrated for humanism, philanthropy, correspondence, and solidarity. Appadurai was a Tamil Pandit. He filled in as a secondary teacher in Tamil Nadu at Kolar Gold Fields (KGF) till his retirement in 1940. Despite the fact that by birth, a Christian, he understood that it was against one's intelligence to acknowledge dread for God's psychological make-up. Step by step, science took over him, and with the remains of humanism, he moved toward social issues with zeal and discovered answer for them. He got the ability to go past the chain of circumstance through his aptitude of engrossing, acclimatizing, and arranging issues.

### **12.5.4 Ayyakannu**

NandavarathanAyyaKannu made an extraordinary endeavor to build up the amazingness of the aged Tamil and aged Buddhist lifestyle. He was conceived in a town called Ichiputhur, Arakkonam Taluk to Narayanasamy and Alamelumangai in 1875. He had his initial training under the tutorship of VijayappaReddiar. During his initial years itself, he turned into an educator in Silamanthi and demonstrated to be consistent with his expert morals of drawing out the ideal wholeness among understudies. He utilized his activity as a device on this score. He thought learning is one's obligation and fundamental right. Ayyakkannu felt deliberately that his Dalit network was known for its local insight and profitability. Yet, their intrinsic abilities in them were kept on hold because of the society developed on the bedrock on the division of casteism. He invested as long as he can remember energy looking for his own locale's advancement. He used to admonish his brethren to live cleanly, to quit drinking and meat-eating and instruct their kids.

### 12.5.5 Boosami

committed his lifetime to intrigue his kin on the part of financial opportunity and singularity. He continued approaching what commitment had he accomplished for their advancement. He did his work without thinking about remuneration. He invested his life energy as a fanatical staunch social specialist, imagining, arranging and executing them for Dalit thinness. He, with the assistance of Maduraipillai strived challenging to teach his masses from shackle and convey them their much esteemed dream of fairness. He turned into the President of the discussion of Adi Dravida Dalits of Kolar gold mine. He likewise made Vadukasan as the Secretary of this discussion. He showed up before the Montague Chelmsford Commission and uncovered the historical backdrop of Dalits that made an impact on the commission. He directed gatherings at Kolar, Beemapuram and Chennai, focusing on the requirement for Adi Dravidar freedom. He likewise helped lead meetings of such kind in North Tamil Nadu. Boosami sent a wire to Ambedkar on his approach to London for his central goal of finding a dependable answer for Dalits.

### 12.5.6 Awakening Through Press

To make arousing among the individuals of their own locale, the Dalit pioneers distributed articles in different diaries. They have likewise circulated magazines to excite awareness among them. Magazines like Hindu MathaPrakasikai (1883), VaitheekaSiddantha, (1884), Deepika Brama Vidya (1897), Upanishartha Deepika (1898), Upanishat Vidya (1898) featured just the development and advancement of Brahmanism. Be that as it may, writing of Dalits at this period moved much against the belief systems of the previously mentioned magazines. Through their works, Dalit authors set up their association with the natives of this nation. Soorotham (1869), Panjaman (1871), SukirthaVasani (1877), Pandiyar (1885), MahavikataDhotam (1886), Paraiyan (1893), VikataThootham (1897), EUaraOzukkam (1899), Madras Temperance Herald (1899) and BhoolokaVyanan (1900) were a portion of the magazines and papers that took up procedures to engender the standards of Dalit freedom, a century prior. The Dalits discharged books and

magazines that declared they're disinclined against the unfriendly of casteism and Hindu belief systems.

### **12.5.7 One Paisa Tamilan**

The year 1907 was a significant year in the development and advancement of Buddhism. In this year Ayothidasar brought a magazine called 'One Paisa Tamilan.' and the historical backdrop of Tamils and in so doing it prepared to separate out from the historical context of tamils, their confidence in buddhism."

### **12.5.8 Formation Of Caste Associations**

Singular endeavors to increase specific points of interest or defeat specific issues would go frequently futile. Since, unique methodology needs aggregate quality and bartering power. Be that as it may, on the off chance that the people compose themselves into a gathering. At that point, attempt to accomplish their targets or objectives, more noteworthy accomplishment than anticipated would be conceivable. This way, a few stations have composed their own relationship, to deal with their instructive, monetary, and social issues. Rank affiliations assume an urgent job in political crusades. These are additionally affected by law based rights and benefits. Standing affiliation implies a crucial responsibility in elevating the backward classes and positions. It serves the typical enthusiasm of the gathering. The first Adi-DravidaMahajana Saba was built up in 1890. This was enlisted under the principles and guidelines of 1860 law. For this association, Subramanian Pillai turned into the President. The significant goal of this gathering was to join the innate individuals into single crease and afterward cause them to understand their state; at that point, drive them to battle for clique."

### **12.5.9 Educational Institutions**

To excite the Depressed Classes, schools, lodgings, and JohnRathinampillai of Wesleyan Mission, Col. Henry Steel Olcott of Theosophical Society, ChellappaMaistry, M.Y. Murugesan, R.A. Das; Swami Sahajananda, P.V. Subramaniam, L.C. Gurusamy, B.S. Moorthi,



M.Palanisamy, Rathinam and Veeraswamy were some of them. There were some more. In 1937, North Arcot District Adi Dravida Educational Affiliation was established by Jamedar Adhimalam, the then M.L.A. from Ranipet, P. Ethiraj, D. Anandam, D. Thandavarayan, Thambuswamy, T. Munuswamy Pillai and others. In 1938, an inn was begun in Vellore which is presently known as Ramdas Hostel in memory of R.A. Das' dad. Rettamalai Srinivasan Hostel was inaugurated in Ranipet in North Arcot District because of magnanimous administration and committed endeavors by A. Jayaraman, previous individual from Parliament, A. Sundaram, V.L. Mohanan, G. Jaganathan, J.V. Raghavan, Gangadharan, R.T.S. Moorthi, K.P. Arumugam and others. Krishnaswamy. J.J. Doss, K.M. Swami, V.S. Subbiah, Ratnam, Adimoolam, Subramaniam, and others had done their best to serve the discouraged classes. These instructive foundations and inns advanced training among the depressed courses, and they got political arousing.

**Check your progress -5**

7. What do you mean by SNDP Yogam?

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8. How educational institutions helped in the formative phase of Dalits in Tamilnadu?

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**12.6 POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF DALITS OF TAMIL NADU**

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## Notes

The Montagu and Chelmsford Report gave Communal Electorate to the Muslims and not to the Non-Brahmin Class. Including exhibition in each locale and communicated its non-co-activity to the Board. Their Anti-Brahmin Stance had met with disappointment without Government's reaction. K.Reddy presented a Memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1919, demanding the production of Separate non-Brahmin Electorate. It was about that time that the Pro-Congress non-Brahmin Pioneers of Madras, who contradicted the political strategy of S.I.L.F., framed an Affiliation called the "Madras Presidency Association," which additionally demanded. Separate Representation for the Non-Brahmins. The arrangements of the Act of 1919 had left the issue of level of situations among Brahmins and non-Brahmins uncertain. Therefore problem, the Meston Award was along these lines advertised. As indicated by it, 24 out of 65 General Seats were saved for the non-Brahmins. In the decision of 1920, the S.I.L.F. verified most of the seats and framed the first Delegate Government in Madras. The Justice Party governed the Madras Administration from seventeenth December 1920 to fourteenth July 1937, with specific interims.

The Dalits of Tamilnadu also played an essential role in the struggle for labor politics in India. The contributions of Dalits in all the journey of Independence are noticeable started from Civil Disobedience Movement to the Quit India Movement.

### Check your progress -6

9. Who presented a memorandum in joint parliamentary committee of 1919?

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10. What are the main episodes of freedom movement in which Dalits of Tamilnadu participated?

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## 12.7 SOCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF DALITS IN TAMIL NADU

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On the off chance that you ask a Tamil the inquiry 'who battled for social equity in your state?' much of the time the appropriate response will be a rundown of Dravidian legislators. A general impression has been made in the express that it is a result of the Dravidian parties and their intensely hostile to Hindu talk that Tamil Nadu has turned into a state aware of social equity. Today, crotchety pseudo-logical explanations by KanchaIlliah and progressively refined articles of Ramachandra Guha, spread by old media noblemen, are strengthening this bombed enemy of Hindu model as the primary way to deal with social-liberation. Each time such beginning enemy of Hindu talk has been hawked as social equity talk, it has flopped wretchedly. The BSP at first also heaved venom on Hindu divinities; however, ground substances constrained it to acknowledge the fundamental Hindu nature of the general public. From 'hit the Brahmins, Thakurs and Baniyas with shoes' ('Tilak, tarazuaurtalwar, inkomarojooto singe') the BSP motto progressed toward becoming 'Not elephant but rather Ganesa: exemplification of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva' ('Haathinahin Ganesh Hai; Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh hai'). In Tamil Nadu, the counter Hindu talk of the Dravidian development was dismissed entirely by the individuals when they demonstrated their warmth for a very expert Hindu M.G.Ramachandran and picked him over M.Karunanidhi. The DMK supreme gets a kick out of tossing obscenities at Hindu religion for the sake of logic. Famous sociology organizations sponsored by Indian citizens have never tried to investigate the error of comparing against Hindu talk with social equity. Numerous organizations advance a totally bombed model due to their own personal stakes.

Here are some of the notable social reformers of South:

1. Thiruvalluvar (30 BC)
2. T.Chennaiah (1912-1985)

## Notes

3. C. IyodheeThassPandithar (1845-1914)
4. Ayyankali (1863-1941)
5. Chinnaswami Subramanya Bharathi (1882-1921)

### Check your progress -7

11. What type of articles were written by Ramchandara Guha?

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12. Name any two notable Dalit social reformers in Tamilnadu?

