

Efficacy of Political Mobility as a Redressing Norms Lessening Commission of Atrocities on Scheduled Castes

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Abstract

One is at loss to understand that in a modernised liberal democracy the *Dalits* identity is prevailing to be stigmatised and *Dalits* are being put to violent tumultuous on account of their low cast standard. The term *Dalith* has not been stated or explained in the constitution. The *Dalits* are self-designated group of persons who had been and are still on the lower scale of grading of the Indian society, and were traditionally regarded as untouchables. Some of the caste group enumerated in the list of castes designed under the Constitution known as scheduled castes. These castes are known as scheduled caste and are the part and parcel of *Dalits* groups.

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Indian constitution, political and social movement, and legal framework, though abolished and abandoned the caste system, yet one can find that there is still discrimination and prejudice against scheduled castes in our country. Many meaningful attempts have been made and significant steps have been taken to improve their conditions and many visible changes have been noticed in the lifestyle and socio-political and economic activities of scheduled castes. However it is a matter of concern that some of them are lagging behind in race of upliftment, advancement and development. State is a politically organised unit of the system. The whole society is being run and managed by the State. All political activities are being done to utilise this unit for an orderly society free from chaos and tumults. Many thinkers study the concept of human society with reference to animal society. The normative structure of civilization and philosophical orientation of culture remarkably dusting with human society from others. Such society provides political, civil and social units to the human beings, as society is a web of social relations based on individual dignity and respect. The lack of the equilibrium in the civil society brought social disturbance giving rise to the sense of high and low which brings socio-political stagnation in the society.

Since the days of its inception, the human society evolved the norm of stratification for fulfilment of its needs¹ and the need of its constituting units. It gives rise to several socio-political groups² like primary groups, secondary groups and reference groups for the sake of mobility and advancement. Some of the groups had traditional bondage and “linked with occupation depending on individual skill borrowed by birth - a particular position in local hierarchy of case.”³ With the passage of time the forces of change put their pressure on the normative structure of the society. The change is a law of nature, and the truth is that time is not static. When time changes, it brings changes in the life of people. With reference to the political mobility prevailing among scheduled castes we have to look back and find the causes of political stagnation. Whether this process was the result of atrocities committed on the people belonging to lower strata of the society known as scheduled castes nowadays. The aim of this study is to unearth the truth as to whether the atrocities were committed in the name of caste based on religious sanctions. The purpose, here is to probe what had been the political orientation of the State actors as well as non-State actors. Under this article attempts have been directed to trace the descending socio-political scale and extent and limits with reference to the commission of atrocities in the past annals of history. And we also try to understand the prevailing movement of politically ascending scale, and its impact on political life of scheduled castes, brought by protective discrimination and distributive justice – giving rise to mobility and progressive changes. Under this article attempts have been made to find out as to whether the pollicisation of scheduled castes have been helpful to mitigate, if eradicate the acts of atrocities committed on scheduled castes.

In this short paper, we will examine the factors helpful in bringing political mobility and loosening the acts of atrocities and give rise to social mobility.

Social mobility promotes occupation nobility and “effective political participation”. It will be within the ambit of this paper to understand the changing concept of old precepts like creation of *shudras* from feet and “servant of another”⁴ and “to be expelled at will”.⁵ We will also assess the role and contribution of political mobility as a means of providing the self-respect, empowerment and socio-political leadership and particularly entitlement to law ownership.⁶ Another significant issue drawing our attention is that the affluent section of scheduled castes that is to say elite class is exploiting poor and deprived people belonging to their own caste.