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## 12.8 CONCLUSION

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The present work on the Dalit Movement in Tamil Nadu has endeavored to follow the encounters of the Dalits in the late provincial, and post pilgrim Tamil Nadu. The Dalit people group changed from a condition of land bondage into a horticultural network. The Dalits of Tamil Nadu participated effectively in the battle for national freedom since they feel sick of non-collaboration. Gandhiji's standards roused them, and they were dazzled by his zealous way to deal with free Dalits. The visit of Gandhiji and different pioneers to entire Tamil Nadu rejuvenated the Congress Programs. As Mahatma connected the necessary works and Harijan upliftment programs as a significant aspect of Congress exercises, increasingly more Dalits associated with the national development. Thus when Gandhiji propelled the non-participation development, the individuals of Tamil Nadu developed equivalent to the event and worked with enthusiasm for the practical usage of the development. Thus, outside merchandise was boycotted, and compelling

picketing was directed before the hard stuff shops. The non-participation development finished with the viciousness at Chauri-Chaurn on fifth February 1922. From 1922 to 1925, the Swarajists ruled the scene. It was trailed by the Simon Commission, which was established on 26th November 1927, to research the working of diarchy and propose further sacred measures. Motilal Nehru described it as a pure eyewash. The Tamil nation welcomed the commission with dark banners. As a Muslim response, Jinnah gave his fourteen. In the middle of 1930-31, Gandhiji attempted his renowned frequent rebellion development which started on twelfth March 1930 as Dandi March alongside 78 picked followers. In Tamil Nadu, C. Rajagopalachari and a hundred volunteers arranged their renowned walk from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranyam on thirteenth April 1930. In this 'salt satyagraha' battle, more Dalit volunteers of Tamil Nadu partook in the entirety Tamil Nadu. The reaction to different projects of the joint insubordination development was likewise unconstrained. As productive projects were a piece of the joint rebellion development, the welfare of the Dalits way ensured. Moderation and preclusion developments spared a large number of Dalits from the indecencies of alcohol. Pioneers of Tamil Nadu, Rajaji and others, activated the help of open to the counter war purposeful publicity. The Congress volunteers reacted with eagerness to the 'Delhi Chalo' or walk to Delhi call given by Gandhiji. Select volunteers of Tamil Nadu began their walk towards Delhi. Numerous Dalit individuals took an interest in these projects. Dalit individuals in this way assumed an unmistakable job in the battle for autonomy. This state delivered pioneers of extraordinary standing who worked with assurance to spread the Congress belief system. This demonstrated the point that they could satisfy the points and goals of the Congress.

Further, the achievement of any development relies on the idea of Dalit volunteers. Dalit network gave a band of committed volunteers who worked with conviction to change the perfect of Poorna Swaraj into the real world. The Dalit support in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Development were excellent. The oppressive proportions of the legislature couldn't repress the soul of the Dalits. Gandhiji wholeheartedly valued the commitment of Dalits. Numerous political

pioneers rose up out of the Dalit network in free India. It is the inheritance of opportunity development. Numerous Dalits were named as pastors in Tamil Nadu. During Kamaraj Ministry, the incredible, unapproachable pioneer Kakkan was appointed as Minister. Dalit ladies were likewise given political portrayal. Because of this, numerous ladies entered in the Assembly as individuals' agents. They did multiple welfare works for the individuals. KrishnaveniMallathiyar was one among such women.

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## 12.9 LET US SUM UP

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- Tamilnadu is a huge state of India
- Dalits are the main components of the politics of Tamilnadu
- Major communities evolved themselves over a century.
- Not only political but social scholars work equally for the social and political reforms of Dalit people, specifically n Tamilnadu and generally in India.
- Dalits rose to main positions with their efforts on the surface of Indian land.

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## 12.10 KEYWORDS:

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1. Dalits: word is used for the lower class in India.
2. Dravida Nation: it refers to the native people of Tamilnadu.
3. Civil Disobedience Movement: part of political struggle for Indian Independence against Britishers.
4. Quit India Movement: part of political struggle for Indian Independence against Britishers.

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## 12.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- What was the socio-economic plight of Dalits in Tamilnadu?
- Write a comprehensive note on the major communities of Dalits in Tamilnadu?

- What are the main steps of formative awareness of Tamilnadu Dalits?
- How you evaluate the social contributions of Dalits in Tamilnadu?

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## 12.12 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 12.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. Dalits are thrice separated, treated as untouchables and as outcaste. Because of their rank, face sex segregation being ladies. Lastly, financial impoverishment because of inconsistent pay difference, with low or came up short on work.
2. The average ratio of Dalit Women in their total population is 49.96.
3. Tamil Nadu is arranged between 8° 5' and 13° 35' Northern scopes and 76° 15' and 80° 0' longitude East of Greenwich.
4. The Cheras were amazing on the West Coast, which is today Focal North Kerala.

## Notes

5. The DPI, one of the huge Dalit political developments in Tamilnadu since the 1990s has been strikingly dynamic in taking up the issues of standing abominations on Dalits in the northern pieces of the state.
6. The antiquated chivalrous clans are also called Mallas.
7. DMMK was a piece of the Dalit third front in Tamil Nadu in the 2004 decisions.
8. PuthiyaTamilagam is an ideological group situated in Southern Tamil Nadu.
9. In Malabar, in 1903, Sri Narayan Guruswami, a Thiyya socio-religious reformer, shaped an affiliation called S.N.D.P. Yogam (Sri Narayan Dharma ParipalanYogam) for the spread of training among the Thiyyas just as their Sanskritization.
10. To excite the Depressed Classes, schools, lodgings, and a few devoted and magnanimous specialists began Educational Establishments.
11. K.Reddy presented a Memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1919, demanding the production of Separate non-Brahmin Electorate.
12. The contributions of Dalits in all the journey of Independence are noticeable started from Civil Disobedience Movement to the Quit India Movement.
13. He wrote progressively refined articles of Ramachandra Guha.



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# UNIT 13 DALIT SANGHARSH SAMITI IN KARNATAKA

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## STRUCTURE

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Background
- 13.3 Socio-Political Goals
- 13.4 The Nature of the Movement
- 13.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 13.6 Keywords
- 13.7 Suggested Readings and References
- 13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 13.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this unit, you are going to study the socio-political organization of Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (DSS) Karnataka. The organization itself is the perfect example of the struggle for basic human rights for a minority group, and interestingly struggle is purely political and non-violent.

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## 13.1 INTRODUCTION

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The Dalit Movement in Karnataka went under the effect of the thoughts of Ambedkar, Gandhi, Marx, and Lohia from one perspective and, at first, the endeavors of the Wodeyars who governed the Mysore Princely State during the 19th century on the other; we can likewise perceive the impact of the Dalit Movement of Maharashtra and the Social Movement of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh on the Dalit Movement in Karnataka. At first, the initiative didn't take a look at local lopsided characteristics however at the Movement all from above contended that the Dalit Movement in Karnataka was a state-level development that incorporated each one of those exposed to a particular type of affliction and mortification. The state in Karnataka for its very own reasons and

## Notes

under the pressure of the Dalit Movement embraced various measures for the enhancement of the sections of the Dalits. In any case, it's prevailing with regards to bringing just a little section of Dalits in its vortex. Along these lines, we see the Dalit Movement breaking out in Karnataka on a major path during the 1970s. By and by, in the Mysore District, the Dalit Movement began in close relationship with developments existing in the neighboring states to contradict and censure the offensive abuse of Dalits by the upper ranks. The Mysore locals turned into the support of the Dalit Movement in Karnataka seeking to establish social relations on another premise. It began essentially with the Boosa scene. At the point when the upper standings assaulted not just the Dalit pioneer B. Basavalingappa yet, also, his devotees, Dalits fought back with more prominent annoyance and self-declaration. Dalits likewise understood that it was the only path left to Dalits to stop the degree of their deterioration. By proposing an alternate social set-up, social area and quest for writing in Kannada, the Dalit Movement came to own a particular expression under the administration of Prof B. Krishnappa.

Dalit taught workers and understudies began an association in 1974 called Karnataka Dalit Sangarsh Samiti. In the good 'old days it sorted out dissent walks and masterminded shows of Dalit understudies and Dalit authors. It started a publication Panchama which fixated attention on the problems of the Dalits and gave publicity to the activities of the Dalit Sangarsh Samiti. Numerous social issues and land questions were taken on top need. They additionally did sit-ins before Dalit MLAs and MPs against their inaction to stop outrages on Dalits. It is a wide-based, mass-based and unit-based association. In 1982 the DSS laborers effectively took an interest in the crusade and worked for the annihilation of some noticeable Dalit leaders. Dalit Action Committee is a branch of the DSS. Another day by day was propelled 'Sangathi' by the breakaway gathering. The 1950 Constitution of India, presented after the nation picked up freedom, included measures to improve the financial states of Dalits. Besides restricting distance, these incorporated the booking framework, a method for positive separation that made the groupings of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). Networks that were arranged as being one of those gatherings

were ensured a level of the seats in the national and state lawmaking bodies, just as in government occupations and spots of training. The framework has its causes in the 1932 Poona Pact among Ambedkar and Gandhi when Ambedkar surrendered his interest that the Dalits ought to have an electorate separate from the standing Hindus as an end-result of Gandhi tolerating measures thusly. The thought of a different electorate had been proposed in the Communal Award made by the British Raj authorities, and the result of the Pact - the Government of India Act of 1935 - both presented the new term of Scheduled Castes in a swap for Depressed Classes and held seats for them in the lawmaking bodies.

In Dakshina Kannada, the development came during the 1970s from outside. There are no voices in the area during the 1960s to which we can interface the assembly that came to consideration 10 years after the fact. Actually, in this local Dalits were bound up with the hold of Brahminism and the paternalism of the state significantly more than in Mysore. The records in the Dalit Sangarsha Samiti office M Mangalore section guarantee that the Dalit Movement in Dakshina Kannada started formally when a region part of Dalit Sangarsha Samiti was set up under the presidentship of Somashekhar - a worker of Kannada Press. This section of Dalit Sangarsha Samiti started here as an augmentation of Karnataka Dalit Sangarsha Samiti with an enthusiasm for spreading its authoritative base in the region. When it began in Dakshina Kannada, it was essentially coordinated by the representatives who represented the whole Dalit cause. The energy with which they worked in the first place took up each issue that related to Dalits independent of the sub-position question. Its motivation of social fairness, tranquil disturbance and sincere relationship among individuals pulled in the help of dynamic scholars who not just held hands with the Dalit Sangarsha Samiti however effectively took part in the activation procedure of Dalits in Dakshina Kannada. Be that as it may, the birthplace of the Dalit Movement can't be attributed uniquely to the foundation of Dalit association. It is essential that different factors also be considered concerning the starting point of the Dalit Movement. As talked about before, the Mysore area was the focal point of class-based misuse which constrained Dalits to search for a choice to oppose such abuse. They discovered this option in the national

level Dalit pioneers who traversed the state as well as they were fruitful in making social mindfulness among the Dalits in Karnataka. Then again Dalits in Dakshina Kannada have had no record of opposing standing misuse except now and again where non-Dalits took to change Hindu society. Surely, the Dalit Movement in Dakshina Kannada started as an extension of the Dalit Sangarsha Samiti which had spread all through the State with the plan that the Dalits were exposed to misuse by the upper classes. Be that as it may, the local element of misuse was not thought about. The whole Dalit population was viewed as sharing a typical parcel. Strikingly, similar to the Dalits in the Mysore locale, Dakshina Kannada also respected the expansion of the Dalit Movement through building up a part of Dalit Sangarsha Samiti. The observational overview did in Dakshin Kannada regarding this examination uncovered that the informed and utilized Dalits shaped the social base of the Dalit Movement in Dakshina Kannada. They felt that informed Dalits have the ethical commitment to serve poor people, country-based Dalits who, as per them, required more prominent consideration. The activity that was taken by the Dalits brought about preparing Dalits having a place with country zones in Dakshina Kannada. The underlying phases of the Dalit Movement in Dakshina Kannada had brought up the issue of equivalent privileges of Dalits. It is essential that the development of the Dalits in Dakshina Kannada pulled in the help of a decent number of dynamic scholars who came up to help the reason for the Dalit Movement in the state. Essayists, the press and all the more significant social laborers principally drawn from Christian Missionaries bolstered the reason for Dalits in Dakshina Kannada.