Nexus between Social Disabilities and Atrocities

The term scheduled castes have nowhere been defined in the *DharmaShastras* nor any religious interpretation. It has been described as a group of persons who has been changed in menial occupation and supposed to be created from the feet of the *Brahma*. It attached status and role to such people as of servitude as determined by birth. These people were engaged in slavish work. The Hindu social order classified some groups as “unapproachable and untouchable.”⁷ They had acquired the status of *Shudra* will all indignities and disgrace with no self-respect. This system of disabilities was based on “hierarchic caste, hereditary priestcraft, endogamy, untouchability and karma.”⁸ The so-called *shudras* have suffered from social stigma and political oppression and denied basic civil and human rights. They were associated with occupational impure works like involving in butchering, removal of rubbish and filth. They had to remove human and animal wastes; they worked as labourers cleaning latrines and Sewers.”Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individuals and this pollution was considered to be contagious.”⁹ The *Shudra* had been “segregated and banned from full participation in Hindu social life.”¹⁰ These people i.e., *Shudra* were not allowed to let the shadows fall upon *dwija* cast members. They were required to sweep the ground where they walked to remove the contamination of their footfalls.¹¹ The modern scheduled caste people, known as *Dalits*, were forbidden to worship in temples or draw water from the same well as upper caste Hindu did.¹² This inhuman situation was responsible for germination of untouchability’s. “Violation of strongly established normative structure invited atrocities.”¹³ The *Shudras* or scheduled caste people were relegated to the most inhuman task “as menial scavengers”, “removers of dead animals”, “leather workers”, “street sweepers and cobblers.” The ancient social order had permitted many disabilities to be imposed upon these people like using same roads, wells and tanks. The imposition of social disabilities included the sitting on a common floor “where clean caste people need to sit, inter-dining, admittance into kitchen, touching metal pots and participating in social festivals along with upper caste people. They

were not allowed to come in close contact with latter.”¹⁴ The most significant disability imposed by the system was relating to the denial of availability of fresh and pure drinking water. They were denied to obtain “water from a common source along with the rest upper castes.” The social history of ancient caste system with the notion of impurity and defilement, shows that the *shudras* were “compelled to satisfy their water needs from stagnant pool or may share the filthy and contaminated water with cattles.”¹⁵ “The *shudras* were denied any justice.” “Because of discrimination in the society with their low caste status which was tied with their birth, they toiled and have been forced to accept for ages servility with humility.”¹⁶ These people had been plunged into ignorance of worth of human live with dignity. They “sung into ignorance, poverty and contempt, branded as untouchables or unapproachable, treated as serfs and reduced to a state of moral degradation through the contempt and ill treatment that they were received.”¹⁷ At the hand of upper castes in case of violation of social code, they were condemned to live a life of misery and distress.”¹⁸ There is enough material to realise “The shame, the sorrow and humiliation.” Emanated from the behaviours of superior castes meted out to the lower strata, they were “treated as they were undesirable.” And certainly, it was not allowed by the time spirit of Hinduism. These shocking traditions were opposed to the fundamental doctrine of Hinduism which desires unity of *Atma* with supreme soul. Many Hindu sages gave sermon and worked to do away with “injustice of treatment meted out by the upper caste to those below them.”¹⁹

If anyone attempted to infringe the strictly rigid caste-oriented duties arbitrarily imposed upon *Shudra*, they were intimidated, terrorised and severely punished and ostracized by the *dwije* Hindus. Most of the scheduled caste people were subjected to insult, humiliation, social oppression and psychological depression. And if tried to show courage against the social disabilities they were made subject to atrocities and cruelties. Most of the Dalitmen, who indulged in marrying superior caste women were murdered. The purpose for such socio-economic disabilities and consequently atrocities give way to inferiority losing honour, grace, dignity and respect. These people were compelled to believe that their woes were due to destiny and fate. They accepted the caste based social orders without any resistance or they were used to it.”²⁰

From the pages of history of scriptures, we came to understand that the hierarchical caste system contained two thronged approach to study the origin, evolution and patterns of caste and related disabilities giving rise to atrocities. One had been Limb theory and the other Functional theory. “The particular Limbs associated with these divisions and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in the society of the time.”²¹ It is clear that in this particular account “divine justification sought to be given to their functions and status”²²

interpreting the caste hierarchy theologically we come to across the disabilities divinely prescribed as the *Shudra* had no right to perform any of the important sacraments,²³ even his marriage was not a sacrament as he had no right “to kindle the sacred fire.” In Hindu socio-religious order “the initiation ceremony opened the door to the study of Veda; the *Shudra* had been debarred from that study and even he was not allowed to hear Vedic enchantment. History reveals that a Brahmin could not accept the food given by a *Shudra*, if he did; it was regarded as a sin to be expiated. Even a *snatak* could not be accepted given by a *Shudra*.²⁴ History also gives other side of picture of enhancement of the status and role of *Shudra*. *Sumitra*, one of the wives of Raja Dasharatha was a *Shudra*. Annals of history also contained the events of Samrat Chandragupta who, also, was a *Shudra*.

Another important religious and sacred text, namely, Bhagwada Gita prescribed Functional theory based on *Gunait* contained that “the creator is said to have apportioned the duties and functions of four castes according to inherent qualities and capacities of the individual.”²⁵ This a Paradigm-shift relating to caste origin paving the way for lessening social disabilities and atrocities, thereto.

We noticed that many thinkers and social reformers always blamed Indian ethos and history while referring social disabilities and atrocities of Indian social order. We found in the mythological description an important event defying the social ranking based on high and low status. The ancient sage, Vasishtha, the Guru of Shri Ram Chandra ji, “was the first to defy the meaningless and ever multiplying social barriers by marrying Arundhati, an untouchable.”²⁶ This shining example of Indian cultural mythology reveals that there was no social stigma against low-caste people as their marriage is deemed as ideal marriage and it had attained the pride of “Sapta Rishi.”²⁷ Even today newlywed Hindu couples, irrespective of their caste and position, worship this eternal couple for continued conjugal happiness.²⁸ When we talk of traceable Indian political history we find “one period in Indian history which is a period of freedom, greatness and glory. That is period of Mauryan empire. Where atrocities on depressed classes had found no mention. People were treated all equally without any social stigma attached with any social group.

Impact of Political Mobility on Caste Rigidity

The Indian society was stratified into rigid caste hierarchical social order and classified into lower impure segment and developed higher social groups²⁹. There had been no room for myriad change in the rigid social system. The only process directed to bring social change and mobility thereof was the technique of “Sanskritization,” so succulently coined by M.N. Srinivas.³⁰ The mobility had been noticed though slowly, through aspiratorial spirit in the context of reference. It was not possible to move from one caste to the other caste, but one could aspire to adopt the social norm borrowed from superior castes. Mobility denotes one’s ability and

Arshi Ansari

capability “to move easily from one place, social class or job to another. Mobility can be understood as moving towards a social position either in “ascending scale” or “descending scale.” The vertical mobility involves “upwardly mobile lifestyle.” Horizontal mobility is being understood as the process of social change in straight way and level with the line prevailed in a given social code. Another way to feel social change is in “descending scale” emerged through the transformation of feudal society into industrial one based on availability of labour and capital under the pressure of poverty and paucity of resources. The abolition of *zamindari* system brought changes in the political, social and economic life of many people- some moved upwardly to a higher position and others went down, erupting changes over a period of time.” Hinduism with all its rigidity is, sufficiently elastic to sanction, at least tacitly, a slow process of evolution by which the *pancham* caste- for there are many castes even among the untouchables- gradually shake off to some extent, the slow of ‘uncleanliness’ and established some sort of relations even with the Brahmanism.”³¹

Here we intend to throw light on the socio-political developments. The purpose is to assess the role and contribution of several political efforts made by individuals and divine spirit saints and social thinkers. Firstly, we shall appraise the contribution of social movement contesting the social evil of untouchability prevalent in 19th century and secondly from the beginning of 20th century till its end including post-independence-era.

The era of emancipation of depressed castes, constitutionally and legally known as scheduled castes and begun with the advent of Western education and ideals of liberty, equality and human fraternity, human dignity and Justice.³² These human values tried to regain the loss of a sense of self-respect and dignified life³³ of so-called *Dalits*. The emancipation process was begun by removing stark ignorance of well to do Indians and illiteracy from lower strata. Some Indians imbibed with western social values started to resist the stigma of untouchability prevailing in the graded Indian society. And the struggle had taken the shape for the social emancipation and political mobilisation of the *Dalits* or scheduled castes.

The aim of British education introduced in India had been to establish egalitarian social order. Some benefits were received by illiterate castes. “It gave rise to social reform movement aiming at elimination of caste disabilities and other social evils.”³⁴ In 1851, Jyoti Rao Phoole, started a primary school for untouchables. In 1856, Mahar boy was refused admission to the government school at Dharwar.³⁵ The Government of Bombay, though had not interfered in the administration of private schools yet it was held that the Governor-in Council, “reserved to himself the full right of refusing the support of the government to any particularly aided school,” in which the admission has been refused to persons of an account of caste and it was stated that “all schools maintained at the sole cost of government shall be open to all