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## **13.2 BACKGROUND**

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Dalits in India are often considered as backward and low category part of society and they are often denied their basic human rights, and social needs in Indian society, Marriage with Dalit is considered as Prohibited in other Hindu believe systems. Far-right Hindu organizations consider Dalits to be kept away from temples, schools, and offices. In India, a Muslim, Sikh, Christian or any other religious person can be seen in the

mainstream but Dalits aren't allowed to come into the mainstream in any field of life. Following basic issues led to the formation of DSS:

### **1. Denial of Basic Rights:**

Dalits were being categorized as low-class creatures in society were even denied for their basic political, social, and right for justice in Hindu society. They were often lynched to death and state functionaries seem to be non-existent when it comes to protection and justice for Dalits. In public offices, they were denied to even enter or approach any official in any regard.

### **2. Social Problems:**

These problems pertained to the concept of purity and pollution. The untouchables were given a very low position in society. The high-caste Hindus maintained a social distance from them. They were denied many basic amenities of life which were accorded to the high-caste Hindus. They were dependent on the tradition of Hindus for items of food and drink.

### **3. Financial Crisis:**

They suffered from many economic problems. They had to face many economic hardships and they were not given proper rewards for their service. Traditionally, untouchables were deprived of the landed property of their own. They were not allowed to carry on any business. They were not permitted to engage themselves in the professions which were being carried out by the people of other castes. The untouchables were not free to choose any occupation according to their ability they had to clean the streets, remove dead cattle and to undertake heavy agricultural work. Mostly they were landless laborers. They worked in the fields of high-caste Hindus as laborers.

### **4. Hate Crimes:**

Dalits involve a somewhat unbalanced number of India's jail inmates. While Dalits (counting the two SCs and STs) comprise 25 percent of the Indian populace, they represent 33.2 percent of prisoners. About 24.5 percent of death row detainees in India are from Scheduled Castes and

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Scheduled Tribes which is proportionate to their populace. The rate is most elevated in Maharashtra (50 percent), Karnataka (36.4 percent) and Madhya Pradesh (36 percent). Standing related brutality among Dalit and non-Dalits supposedly comes from Dalit's financial accomplishment amid continuous preference. The Bhagana assault case, which emerged out of a question of assignment of land, is a case of barbarities against Dalit young ladies and ladies. In August 2015, because of proceeded with supposed segregation from the upper ranks of the town, around 100 Dalit occupants changed over to Islam in service at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi. Between rank marriage has been proposed as a cure, however as indicated by a 2014 review of 42,000 families by the New Delhi-based National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and the University of Maryland, it was assessed that lone 5 percent of Indian relationships cross position limits. A 2006 article detailed occurrences of savagery, questions and victimization Dalits in Maharashtra. The article noticed that non-Dalit families asserted they don't unexpectedly treat Dalits. A woodworker station individual stated, "We reveal to them anything and they disclose to us you are pointing fingers at us given our standing; we as a whole life respectively, and there will undoubtedly be battles, however, they think we target them." There have been reports of Dalits being compelled to eat human dung and drink pee by Christian Thevars, an OBC. On one such occasion, a 17-year-old young lady was determined to fire by Yadav (an OBC) youth, purportedly because she was permitted school-education.[80] In September 2015, a 45-year-old Dalit lady was supposedly stripped bare and had to drink pee by culprits from the Yadav people group in Madhya Pradesh.

### 5. EXCLUSION:

While victimization Dalits has declined in urban territories and the open sphere, despite everything it exists in provincial regions and the private circle, in ordinary issues, for example, access to eating places, schools, sanctuaries and water sources. Some Dalits effectively incorporated into urban Indian culture, where standing roots are more subtle. In-country India, in any case, station birthplaces are all the more promptly obvious and Dalits regularly remain barred from neighborhood religious life,

however, some subjective proof proposes that prohibition is diminishing. As indicated by the 2014 NCAER/College of Maryland review, 27 percent of the Indian populace still rehearses unapproachability. The figure might be higher because numerous individuals will not recognize doing so when addressed, even though the approach of the review was likewise reprimanded for conceivably swelling the figure. Crosswise over India, Unapproachability was polished among 52 percent of Brahmins, 33 percent of Other In reverse Classes and 24 percent of non-Brahmin forward castes. The distance was additionally drilled by individuals of minority religions – 23 percent of Sikhs, 18 percent of Muslims and 5 percent of Christians. As per statewide information, Distance is most ordinarily rehearsed in Madhya Pradesh (53 percent), trailed by Himachal Pradesh (50 percent), Chhattisgarh (48 percent), Rajasthan and Bihar (47 percent), Uttar Pradesh (43 percent), and Uttarakhand (40 for every cent). Instances of isolation have incorporated the Madhya Pradesh town of Ghatwani, where the Booked Clan populace of Bhilala doesn't permit Dalit townspeople to utilize open bore well for getting water and subsequently they are compelled to drink messy water. In metropolitan zones around New Delhi and Bangalore, Dalits and Muslims face segregation from upper-rank landowners when looking for spots to rent.

## 6. EDUCATION:

Customarily the untouchables were denied of getting training. They were not permitted to utilize open instructive establishments. Indeed, even today a large portion of the ignorant people are untouchables. Describing the states of Harijans, K.M. Pannikar has commented, their position, when the framework worked in its flawless greatness, was from numerous points of view more terrible than that of subjugation. The slave, at any rate, was a property of the ace and in this manner, he remained in an individual connection to his proprietor. Contemplations of monetary self - intrigue and even human inclination altered the boorishness of individual slavery. But these moderating elements did not have any significant bearing to the arrangement of distance, which was for the most part seen as an arrangement of common slaveholding.

Rather than an individual owning slaves, every town held the distant families connected to it in a sort of subjugation. No person of the higher stations should have any close to home relations with an unapproachable.

### **7. RECOGNITION OF DALITS AS EXPLOITED CLASS:**

The Hindu society has represented by four-overly Varna arrangement of Brahamana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra. The tremendous extent of individuals known as 'panchamas' or 'exterior antayajas' was fell outside the domain of the Varna framework. They have been called untouchables for an extensive stretch in the historical backdrop of India.<sup>6</sup> The Hindu social association was customarily isolated into two substrata, referred to individually as 'Dvija' what's more, 'Ekaja'. The Dwija include three higher vama-the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya at the same time, the Ekaja or Sudhra were comprised of the lower ranks are intended to serve the Dvijas and are in this manner submitted lower in the social request. The entire framework was known as chaturvamavyavastha or four-crease division of society in which an enormous lump of individuals having a place with various standings doesn't discover their place inside this schematic structure. They are hence, called Panchama or Chandala, Avama, Antyaja, etc. Station gives its bearings for acknowledgment, acknowledgment, sanctification, and sacrosanct commitment and the other way around, of a person on his appearance in this world. It has its laws for social and religious rights, benefits, and occupation, for educating, preparing and instructing, for commitment, obligation, and practice, for heavenly acknowledgment and so on. The positioning framework depends on a sound monetary rule the division of work, which guarantees the productivity of generation. The establishment of rank itself intensely began to build specialization and make for a smooth financial life. An individual from birth realized what calling he was to pursue later on. So from the beginning, he dedicated all his vitality to the one calling of his progenitor's. The rank framework has additionally been in charge of protecting the immaculateness of blood among the different gatherings of Hindus even up right up 'til the present time. Every standing made unbending standards for relationships. Prof.



Ramesh Chandra, Character and Beginning of caste Framework in India, Delhi: Kalpaz Distributions, 2005, especially illegal and along these lines India has had the option to protect racial virtue to an enormous degree. Be that as it may, the central revile of the rank framework is 'unapproachability'. The upper standings try not to view the lower standing Sudras as even individuals. They are treated with scorn. Their shadow contaminates the upper positions. Their touch is unendurable. They can't contact the utensils, materials, and water of the upper ranks. They can't love in the sanctuaries of the upper ranks. They are not treated as men however as chattels. During the medieval period, these individuals were not free from nearly the equivalent inabilities. In Manusmriti, the act of rank framework was a religious organization made by God. The Sudras need to serve the other three upper-rank gatherings. The relationships needed to be inside the positions as they were. The Kautilya's Arthashastra, likewise uncovers that the individuals will get paradise and everlasting joy by following the rule of 'Svadharma'.<sup>10</sup> the presence of word related gatherings demonstrates that the monetary structure of the society depended on the agribusiness, expressions, artworks, and work and so on. Dharmasutras too discloses to us various data concerning the slaves who were utilized for the family works. During the Mauryan time frame, the situation of these discouraged classes of individuals was an extremely basic one. The individuals of these areas were earned their work by doing their humble work and had no devices and means for agrarian works like seeds and bulls and so on. These slaves were intended to do hard work for upper station individuals without legitimate wages.\* <sup>11</sup> During the system of English Administration, the liberal instruction arrangement what's more, singular freedom with the guideline of 'equality under the watchful eye of law', had changed the idea of rank framework in certain degree by authorizing certain enactments. The Rank Inabilities Evacuation Demonstration of 1850 was instituted by the English system was the primary endeavors made by the Legislature to kill the social wickedness of station framework in India. In this setting, the term Dalit is comprehensive of all the persecuted and misused areas of society, for example, discouraged, burdened, oppressed, confiscated, denied,

mishandled, modest, prostrate and so forth. Although the English were not for the act of unapproachability.