classes of its subjects without distinction.³⁶ Even much before the beginning of Congress movement in last phase of twentieth century, Jyotiba Phule, in 1873, founded the *SatyashodhakSamaj* “with the object of redeeming the scheduled castes” and depressed classes, reckoned in scheduled castes, from the influence of *Brahminic* culture.³⁷ Because of lack of financial resources, it did not solve the problem, “but still it had the distinction of serving the cause of untouchables in the villages.” In 1876 The *Arya Samaj*, was founded by DayanandSaraswathi, who worked hard to uproot the evil of untouchability and other socio-religious disabilities. The samaj believed that such inhuman practices had not been Vedic in nature, pattern and concept. They also believe that caste- status was not determined by birth but it was caused due “to kind of life he led” including character, association and good or bad *Sanskars*(tendencies).³⁸The founder of *Arya Samaj* pleaded for elimination of all disabilities backed by social customs cropped upon Hindus’ way of life. Establishing concrete example for attempting to remove all discriminations the founder, “himselfaccepted the food offered to him by Barber.”³⁹ In the year of 1867, another, movement came to the surface, namely,*PrarthanaSamaj*. Its sister organisation showed concern for the social development and enhance of scheduled castes, known as *Dalits* at that time. Its leader, Keshab Chandra Sen, in 1870 addressed the members of this samaj and asked to do practical work to enhance the social status of the people belonging to lower castes. To impart education to illiterate *dalits* was deemed significant function. The *Prarthana Samaj* established “Night Schools”, some of them were opened for the children of *Dalits* and depressed classes. In 1891, a prominent personality emerged in *PrarthanaSamaj*, namely, Damodar S. Wala who led the educational activities among depressed classes in Bombay.

Though these two organisations work hard marvellously but no significant awareness had been created among *Dalits*. Beside some psychological influence, no concrete planning was offered. Apart from these organisations, Swami Vivekanand, founder of *RamKrishna Mission*, was a power sage who combated against caste-based purity and pollution customs. He emphatically denounced the practice of untouchability and Hinduism new philosophical orientation. Here, mention can be made for the contribution of *Brahmo Samaj* to annihilate the caste-based notions and customs. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who began the movement against caste and untouchability. The members of *BrahmoSamaj* had practiced what was preached by the ideology of the *Samaj*. They favoured inter- caste dinners, inter caste marriages and employed cooks and other domestic helps irrespective of caste.⁴⁰

Above-mentioned socio-religious movement of 20th century⁴¹ succeeded instilling sense of dignity and self-respect and created hopes of advancement and development. They promote education among depressed classes and remove social disabilities. It gave rise to a sense that the populace of depressed sections could fight against

notion of inferiority and indignity. This movement created frame of mind to struggle for elevation sense of personal pride. These liberal movements led by prominent personalities of superiors gave rise to the process of social demoralization of entire Hindu populace giving way to “the upliftment of the depressed classes in the social scale.”

Political Equipment’s of Social Mobility

It is noticeable from the above analysis that some Indians belonging to same segment of the society including prominent personalities of Hindus of superior castes struggled against the deplorable state of affairs of down-trodden *dalits*. The emancipation of the *dalits* through reform movement did not attain speed, though consequences had been remarkable. In political field, events had taken concrete shape to mitigate the social disability in case of injustice of treatment offered to low caste-people.⁴² These elements had been favourable to the growth of cause and mission of elevation of *dalits* and depressed classes. When we look at the political consequences of the movement of 19th century, we have acknowledged that “offmeasures began to be taken only after the reforms of 1910.” “The census report of 1910 giving separate importance to untouchables as a result acquired a new political dimension.”⁴³ In 1917, the Congress party gave a call for the establishment of justice and righteous⁴⁴ by “removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon depressed classes. It was Maharaja of Mysore, 1918 who constituted Miller committee to find out the nature, pattern and extent of the disabilities and to recommend steps for the enough representation of downtrodden non- brahmins in the services of the State, which was made available by the decree of Maharaja to such people who had been deprived the States’ benefits.

Politically speaking, it was Montague-Chelmsford Award which caused systematic approach for the welfare of depressed classes. It divided the society of Bombay into several categories. “The last tier included the untouchables.” It laid down certain qualifications to gain the right to vote. Under this scheme of political representation, a big chunk of scheduled castes or depressed classes was kept out of the framework of restricted franchise.