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### **13.3 SOCIO-POLITICAL GOALS**

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The expressed objective of D.S.S was to "liberate and free the Dalits from financial and social abuse through peaceful methods." To this end, they planned for nationalizing all the private land, industry, an abundance of the country with a definitive aim to manufacture a casteless and uncouth society. On account of the indefatigable work of the DSS, throughout the following couple of decades, there developed a solid Dalit political initiative in Karnataka. The exercises embraced by DSS over the state brought about the development of different sub-associations concentrated on understudies, laborers, and ladies. Most significant maybe was DSS's solid help and vision for a huge number of Dalit understudies over the state empowering them to lead the battles for reservation, for lodgings, for pleasantries, and business openings. This work independently prompted no other time to see the rise of another class of taught Dalits in Karnataka. Following are the main goals of DSS:

#### **I) MAINSTREAM DALITS**

Brought under the broader scope of the term 'modernization', Karnataka did not escape the revolutionary changes sweeping across the country during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. But the process of modernization was very slow and sluggish in Karnataka. It was even slower and less relevant for the castes below the Brahmins. However, without resorting to a direct attack against the Brahmins, each non-Brahmin caste in its way was trying to mobilize itself towards achieving a higher stature in socio-cultural life. The non-Brahmin castes like the Lingayats. Rejected the Hindu framework and attempted to attain social prestige and status within the Lingayat framework. It was not Sanskriti/.ation. But a secessionist process through which they were trying to mobilize respect for themselves and prove that they were smart, superior and distinct. The non-manifest, yet continuing trends, related to Basavcshwara and the subsequent Bhakti traditions were the major source of inspiration for this kind of cultural

transformation. But in practice, this strategic movement proved meaningless in so far as it did not bring the real benefits, such as those available in the political and administrative domains, to the caste in question. On the other hand, the Brahmins by taking to English education were already dominating the administration of the princely state of Mysore, They had not only entered the higher echelons of the power structure but also had a hold over many of the minor official positions. This monopoly of power by the numerically small number of Brahmins gradually created ripples of discontent amongst the non-Brahmins. 'Realising that their interests were not being properly served and that they stood to lose in the long run they began to seek avenues leading to the places of position and power' (Shastri 1991: 37). Around the beginning of the twentieth century, they had mustered enough strength to influence the princely authorities of Mysore. Some of the family members of the Maharaja of Mysore came forward to support persons like M. Basavaiah, K. H. Ramaiah, and YajamanVeerabasappa, to organize the non-Brahmin movement. But when C. R. Reddy, an ardent follower of Phule, came to Mysore and joined the Maharaja's College, Mysore, the movement got real momentum. Reddy attempted to bring various non-Brahmin interests under a single banner and founded the Praja Mitra Mandali, in the year 1917. But conflicts over minor issues arose among them. And though the movement began with the genuine objective of developing the backward castes, it hardly worked for that goal. On the contrary, in practice, its goals were opportunistic and directed towards acquiring positions in the princely state of Mysore. 'One could describe it as a rat race to join the ranks of clerkdom' (Nagaraj 1993: 5). It kept the Panchama problem out of its concern. But the princely state acted upon it very sincerely. It provided for Panchama education by starting separate schools for them. There were as many as 65 Panchama schools in 1901 (Shastri 1991: 39). The liberal Dewans like ScshadriIyer helped the King to take up such schemes for the Panchamas. But when the princely state took the initiative to integrate these schools with the general schools a storm of protest arose. 'Not only the orthodox Hindus but the Muslims also agitated and withdrew their children from the schools. The redoubtable C. R. Reddy, the then

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Inspector General of Education did not budge and stood by the legitimate rights of Panchamas' (Shastri' 1991:39). The helpless Panchamas were also trying to organize themselves. As early as 1906 they had established the Andhra Pradesh Sahasra Mahavidyalaya Sangha to represent their problems to the princely state. But it was led by a Bangalore-based Tamil non-Brahmin called Murgesh Pillai, who was active as a Dalit Spokesman for over three decades' (Omvedt 1994; 129). However, Maharashtra was experiencing more powerful currents of Dalit upsurge. By 1920 Ambedkar had already earned a name as a Dalit leader capable of taking his community to the path of liberation. His name had reached every headquarter of India by then. Through some of the villages and towns of the bordering districts of northern Karnataka, Ambedkar was making his way into Karnataka as well. He held important meetings in Nippani, Chikkodi, Bedkihal, Bagalkot, Bidar, and Gulbarga. People like Ingale, Varale, Karale, and Suryavanshi were at the forefront to render him support and organize meetings for him to address. He had also inaugurated the Maharashtra Sahasra Mahavidyalaya at Dharwad in the year 1923. Naturally, his activities were known even to the princely authorities of Mysore state. When a Tamil Brahmin reformer, Gopalaswamy Iyer (most prominent of early Brahmin patrons of Dalit causes) organized a political conference of Panchamas in 1920, he invited Ambedkar. But Ambedkar could not attend the conference due to a state ban on his entry' (Omvedt 1994: 130). The nonawakened Dalits of Mysore did not know who Ambedkar was. However, as Ambedkar began playing a crucial role in the political and social spheres of India, and as he gave expression to the aspirations of the Dalits as their main national spokesman before the British Commissions, Round Table Conferences and Constituent Assembly, he earned a lot of respect from even these remote corners of Dalit Karnataka. No doubt, the Dalits accepted him as their savior. But this realization occurred to them only after Independence. Before this, they never spoke on their own. They depended on their leaders, whose sentiments vanished in the bosom of Gandhism, which upheld Hinduism and its greatness. The Brahmin leadership of the Dalits was not spontaneous. It was sponsored as a strategic reaction to the threat of non-Brahmin political domination. Naturally, the 'Harijan' leadership of the

princely state, primarily offered by Brahmins, was acting following the Congress formula of upgradations without any long-term aim for 'upliftment'. As such, economic exploitation and social oppression were not dealt with seriously. It was like leading the sheep towards an ablong hole. Even the task of Harijan upgradation was not attended to sincerely.

## II) INDEPENDENCE:

The Dalits to be economically self-reliant and politically powerful. To Ambedkar, the sociocultural domain of Hinduism was nothing but a veritable chamber of horrors. 'The sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas, Smritis, and Shastras, the iron law of caste, the heartless law of karma and the senseless law of status by birth are to the untouchables veritable instruments of torture which Hinduism has forged against the untouchables' (Ambedkar 1946: 308). Hence to overcome the socio-cultural exploitation by Hinduism, Ambedkar gave a clarion call to the Dalits to abandon Hinduism ad-infinitum and seek solace in some other religion which can provide for common respect, brotherhood, and compassion that one man owes to another. But abandoning Hinduism was not the only reason why Ambedkar embraced Buddhism. He had rational reasons for adopting such a course of historic significance. Firstly, Ambedkar saw religion as a social force (Gore 1993: 234) as it sets the ideal for a society to follow (Rao 1993: 71). To quote his own words: 'those who deny the importance of religion. fail to understand how great is the potency and sanction that lies behind a religious ideal as compared with that of a secular ideal . . . to ignore religion is to ignore live wire' (Ambedkar 1987: 23-24). Thus, Ambedkar regarded religion as an important part of the process of human life only because owing to its vital force men get together and live together with a fellow feeling. But at the same time, he did not consider all religions to be equally good. He abhorred a religious system that converted the human mind into a static state because that which is static is easily prone to exploitation, by propagating the illogical tenets. 'He rejected Hinduism on the ground that it encouraged anti-humanistic values and promoted unscientific and irrational behaviour' (Rao 1993: 63), According to Ambedkar's analysis of Hindu philosophy 'on the criterion of "justice" Hinduism was

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found wanting, in so far as it was inimical to equality, antagonistic to liberty and opposed to fraternity' (Gore 1993: 235). Hence it is a misnomer to call it a religion. Its philosophy as opposed to the very thing for which religion stands' (Ambedkar 1987: 78). To Ambedkar religion was good only if its doctrinal basis aligned with the democratic principles of liberty, equality and fraternity — in the word 'justice'. He took religion as a matter of right living, a Journal of Social and Economic Development Vol.II.No.1, Jan-June 1998 Career of Dalit Movement in Karnataka 121 framework for a moral way of life' (Rao 1993: 66). In-fact, his decision to convert himself to Buddhism was guided by the spirit of scientific moralism which meant 'Godless, rational, humanistic and ethically saturated' religion. According to K. Raghavendra Rao, ' Ambedkar had set his heart on a scientific religion of the type the Victorians were trying to seek desperately as a way out of the personally agonizing conflict between their Christian beliefs and their scientific knowledge. Ambedkar thought that Buddhism answered this need' (Rao 1993: 67). By converting his people to such a religion, Ambedkar wanted to deliver them from exploitation in the Hindu socio-cultural domain. Indeed the reason for Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism was genuine as it was motivated by the spirit of leading the Dalits towards a new way of life with new feelings, thoughts, and perceptions about themselves and their society. Given a new fellow feeling and conjoint experience, he expected the Dalits to acquire a new cultural identity that would make them and altogether new community, free from fears of deprivation nor discrimination. But no Dalit organization in Karnataka which viewed Ambedkar as its guiding force took this part of his theory of Dalit emancipation so seriously. Excepting Basavlingappa, no Dalit leader could think of it as a step towards the liberation of Dalits. Shyam Sunder was a staunch follower of Babasaheb Ambedkar, but he failed to understand the core contents of Ambedkar's religious philosophy. Claiming that he was an atheist, Shyam Sunder did not understand how Ambedkar was himself an atheist with a scientific tint of religion or a moralism par excellence. It is the non-acceptance of religious conversion as a method of bringing about Dalit liberation that gave the first blow to the religious movement launched by Ambedkar.

Blocking its growth to that extent. Though DSS provided a powerful front to the Dalits of Karnataka, it did not commit itself to a definite ideological stance such as to lead the Dalits on to a path of liberation. Naturally, Ambedkar's conversion strategy remained far from its consideration. Instead, DSS. Attempted to derive solace within the framework of Hinduism itself. It succumbed to the same evils with which it was crossing swords. The DSS just used Ambedkar's photo and not Ambedkar as a guiding force.

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### **13.4 THE NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT**

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The Dalit Movement in post-independence Karnataka and especially during the 1970s had certain particular attributes. It had discovered that the administrative apparatus was not working according to the sacred arrangements. It didn't look for preference yet the maintaining of the standard of law. It had no figment that the bureaucracy will go past its law to help Dalits. Be that as it may, it needed the organization to work inside the lattice of law. It requested open establishments to work on Constitutional lines and to help equitable qualities. Its disturbances against Deputy Commissioners, Tahshildars, Police Officers and motion picture producers helped in a major manner to fix the errors. Dalit Movement has contributed extraordinarily to rethink and execute the vote based relations at the plane of the common society and the commonwealth. There is no proof to propose that Dalits in Dakshina Kannada and Mysore areas pursued fierce intends to accomplish their objectives. They have constantly tried to mount a vote based pressure on the specialists to fix their issues just as the issues of other minimized gatherings in the general public. The Dalit Movement has engaged the idea of the general public of lesser viciousness particularly mounted on the standing lines. It doesn't imply that the Dalit Movement supports a perfect harmony no matter what and with no capability. It was understood that India is plural and multicultural society where the odds of conflict of interests may be unavoidable. It doesn't support them on position lines. The Dalit Movement, in Karnataka, is recognized by its comprehension of social conjunction, worry for the poor over every single social classification, bid for peacefulness, support for women's

privileges and the privileges of minorities and in reverse classes and the insurance of the interests of the ranchers. Even though it favored advancement by the estimations of freedom and equity, it has all-around turned its face against globalization as it has influenced the poor past rank and network limits.

### Check Your Progress I

Q1. What are the key issues faced by Dalits?

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Q2. Highlight Socio-Political goals of DSS

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## 13.5 LET US SUM UP

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In 1974 a group of learned individuals of dalit community in Karnataka started a Socio political struggle known as Dalit Sangharsh Samiti. It started a publication Panchama which fixated attention on the problems of the Dalits and gave publicity to the activities of the Dalit SangharshSamiti. Numerous social issues and land questions were taken on top need. They additionally did sit-ins before Dalit MLAs and MPs against their inaction to stop outrages on Dalits. It is a wide based, mass based and unit based association. In 1982 the DSS laborers effectively took an interest in the crusade and worked for the annihilation of some noticeable Dalit leaders. Dalit Action Committee is a branch of the DSS. Another day by day was propelled 'Sangathi' by the breakaway gathering. The 1950 Constitution of India, presented after the nation picked up freedom, included measures to improve the financial states of Dalits. Besides restricting distance, these incorporated the booking framework, a method for positive separation that made the groupings of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). Networks that were arranged as being one of those gatherings were ensured a level of the seats in the national and state lawmaking



bodies, just as in government occupations and spots of training. The framework has its causes in the 1932 Poona Pact among Ambedkar and Gandhi when Ambedkar surrendered his interest that the Dalits ought to have an electorate separate from the standing Hindus as an end-result of Gandhi tolerating measures thusly. The thought of a different electorate had been proposed in the Communal Award made by the British Raj authorities, and the result of the Pact - the Government of India Act of 1935 - both presented the new term of Scheduled Castes in a swap for Depressed Classes and held seats for them in the lawmaking bodies. Dalits were being categorized as low-class creatures in society were even denied for their basic political, social, and right for justice in Hindu society. They were often lynched to death and state functionaries seem to be non-existent when it comes to protection and justice for Dalits. In public offices, they were denied to even enter or approach any official in any regard. The expressed objective of D.S.S was to "liberate and free the Dalits from financial and social abuse through peaceful methods." To this end, they planned for nationalizing all the private land, industry, an abundance of the country with a definitive aim to manufacture a casteless and uncouth society. On account of the indefatigable work of the DSS, throughout the following couple of decades, there developed a solid Dalit political initiative in Karnataka. The exercises embraced by DSS over the state brought about the development of different sub-associations concentrated on understudies, laborers, and ladies. Most significant maybe was DSS's solid help and vision for a huge number of Dalit understudies over the state empowering them to lead the battles for reservation, for lodgings, for pleasantries, and business openings. This work independently prompted no other time to see the rise of another class of taught Dalits in Karnataka. ). Hence to overcome the socio-cultural exploitation by Hinduism, Ambedkar gave a clarion call to the Dalits to abandon Hinduism ad-infinity and seek solace in some other religion which can provide for common respect, brotherhood, and compassion that one man owes to another. But abandoning Hinduism was not the only reason why Ambedkar embraced Buddhism. He had rational reasons for adopting such a course of historic significance. Firstly, Ambedkar saw religion as a social force (Gore 1993: 234) as it

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Commissions. Round Table Conferences and Constituent Assembly, he earned a lot of respect from even these remote corners of Dalit Karnataka. No doubt, the Dalits accepted him as their savior. But this realization occurred to them only after Independence. Before this, they never spoke on their own. They depended on their leaders, whose sentiments vanished in the bosom of Gandhism, which upheld Hinduism and its greatness. The Brahmin leadership of the Dalits was not spontaneous. It was sponsored as a strategic reaction to the threat of non-Brahmin political domination. Naturally, the 'Harijan' leadership of the princely state, primarily offered by Brahmins, was acting under the Congress formula of up-gradation without any long-term aim for 'upliftment'. As such, economic exploitation and social oppression were not dealt with seriously. It was like leading the sheep towards an along hole. Even the task of Harijan upgradation was not attended to sincerely. Brought under the broader scope of the term 'modernization', Karnataka did not escape the revolutionary changes sweeping across the country during the closing years of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. But the process of modernization was very slow and sluggish in Karnataka. It was even slower and less relevant for the castes below the Brahmins. However, without resorting to a direct attack against the Brahmins, each non-Brahmin caste in its way was trying to mobilize itself towards achieving a higher stature in socio-cultural life. The non-Brahmin castes like the Lingayats. Rejected the Hindu framework and attempted to attain social prestige and status within the Lingayat framework. It was not Sanskritization. But a secessionist process through which they were trying to mobilize respect for themselves and prove that they were smart, superior and distinct. The non-manifest, yet continuing trends, related to Basaveshwara and the subsequent Bhakti traditions were the major source of inspiration for this kind of cultural transformation. But in practice, this strategic movement proved meaningless in so far as it did not bring the real benefits, such as those available in the political and administrative domains, to the caste in question. On the other hand, the Brahmins by taking to English education were already dominating the administration of the princely state of Mysore, They had not only entered the higher echelons of the power

structure but also had a hold over many of the minor official positions. This monopoly of power by the numerically small number of Brahmins gradually created ripples of discontent amongst the non-Brahmins. While victimization Dalits has declined in urban territories and the open sphere, despite everything it exists in provincial regions and the private circle, in ordinary issues, for example, access to eating places, schools, sanctuaries and water sources. Some Dalits effectively incorporated into urban Indian culture, where standing roots are more subtle. In India, in any case, station birthplaces are all the more promptly obvious and Dalits regularly remain barred from neighborhood religious life, however, some subjective proof proposes that prohibition is diminishing.

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### 13.6 KEYWORDS

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- **Pancahama:** a member of the lowest caste group in India
- **Dvija:** "twice-born" in ancient Indian Sanskrit.

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### 13.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- Trace the emergence of the DSS.
- Draw a comparison between the Dalit Panthers mentioned in the earlier chapters and the DSS.

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### 13.8 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- Nair, Janaki. "Badanavala killings: Signs for the Dalit movement of Karnataka." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1993): 911-912.

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## **13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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1. Following basic issues led to the formation of DSS.....(answer to Check Your Progress 1 Q1)
2. The expressed objective of D.S.S was to "liberate and free the Dalits from financial and social abuse through peaceful methods.".....(answer to Check Your Progress 1 Q2)

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# UNIT 14 - ISSUES AND PROBLEMS CONCERNING DALITS

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## STRUCTURE

14.0 Objectives

14.1 Introduction

14.2 A Marxist Perspective On Caste Oppression

14.3 The CPI (M) On The Caste Question

14.4 The Position Of Dalits In India Today

14.5 Indicator Shows The Awful Condition Of Families

14.5.1 Land

14.5.2 Fixed Capital Assets

14.5.3 Agricultural Labor

14.5.4 Child Labor

14.5.5 Per Capita Income

14.5.6 Poverty

14.5.7 Employment

14.5.8 Reservations

14.5.9 Education

14.5.10 Health

14.5.11 Women

14.5.12 Sanitation

14.5.13 Electricity

14.5.14 Atrocities, Untouchability, And Discrimination

14.6 Effect Of Liberalization Policies

14.7 Communist Struggles Against Caste & Feudal Oppression

14.8 The Position Of Dalits In Left-Ruled States

14.9 Immediate Tasks

14.9.1 Charter Of Demands

14.9.2 Land Reforms

14.9.3 Reservations

14.9.4 Special Component Plan

14.9.5 Infrastructure Development

14.9.6 Rooting Out Untouchability

14.9.7 Protection From Atrocities

- 14.9.8 Employment
- 14.9.9 Education
- 14.9.10 Agricultural Workers
- 14.9.11 Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
- 14.9.12 Public Distribution System
- 14.9.13 Credit
- 14.9.14 Bonded Labor And Child Labor
- 14.9.15 Scavengers
- 14.9.16 Intercaste marriages
- 14.10 Reservation caste Atrocities
  - 14.10.12006 Dalit protests in Maharashtra
  - 14.10.2Healthcare and nutrition
  - 14.10.3Crime
  - 14.10.4Segregation
  - 14.10.5Social persecution by caste Hindus
  - 14.10.6Prevention of Atrocities Act
  - 14.10.7Cow vigilantism
  - 14.10.8Honor killing
  - 14.10.9 Social boycott
  - 14.10.10 Caste Clashes
  - 14.10.11 Discrimination in universities
- 14.11 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.12 Keywords
- 14.13 Questions for review
- 14.14 Suggested Readings and References
- 14.15 Answers for Check Your progress

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## 14.0 OBJECTIVES

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After going through this unit, you should be able to

- Understand the issues of Dalit's
- Understand the current problem of Dalit's
- Point out the various major Issues of Dalit
- Effect of liberalisation policies

- Understand the 2006 Dalit protests in Maharashtra
- Discrimination
- Define the Prevention of Atrocities

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### **14.1 INTRODUCTION**

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Dalit is found not just in the Hindu community. All religions, communities, and races have had this throughout history. To think of it as a Hindu issue is a false concept. Poverty is our primary problem. Our children are unable to benefit from reservations. Because they are forced into the workforce very early. Reservations for colleges and jobs don't help if you don't even have enough food or water. Until basic facilities are met reservations can do only so much. Many in our community have done well having those facilities. We are 25% of the Hindu population. We are still under-represented in several areas. Because so many of our uncertainties go unfilled each year. At a religious level, we often see money flow in from Christian. Muslim organizations foreign to help Dalit's. They not from Hindu organizations. This leads many of our municipal to feel that Hindus do not care about them. The end of castes would end a lot of problems faced by our municipal. It would not help us overcome poverty. If a man has food, water, and basic necessities, he can focus on education and upliftment. Education is the solution to many problems for all communities. So many bright young Dalit boys and girls are unable to fulfill their educational goals. Each year because they are pushed into the work at a young age to help deliver for their families.