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar who started political mobilisation of scheduled castes have effectively highlighted the “inhuman treatment” meted out to depressed classes, in the name of religious philosophy. Dr. Ambedkar argued before the “Southern-Borough” committee and asserted that “A community may claim representation” because every community enjoy separate interests” which require protection” from tyrannical behaviour of superior castes. Dr. Ambedkar campaigned for the separate representation of untouchables castes in the Legislative Council, so that they can fight for the redress of their grievance.⁴⁵ The Montague-Chelmsford Committee recognised this line of thought and “preferred nominations for depressed classes to the Legislative Council.”⁴⁶

To make the people of different strata to intermingle and associate with each other. The Madras legislative council in 1925, passed the resolution “throwing open all public roads, streets or pathways giving access to any public office, well, tank or place of public resort, to all classes of people including the depressed.”⁴⁷ The British Rulers who were imbued with the doctrine of equality and fraternity, thought for the advancement of the untouchables. In 1928, the Government of Bombay set up a Committee, chaired by O.A.B. Starte. This Committee had to identify backward classes and make recommendations for the upliftment and welfare. It did so. This committee submitted its report in 1930 and identified backward classes as “depressed class, Aborigines and Hill Tribes.” During this period the Scheduled Castes movement of political powers gained ground. The Round Table Conference, in 1930 gave indications of devolution of political from British rulers to the native Indians.”⁴⁸ During the deliberations of the conference Dr. Ambedkar took the stand and argued for separate electorate for the depressed classes.

The impact of political mobility during 20th century is peculiarly visible on Sikh scheduled caste of (West) Punjab. The main plea of the movement was that the untouchables constituted a *quam* – a distinct religious community,⁴⁹ and that “their *quam* existed in India from time immemorial.”⁵⁰ It was observed by Mark Juergensmeyer that “the untouchable castes were capable of mobilizing for their own benefits, and of organising in ways that permitted them to compete under the condition that governed the socio-political area at large.”⁵¹ This situation emboldened Dr. Ambedkar for his persistent demand of separate electorate for scheduled castes. In Second Round Table Conference in 1931, Gandhiji stubbornly refused the demand of Dr. Ambedkar. However, in 1932 after Third Round Table Conference, British Government sanctioned “Communal Award” which made room for special constituencies for Scheduled Caste to be filled up their own votes. Gandhiji vehemently opposed this step of dividing Hindus and observed fast unto death against the Communal Award. The compromise came in the form of Poona Pact, between the scheduled castes, better known as depressed classes at that time and Gandhiji. After this pact, some disgruntled elements of depressed classes expressed their angst against the Poona Pact and held that they were “politically cheated.” The Government of India Act, 1935 came into limelight giving recognition to depressed classes as scheduled castes which was first used by Simon Commission. After the establishment of constituent assembly, it passed a resolution in December 1946 to provide constitutional protections and reservation to the members of scheduled castes. The socio-political movements instilled new vision and confidence among scheduled caste people. The national freedom movement stood for the evolutionary rather than revolutionary mode of socio-political mobility. It had resulted into re-conciliatory and cooperative model for political mobilisation of untouchables.”⁵² These movements

aim at disintegration of caste- structure lead towards decreasing commission of atrocities on scheduled caste. This created a mindset to oppose the “dehumanization of scheduled castes and thus to put them of ascending scale in Indian society. It can safely say that *dalits* have been freed from yoke of untouchability and yoke of clericalism that is to say, the tyrannical and despotic sway of religion.”⁵³

Political Glance at Reservation

The social reform movement and political endeavours for seeking justice for bereft people have systematically paved the way for freedom of choice and equal chance of opportunity. In the heyday of the struggle for reservation, ground was prepared for constitutional protection and social welfare of the scheduled castes. The evolutionary process struggling for justice to depressed classes travelled a long distance and reached at the point of concrete desires in the form of “Reservation Policy” adopted during constitution making. The socio-political realities existed at the time of framing the constitution forced the founding fathers to adopt the reservation policy to provide empowerment and entitlement to the scheduled castes. “While the Indian Constitution has duly made special provisions for the social and economic uplift of the *Dalits*, comprising the so called scheduled castes and Tribes in order to enable them to achieve upward social mobility...”⁵⁴ The Constitution of India framed “a historic and epoch making”⁵⁵ norms imperatively “abolishing the stigma of untouchability associated with scheduled castes.”⁵⁶ And “its practice in any form is forbidden”, its enforcement is made an offence punishable by the Courts.⁵⁷ It was not deemed enough to enhance the socio- economic status of the scheduled caste. Therefore, policy of protective discrimination or compensatory discrimination has been regarded as essential for amelioration of scheduled castes. Under this policy, “reservations were given in legislature, government jobs and in sphere of education.”⁵⁸ This is envisaged under Article 46 of the Constitution of India. This constitutional scheme brought revolutionary changes in populace of scheduled caste through liberty replacing servitude, perspective rules by equality before law, dynamic status and role in place of social-economic static position and removal of stagnation in social setup. The constitutional measure paved way where “functional differentiation in society underwent a noticeable change.” Civil and religious disabilities and atrocities attached there with have gone with the wind. The implementation of policy of reservation in legislatures, jobs and education brought rapid changes in the ranks of scheduled castes “The rapid acceleration both horizontally and vertically in Jobs.... has been the outstanding feature of the Reservation Policy.”⁵⁹