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### **14.2 A MARXIST PERSPECTIVE ON CASTE OPPRESSION**

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The thoroughly reactionary Varna and caste system has hunted Indian society for thousands of years. India is the only country in the world where such a system came into being and still exists. The Varna and caste system was sanctified by Hindu religion. This was the main



cause of its association. The disreputable text Manusmriti. Codified the prevailing social norms and consigned the shards. Atishudras and women to a thoroughly unequal and miserable existence. The singularity of the caste system was that it was inherited, obligatory and endogamous. The worst affected by the caste system and its social oppression have been the Dalit's atishudras, or scheduled castes. The advises or scheduled tribes in India have also faced social oppression over the ages. The stories of Sambuca in the Ramayana are classic testimonies of the non-egalitarian nature of Hindu society in ancient India. Curse of untouchability, the dalits had no right to have any property. They had to eat the foulest food, including leftovers thrown away by the higher varnas; they were not allowed to draw water from the common well; they were prohibited from entering temples; they were barred from the right to education and knowledge; they had to perform menial jobs for the higher castes; they were not allowed to use the common burial ground; they were not allowed to live in the main village inhabited by the upper varnas; and they were deprived of ownership rights to land and property, leading to the lack of access to all sources of economic mobility. Thus, dalits were subjected to both social exclusion and economic discrimination over the centuries. In one form or the other, this continues even today in most parts of the country. Dive sharp out the three powerful class interests. There has been no basic change in caste system after nearly 60 years. After independence as the bourgeoisie negotiated with landlordism fostered caste bigotries. The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries saw great social reformers like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Sri Narayan Guru, Jyothiba Phule, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy Naickar and others. These social reform movements conducted many fights against the caste system. The social reform movement did not address the vital issue of fundamental land modifications. It got delinked from the anti-imperialist struggle. The Congress-led national movement on its part, failed to take up radical social reform measures as part of the liberty drive. Diametrically opposite to the progressive role that was played by the RSS. Apart from its diseased communal philosophy, the RSS adopted a Brahmanical stance right from the beginning. With this understanding,

the RSS opposed the adjustments to the Hindu Code Bill after independence. The BJP's divergence to the employment of the Mandal Commission approvals was also on this basis. Wherever the BJP is in power in the states, atrocities on Muslims. Dalits increased markedly. They sought to pit the poor people belonging to Dalits and tribal communities against Muslims and Christians. Fight against caste domination and collectivism are interlaced. The knowledge clearly shows the need to link the fight against caste oppression with the struggle against class exploitation. The class struggle must include the struggle for the abolition of the caste system and all forms of social oppression. This is a significant part of the independent revolution.

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### **14.3 THE CPI (M) ON THE CASTE QUESTION**

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The CPI (M) Programme updated in 2000 briefly précisés the caste question as follows: The bourgeois-landlord scheme has also been unsuccessful to put an end to caste domination. The poorest losses are the untouchable castes. The dalits are subject to untouchability. Other forms of refinement notwithstanding these being stated unlawful. The growing consciousness of dalits for liberation is hunted to be met with brutal domination and atrocities. The declaration by the dalits has a self-ruled gratified sparkly the ambitions of the most oppressed sections of society. The regressive castes have also declared their privileges in a caste-ridden society. A purely caste petition which seeks to preserve caste dissections for the slim aim of combining vote banks and detaching. These overcome sections from the common democratic movement has also been at work. Many caste leaders and certain leaders of bourgeois political parties seek to utilize the polarization. They disregard the basic class subjects of land, wages and fight against landlordism. Which is the basis for overthrowing the old order. The problem of caste oppression and discrimination has a long history. Caste domination is deeply rooted in the pre-capitalist social

system. The society under industrial development has compromised with the existing caste system. The Indian bourgeoisie itself fosters caste bigotries. Working-class unity presupposes unity in contradiction of the caste system and the domination of Dalits. Since the vast majority of Dalits are part of the laboring classes. To fight for the elimination of the caste through a social reform movement is an important part. The fight beside caste domination is added with the struggle against class exploitation. The Political Firmness of the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPI (M) held in 2005. This gives concrete guidance to the Party to take up caste and social issues. "Caste Oppression and Dalits" it says, the caste system holds both social domination and class exploitation. The Dalits grieve from both types of mistreatment in the most horrible form. 86.25 percent of the arranged caste households are landless and 49 per in rural areas. Socialists who winner elimination of the caste system. Caste oppression has to be at the forefront in launching, struggles against the denial of basic human rights. This struggle has to be combined with the struggle to end the landlord-dominated. The issues of land, wages, and employment must be taken up to unite changed sections of the working people. Non-Dalit country poor must be made conscious of the evils of caste oppression. Discrimination by a powerful democratic campaign. Dalit organizations and NGOs who seek to foster anti-communist feelings amongst the Dalit masses. Isolate them from the Left measure. Foreign-funded activities must be countered and exposed by positively. Putting forth the Party's and making special efforts to draw the Dalit masses into common struggles. In the section titled Fight Caste Appeal. The Political Resolution says, the increase of the caste appeal and destruction of the working people on caste lines is a serious challenge. Left and democratic movement. Taking up caste oppression, forging the common movement of the oppressed of all castes. Concern must be combined with a bold campaign to highlight the effects of caste-based politics. The Party should work out concrete tactics in different areas, taking into account the caste and class outlines. Electoral demands should not come in the way of the Party's independent. Reservation is no treatment for the problems of caste and

class abuse. They provide some limited and necessary relief within the existing order. Reservation should be lengthy to Dalit Christians. The shrinkage of jobs in the government and public sector, tribes should be worked out after wide consultations.

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### **14.4 THE POSITION OF DALITS IN INDIATODAY**

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Conferring to the 2001 census, scheduled castes comprise 16.2 percent of the total population of India. They number over 17 core. Scheduled tribes comprise 8.2 percent of the people, they number over 8 core. Both together constitute 24.4 percent of the Indian population. They together number over 25 core. The six states that have the highest percentage of scheduled caste population. These are 1) Punjab (28.9) 2) Himachal Pradesh (24.7) 3) West Bengal (23.0) 4) Uttar Pradesh (21.1) 5) Haryana (19.3) 6) Tamil Nadu (19.0). The twelve states that have the largest number of scheduled castes. These are 1) Uttar Pradesh (351.5 lakhs) 2) West Bengal (184.5 lakhs) 3) Bihar (130.5 lakhs) 4) Andhra Pradesh (123.4 lakhs) 5) Tamil Nadu (118.6 lakhs) 6) Maharashtra (98.8 lakhs) 7) Rajasthan (96.9 lakhs) 8) Madhya Pradesh (91.6 lakhs), 9) Karnataka (85.6 lakhs) 10) Punjab (70.3 lakhs) 11) Orissa (60.8 lakhs) 12) Haryana (40.9 lakhs). Almost every socio-economic indicator shows that the position of scheduled caste families is awful. In many cases their plight is getting worse. Let us have a look at some of the major indicators.

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### **14.5 INDICATORS THAT SHOW THE AWFUL CONDITION OF FAMILIES**

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#### **14.5.1 Land**

In 1991 70% of the total SC families were landless owning less than one acre. This enlarged to 75% in 2000. In 1991 13% of the rural SC families were landless. However, in 2000 this saw a failure and was

10%. Agricultural Register of 1995-96, the lowest 61.6% of working holdings accounted for only 17.2% of the total functioned land area. The top 7.3% of working holdings accounted for 40.1% of the total operated area. This gives a signal of land awareness in the hands of a few.

### **14.5.2 Fixed Capital Assets**

In 2000, about 28 % of SC people in the country parts had educated some contact with fixed capital assets. This was only half related to 56 % for other non-SC/ST households. Those who had some access to fixed capital resources in urban areas, their proportion was 27 % for SCs and 35.5 % for others.

### **14.5.3 Agricultural Labour**

In 2000, 49.06 % of the waged SC population was agrarian laborers. As compared to 32.69 % for the STs and only 19.66 % for the others. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of agricultural laborers in India increased from 7.46 crore to 10.74 crore. A huge proportion of them were Dalits. The normal number of workdays available to an agricultural laborer baggy from 123 in 1981 to 70 in 2005.

### **14.5.4 Child Labour**

It is stated that out of the 60 million child labor in India, 40 % come from SC people. It is projected that 80 % of child labor involved in carpet, matchstick and firecracker businesses come from listed caste families. The 1) Toasting 2) Colouring 3) Leather processing 4) lifting 5) dead animals 5) clearing human excreta 6) cleaning soiled clothes 7) collection of waste in slaughterhouses 8) sale of toddy are some of the inherited jobs usually followed by Dalit children.

### **14.5.5 Per Capital Income**

In 2000 as beside the state average of Rs. 4485, the per capita income of SCs was Rs. 3,237. The average weekly wage grossing of an SC

worker was Rs. 174.50 compared to Rs. 197.05 for other no- SC/ST workers.

### **14.5.6 Poverty**

In 2000 35.4 % of the SC population was below the poverty line in rural areas as against 21 % among others. In urban areas the gap was larger – 39 % of SC as against only 15 % among others. The largest prevalence of scarcity in rural areas was among agricultural labor followed by non-agricultural labor. In urban areas the largest prevalence of poverty was among casual labor followed by self-employed families. The monthly per capita expenditure for all household types was lower for SCs than others.

### **14.5.7 Employment**

In 2000, the joblessness rate based on current daily status was 5 % for SCs as compared to 3.5 % for others in rural and town areas. The salary labor families accounted for 61.4 % of all SC households in rural areas and 26 % in urban areas. As compared to 25.5 % and 7.45 % for other households.

### **14.5.8 Reservation**

15 % and 7.5 % of central government posts are reserved for SCs and STs respectively. For SCs, in Group A, only 10.15 % of posts were filled. In Group B it was 12.67 %. In Group C it was 16.15 %. Group D was 21.26 %. The figures for STs were even lower. At 2.89 %, 2.68 %, 5.69 % and 6.48 % for the four groups individually. Of the 544 judges in the High Courts, only 13 were SC and 4 were ST. School teachers all over the country, only 6.7 % were SC/STs.while among college and university teachers, only 2.6 % were SC/STs.

### **14.5.9 Educational**

In 2001, the learning rate among SCs was 54.7 % and among STs, it was 47.1 %. Among women, the literacy rate for SCs was 41.9 %, for STs it was 34.8 %. School attendance was about 10 % less among SC boys than other boys. About 5 % less among SC girls than other girls. Some studies have experimental judgment against SCs in schools in numerous methods.

### **14.5.10 Health**

In 2000, the Baby Mortality Rate in SCs was 83 per 1000 live births. The Child Mortality Rate (child died before the age of 5) was 119.3 for 1000 live births as against 82.6 for the others. These high rates among the SCs are closely linked with poverty, low educational status, and discrimination in access to health services. In 1999, at least 75 % of SC women suffered from anemia and more than 70 % SC women's deliveries took place at home. More than 75 % of SC children were insipid and more than 50 % suffered from various degrees of undernourishment.

### **14.5.11 Woman**

While Dalit women share shared problems of gender discernment with their high caste complement. They also suffer from problems specific to them. Dalit women are the foulest affected and suffer the three methods of domination. These relate to extremely low literacy and education levels. Heavy dependence on wage labor, judgment in service and wages. Heavy attentiveness in unskilled, low-paid and hazardous manual jobs. Violence and sexual mistreatment, being the fatalities of various forms of fallacies, etc.

### **14.5.12 Sanitation**

Only 11 % of SC families and 7 % of ST families had entrance to sanitary facilities as against the nationwide regular of 29 %.

### **14.5.13 Electricity**

Only 28 % of the SC people and 22 % of the ST population were users of electricity against the nationwide regular of 48 %.

### **14.5.14 Atrocities, Untouchability And Discrimination**

During 16 years between 1981 to 2000 for which registers are accessible. A total of 3, 57,945 cases of dishonesty and murders were dedicated against the SCs. This comes to a yearly regular of about 22,371 corruption and atrocities per year. The break-up of the atrocities and violence for the year 2000 is as follows 1) 486 cases of murder 2) 3298 grievous hurt 3) 260 of arson, 4) 1034 cases of rape 5) 18,664 cases of other offenses. The repetition of untouchability and social discrimination in the matter of use of 1) public water bodies 2) water taps 3) temples 4) Tea stalls 5) restaurants 6) community bath 7) roads and other social services remain to be of high greatness.

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## **14.6 EFFECT OF LIBERALIZATION POLICIES**

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Onset of the imperialist-dictated policies of liberalization. Privatization and globalization by the ruling classes of our country during the last decade and a half. The problem of Dalits advises. Other backward castes and the working people as a whole have greatly aggravated. The drive to sell the public sector has directly hit reservations for the SC/STs. The closure of thousands of grinders and factories have reduced lakhs jobless. This has also hit Dalits and other backward castes. The ban on recruitment to government and semi-government jobs that has been imposed an adverse effect. The rising commercialization of education and health has kept innumerable people backward. In this background, reservation in private sector has become very important. Because the joblessness among the SC and



STs has witnessed a steady growth in the fresh era. The most calamitous effects of these policies can be seen in the deep agricultural. Crisis that has distressed the rural sector. Rural service has sharply fallen and this has hit Dalits. Automation of agriculture has additional compounded the problem. The real wages of agricultural workers a large proportion are dalits.No efforts are made to tool minimum wage regulation even where it exists. The pull to pieces of the public distribution system has enlarged hunger to alarming proportions. An overwhelming proportion of the malnutrition-related deaths of thousands of children in several states is from Dalit and Adivasi families. The neo-liberal policies have accentuated both the economic as well as the social divide in the country.

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## **14.7 COMMUNIST STRUGGLES AGAINST CASTE AND FEUDAL OPPRESSION**

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There is no doubt that due to the whole range of alternative policies pursued by the Left-led state governments in West Bengal, Kerala, and Tripura. The position of Dalits and Adivasis have markedly improved in these states. But even before the Left came to power in these states. Communist bests loyally fought on the issues relating to caste oppression. In Kerala, in the pre-independence period, Communist leaders, while leading class struggles, also led temple entry satyagrahas for the Dalits in the teeth of upper caste opposition. In West Bengal, the Communists made conscious attempts in practice to carry forward the rich legacy of the glorious social reform movement in the state. In Tripura, too, the Communists raised the issue of caste oppression as an integral part of the class struggle. In Tamilnadu in East Thanjavur area the fight led by socialists against the class and caste oppression of Dalits formed the base for a strong kinas movement. It was in the great anti-feudal farmer fights led by the Communists in the 1940s that India for the first time got a sight of the option of the obliteration of caste and communalism once and for all. Historic struggles like Telangana, Tebhaga, Punnapara Velar, and others squarely targeted landlordism.They succeeded in forging the

unprecedented unity of all toilers. Cutting across caste and religious lines. The struggle reached its highest point in Telangana. Thousands of villages were modern from landlord rule and actual land redistribution to the landless was carried out. A large number of the recipients of this land reform were Dalits and Adivasis, who got possession of land for the first time. The remarkable class unity of the peasantry that was forged in this struggle struck the first blows at caste and communal ideology and practice. In more modern times, the CPI (M) and the mass governments in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere have been leading a concerted statewide campaign and struggle for the last few years on the issues of untouchability and caste oppression. This is meeting with encouraging public response, with Dalits being attracted to the Left.

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### **14.8 POSITION OF DALITS IN LEFT- RULED STATES**

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The first Communist ministry in Kerala, the Left Front governments in West Bengal, Tripura a Left Democratic Front regimes in Kerala. They took up land reforms as their priority task. They combined this by strengthening Panchayati raj. In West Bengal, of the more than 13.81 lakh acres of agricultural land vested in the state. The 10.69 lakh acres have been distributed among 26.43 lakh people. The significant feature is that 56 percent of the beneficiaries. They belong to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. This is almost double their proportion in the population. Of the land distributed, 4.48 lakh pittas were issued jointly. The men and women and 52,000 pittas were meant completely for women. It is a creditable record that 18 percent of the total ceiling surplus land of the country and 20 percent. The total distributed land of the country is in West Bengal alone.

The rights of nearly 15 lakh sharecroppers have been logged. Covering 11.08 lakh lands of land, and 5.44 lakh poor families have been given farmland. Over 42 percent of the noted sharecroppers gone

to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Now nearly 72 percent of the land in West Bengal is managed by poor and marginal farmers. Land reforms and other measures taken by the Left Front government. Agricultural manufacturer has increased by 250 percent and more. Landless agricultural labor has been guaranteed a minimum wage. It is provided with work during lean months. A large proportion of the beneficiaries of these measures naturally belong to the scheduled. In the three-tier panchayat system, the representation of SCs, STs, and women is considerably higher. Panchayat Raj institutions in these states are largely controlled by poor peasants. Agricultural laborers, unlike in most other parts of the country, where they are in the grip of landlords and rich peasants. The West Bengal LF government has also started a large number of organizations to specifically support Dalits and advises. Scholarships are provided to 1.1 lakh Dalit students and 80,000 Adivasi students. 240 hostels for primary and secondary students from the Dalit and Adivasi communities have been constructed. 32,000 Dalit students and 28,000 Adivasi students are provided with expenses for living in hostels at the pre-secondary level. An SC/ST Development and Finance Corporation has been established to support poor Dalit and Adivasi families by providing finance for household-based self-employment schemes. As against the poor national average that we saw above, 26 % of primary teachers and 29 % of secondary teachers in West Bengal come from the scheduled castes. For scheduled tribes, the percentage is 9 and 11 respectively. The Tripura Left Front government also has an admirable record in the upliftment of the SCs and STs. In 1991, while the overall literateness was 60.44 %, the SC literacy was 56.66 %. The 2001 census figures of literacy are not yet available. They are expected to show a considerable increase. Female SC literateness doubled from 23.24 % in 1981 to 45.45 % in 1991. An arresting feature in the state is that SCs are not confined exclusively to 'Paras' or 'bastes' like in some other parts of the country. They by and large live and intermingle with each other. There are no glued laborers among SCs in the state. Running of smallest wage to agricultural laborers, many of whom are SCs, is stringently implemented. SC families are legally protected against

exploitation by money-lenders. Reservations in services, posts and educational institutions are strictly monitored and implemented. All foragers engaged in carrying night soil by head load were liberated in 1991 itself and special schemes were undertaken for their rehabilitation. In the small state of Tripura, 40,000 SC students are being given pre-matric scholarships by the government. 2000 meritorious SC students are being given the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Memorial Award each year. The sum of the award ranges from Rs. 400 to Rs. 1500 per annum. 30 hostels for SC boys and girls have been set up. Special schemes have been started for providing housing and medical assistance to SCs. Special development programmers for welfare of SCs are taken up and implemented every three years.

It is an outcome of a long procedure of fight joint. The overhead governmental measures, and an intensive ideological campaign by the Party. The Left that untouchability and caste oppression against Dalits and Adivasis have been reduced to a large extent in West Bengal and Tripura under Left Front rule. Atrocities against Dalits and Adivasis, which abound in many other parts of the country, are almost unheard of in these two states. All India level, there were 33,503 cases of crimes committed against scheduled castes. which 716 were murders, 1316 were rapes and 400 were abductions. In West Bengal that year, there were only 10 such crimes and in Tripura. There were only 2 such crimes. In the same year, at the All India level, there were 6,217 cases of crimes committed against scheduled tribes, of which 167 were murders, 573 were rapes, and 67 were abductions. In West Bengal that year, there were only 2 such crimes and in Tripura there was not a single such crime. It is only a Left alternative that can show the way to ending the age-old scourge of untouchability. The caste oppression and social discrimination.

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## 14.9 IMMEDIATE TASKS

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Taking into account the severity of the caste problem, Com. E. M. S Namboodiripad wrote in 1979. "One has to realize that the building of

India on modern democratic and secular lines. They require an uncompromising struggle against the caste-based Hindu society and its culture. There is no question of secular democracy. Not to speak of socialism, unless the very citadel of India's 'age-old' civilization and culture. The division of society into a hierarchy of castes – is broken. The struggle for radical democracy and socialism cannot be separated from the struggle against caste society. The agreement calls upon all the components of the Party to take up the social subjects as an important task of the Party. Party units should study the location of social domination in their area and work out the real stresses to organize campaigns and struggles. The mass governments should take up the specific problems of Dalits and establish special movements and struggles to achieve their demands.

### **14.9.1 Charter Of Demand**

This convention sets out the following charter of demands to ensure a better life for the cores of Dalits in our country and it calls upon them to join the common drive of all toiling, oppressed and broken sections of our country to win these stresses and also to result a radical social, economic and political alteration of our country.

### **14.9.2 Land Reform**

The central and state governments must immediately set in motion a process of land reforms whereby land will be redistributed to the landless agricultural laborers and poor peasants gratis. All loopholes in the present laws must be plugged. All schemes to reverse land reform legislation and give away land to international businesses and big business houses should be fought forthwith.

### **14.9.3 Reservations**

All the backlogs in kept seats and posts and in promotions for SCs, STs, and OBCs must be filed forthwith with singular employment drives. The three Constitutional alterations made to correct the three OMs delivered

in 1997 diluting reservations for SCs and STs should be implemented. The pre-1997 jobs based roster should be reinstated. A complete legislature covering all aspects of reservation for SCs/STs in service. Education both public and private governments should be passed.

### **14.9.4 Special Component Plan**

Special Section Plan should be properly executed in all the situations with the proper allocation of funds rendering to the population of Dalits. A National Command should be set up to measure the reallocation of Dalits counting reservation. The state-level commissions should be set up to oversee the implementation of all schemes connected with the SCs including reservation.

### **14.9.5 Infrastructure Development**

Organization growth in the arranged caste areas like road, water, health, culture. Another need has to be given proper position. When allotting funds for infrastructure development, a separate allotment for scheduled caste areas should be provided.

### **14.9.6 Rooting Out Untouchability**

All forms of untouchability must be rooted out of the country. By formation the relevant laws, ensuring their strict service. Most highly, by debut a mass drive of the people.

### **14.9.7 Protection From Atrocities**

The Dominant Government should modify and reinforce the SC and ST. Act 1989, courts with judges, investigative officers, and public prosecutors unburdened by any other work. Social and economic boycott and pressure should be included as practical crimes. Full economic reinstatement of fatalities and their stickers must be protected.

### **14.9.8 Employment**

The sale drive should be stopped as it leads to the loot of national assets. Greater unemployment, a curtailment of reservations and also a spurt in corruption. The Central Government should enact a bill to provide reservations in the private sector, which has been a long-standing demand of SCs and STs. Special schemes to provide self-employment to SC youth should be started. The Right to Work should be combined as an important right in the Constitution.

### **14.9.9 Education**

The commercialization of education should be stopped since the massive fee and donation structure of private educational management is something that socially and economically backward students cannot afford. For this, the central government must increase its own outlay on education to 6 % of the GDP. SC/ST students should be given special scholarships to pursue their studies. The stipends in Social Welfare hostels should be raised and the quality of these hostels improved. Steps should be taken to universalize primary education and expand secondary education. Special measures to curb the drop-out rate among SCs should be undertaken.

### **14.9.10 Agricultural Worker**

The Minimum Wages Act for agricultural workers must be stringently implemented throughout the country. A comprehensive bill for agricultural workers is another long-standing demand and it must be enacted without delay. Homestead land must be provided for SCs, STs and agricultural workers.

### **14.9.11 Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme**

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act must be strictly implemented. All over the country by involving the people, their mass governments and the Panchayati raj organizations. It should be prolonged to all districts and also to urban zones of the country.

### **14.9.12 Public Distribution**

The public delivery system must be universalized to confirm food to all. Until this is done, BPL ration cards must be issued to all poor families. Many of whom are from SCs and STs. The grain under the BPL scheme should be made available at Anthodia prices.

### **14.9.13 Credit**

Agrarian praise to peasants and agrarian workers must be made available at a 4 % rate of interest. For SCs and STs in both rural and city areas, credit amenities should be expanded and the credit given at concessional interest rates.

### **14.9.14 Bound Labor And Child Labor**

The total deliverance and full rehabilitation of bonded laborers must be ensured. The pernicious practice of child labor must be eliminated and children properly rehabilitated and educated. Similarly, total liberation and full rehabilitation must be ensured for Safari Karmacharis who are engaged in hunting.

### **14.9.15 Scavengers**

Ensure total liberation and full rehabilitation for scavengers (safari karamcharis), ban appointment of contract labor in safari services and other services. Where SC and ST numerically predominate and instead introduce essential improvements. By involving such Karamcharis; and reactivate the Central Nursing Group for Relief and Restoration of Safari Karamcharis and State. Municipal and District Level communities.

### **14.9.16 Intercaste Marriage**

Interrelated marriages should be restored. By giving special funded housing and other amenities to married couples directly after their marriage. We should deliberately try to uphold such inter-caste marriages and make them an event of big social contribution and sanction.

**Check your progress -1**



1. Write down Name of Some Business Involved Child labor In India St?

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2. Names the states that have the highest percentage of scheduled caste population?

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## **14.10 RESERVATION CASTE ATROCITIES**

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### **14.10.1 2006 Dalit Protests In Maharashtra**

A 2006 article reported incidents of violence, disputes and discrimination against Dalits in Maharashtra. The article noted that non-Dalit families claimed they do not treat Dalits differently. A carpenter caste person said, "We tell them anything and they tell us you are pointing fingers at us because of our caste; we all live together, and there are bound to be fights, but they think we target them. There have been reports of Dalits being forced to eat human faces and drink urine by Christian Thevars, an OBC. A 17-year-old girl was set on fire by Yadav (an OBC) youth, allegedly because she was allowed school-education. In September 2015. A 45-year-old dalit woman was supposedly exposed naked. She was forced to drink urine by perpetrators from the Yadav public in Madhya Pradesh.

### **14.10.2 Healthcare And Nutrition**

Discrimination can also exist in access to healthcare and nutrition. A sample survey of Dalits, conducted over several months in Madhya Pradesh and funded by Action Aid in 2014. They found that health field workers did not visit 65 per cent of Dalit settlements. 47 per cent of Dalits were not allowed entry into ration shops; and 64 per cent were given less grains than non-Dalits. In Haryana state, 49 per cent of Dalit children under five years were underweight and malnourished while 80 per cent of those in the 6–59 months age group were anemic in 2015.

### **14.10.3 Crime**

Dalits comprise a slightly unequal number of India's prison inmates. While Dalits constitute 25 per cent of the Indian population, they account for 33.2 per cent of prisoners. About 24.5 per cent of death row inmates in India are from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which is proportionate to their population. The percentage is highest in Maharashtra 50 per cent, Karnataka 36.4 per cent and Madhya Pradesh 36 per cent.

### **14.10.4 Segregation**

A Chinese Buddhist traveler who recorded his visit to India in the early 5th century. Mentioned segregation in the context of the matchless Candela public. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions. The Chand alas are named 'evil men', and dwell apart from others. If they enter a town or market, they sound a piece of wood in order to separate themselves. Then men, knowing who they are, avoid coming in contact with them.

While judgment against Dalits has weakened in urban areas and in the public sphere. It still exists in rural areas and in the private sphere, in everyday stuffs such as access to eating places, schools, temples and water sources. Some Dalits positively combined into urban Indian society. Where caste roots are less obvious. In rural India caste origins

are more readily apparent .Dalits often remain excluded from local religious life, exclusion is diminishing.

### **14.10.5 Social Persecution By Caste Hindus**

In several incidents if dalits found burning holika for HolikaDahan ceremony, they are tonsured and paraded naked in the villages Also in some parts of India, there have been allegations that Dalit grooms riding horses for wedding formalities have been beaten up and ostracized by upper caste people. In August 2015, upper caste people scorched houses and vehicles belonging to Dalit families and defeated their livestock in reaction to Dalits daring to hold a temple car procession at a village in Tamil Nadu. In August 2015, it was claimed that a Jat Khap Panchayat ordered the rape of two Dalit sisters because their brother decamped with a married Jat girl of the same village.

### **14.10.6 Cow Vigilantism**

The term Cow vigilantism is used to describe the lawlessness happening under the name of Cow protection. Dalits and Muslims are at the getting end of this vigilantism. Since Dalits are concentrated in the occupation of leather making from hides of the cow. They are invariably targeted by vigilantes. Cow vigilantism has increased since past two years.

### **14.10.7 Honor Killing**

In a society like India, where caste constructions are still dominant in the form of endogamy.Honor killings are prevalent on a wide scale. Dalits are almost continuously at the getting end of the violence. Supreme Court has opined that inter-caste marriages are in the nationwide interest as they destroy the caste system. Bagman Doss v. Delhi thought honor killings in the rarest of rare category of crimes that deserve the death penalty.

### 14.10.8 Social Boycott

Khap panchayat, caste panchayat often acts as an arena for continuing atrocities against Dalits by excluding them from the society Ambedkar had documented the atrocities meting out to Dalits in the form of social boycott. He had often fought against the practice Mahad Satyagraha for the opening of community tanks for Dalit she proposed an anti-boycott law He recognized that discrimination occurs in multiple axes like boycott-stigmatization-segregation. Moreover, they try to fight it out on all these axes Maharashtra enacted a law against a social boycott: Maharashtra Prohibition of People from Social Boycott .Act, 2016 need a comprehensive anti-discrimination law in lines of civil rights entitlements in US-UK. Law Commission drafted the Prohibition of Unlawful Assembly Bill. 2011 that sought to declare khap panchayats unlawful.

### 14.10.9 Caste Clashes

In rural India, OBC became dominant caste by ousting higher caste due to. They were able to change their numerical strength into political force. Once worldwide adult franchise came. Post-Indian country growth model was favorable to them. Land reforms, the green revolution etc. On the other hand, the Post-Independent growth model didn't result in the upward mobility of Dalits. Thus OBCs became the new oppressor of Dalits in place of traditional upper castes. Post-1990 reforms, there was a renaissance among Dalits. As reservation policy led to the emergence of the middle class among Dalits who spearheaded Dalit movements. Identity politics, from leaders among Dalits themselves, began to express itself. Urbanization and other opportunities followed by 1990 reforms lead to development in Dalits life This resurgence was met with violent clashes among upper castes/OBCs and Dalits. Many scholars like Surinder.S.Jodhka have attributed the increased atrocities to the tensions caused between upper castes. Dalits due to the apparent upward mobility of Dalits. But Dalits were at the receiving end of almost all these atrocities like Khairlanji massacre in Maharashtra 2008 Bhima-Koregaon violence in Maharashtra 2017. Una ferocity Kizhavanmani, Tamil Nadu (1958) in which 44 SCs were burnt to death in a confined building

because SC agricultural laborers required a little raise in their very low wages. The high court innocent all the accused. Karamchedu, Andhra Pradesh, 1984: Five SCs were massacred. The trial court sentenced many of the accused.

### **14.10.10 Discrimination In Universities**

The suicide of Rohit Vemula in Hyderabad 2016.

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## **14.11 LET US SUM UP**

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- Dalit is found not just in the Hindu community.
- Boys and girls are unable to fulfill their educational goals.
- Caste system has hunted Indian society for thousands of years.
- The total deliverance and full rehabilitation of bonded laborers must be ensured.
- Interrelated marriages should be restored.
- Honor killings are prevalent on a wide scale.
- The term Cow vigilantism is used to describe the lawlessness happening under the name of Cow protection.

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## **14.12 KEYWORDS**

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- SC :Scheduled castes
- ST :scheduled tribes
- Rural : Geographic area that is located outside towns and cities.
- Dalit : Traditional Indian caste system

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## **14.13 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW**

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- What are the issues and problem concerning Dalit?

- Explain the 2006 Dalit protests in Maharashtra?
- Write a note on Reservation caste Atrocities

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### 14.14 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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### 14.15 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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1. 1) Public water bodies 2) water taps 3) temples 4) Tea stalls 5) restaurants 6) community bath 7) roads and other social services remains to be of high greatness....(answer to Check your progress 1 **Q1**)
2. Punjab (2) Himachal Pradesh 3) West Bengal 4) Uttar Pradesh 5) Haryana 6) Tamil Nadu.....(answer to Check your progress 1**Q2**)