The political mobility cropped up as a consequence of this policy made scheduled caste people socially strong with the sense of pre-imminence supremacy and superiority and equipping them to fight against social disabilities and atrocities.

Legal Norms against Atrocities

The fundamental constitutional end is the recognition of “individual as an end in itself.” Individual dignity, self-respect, emancipation and development are the motto and mission of the Constitution. Thus, populace of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been in dire need of these human values. To translate these ethical values in practice and fulfil the constitutional provisions, the Indian government has enacted some legislations “preventing unequal treatment, oppression and atrocities” meted out to scheduled caste and tribes. One of the important legislations is the Protection of Civil Rights, Act of 1955 and various land reform laws to distribute land to the landless (large chunk of Scheduled Caste and Tribes). Later on, some other Acts beneficial to Scheduled Castes were legislated, like Bounded Labour (Abolition) Act, 1976. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993 and The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and Rule 1995.)

These legal measures have been helpful for providing security to the so called *dalits*. As a result of these legislative devices the position of scheduled castes was uplifted in social scale. These laws removed “unevenness of life” by eliminating the idea of “spirit of arrogance” from the mind of the superior castes. These had been helpful in “improvement of quality of life.”

The Constitution has played pivotal role to bring major shift from a closed society to open society free from inequality, exploitation, expropriation and caste-based violence.” To remove the historical distortions of the social order”, the constitutional approach is three fold: (i) Violence free social revolution removing social stigma imposed on a big chunk of citizens of India, (ii) Providing compensatory justice making room of protective discrimination through reservation policy and financial assistance in the form of scholarships, and (iii) Enactment of legislations uprooting the caste disabilities and atrocities.

The Constitution and other laws adopted corrective approach to avoid bloodshed in a violent revolution directed against age-old exploitation. But a word of caution, we have done politicization of reservation policy and using it for political benefits. Nowadays, there is paradigm shift as an elitist section has been emerged among scheduled castes depriving from reservation benefits to the general masses of scheduled castes and causing to remain it, a weaker section. The political mobility is discernible among the urban dwelling populace of scheduled castes with mitigation of atrocities. While picture of rural segment of this class is opposite to a greater extent, however, due to facilities provided to scheduled castes they are coming forward to play an important role⁶⁰ in social up-liftment of their own man and in nation building, too. The Constitution and legal norms directed for redressal of these, created hopes of advancement, emancipation and social democratization of entire population of India. Now, the days of vested interest to keep and maintain the custom of servitude

Arshi Ansari

have gone. Here, the fact that many Hindus belonging to upper caste professing advance liberal views⁶¹ played key role to solve the problem of the elevation of the depressed castes.

Socio-Political movements of pre-independence era and the constitutional measures to ameliorate living conditions have translated into practical reality, the principle of John Stuart Mill who “stress the right to develop one’s individuality against demands of social conformity.” In the context of political mobility of scheduled castes, the struggle has been to eliminate the violent tendency of so-called superior caste people who tried to sustain social disabilities and atrocities inflicted on scheduled castes. The above descriptive discussion shows that cumulative effect of social and political reformative endeavours brought a situation where “descending scale of contempt” inversely evolved the pattern of “ascending scale of reverence” descramble in the social revolution emerging in India putting the erstwhile untouchable on the road of dignity, relative equality, prosperity and development. The vigour of intolerance and hate has been reduced to a reasonable extent and the political mobility “washed off the dishonour” tolerated by the so-called untouchables.

What has been emerged from above discussion is that a notion of social revenge has been come to surface due to politicisation of reservations in legislatures and jobs.

Conclusion

The policy of reservation has been turned out to be counter-productive and increasingly leader of caste conflict. This policy remains ineffective in raising the socio-economic status of scheduled caste dwelling in rural India. Though there is conciliatory and human treatment given to scheduled caste yet one notices inhuman and barons’ practices prevailing in the villages, where closed society still exists. The political movements launched during British regime vigorously attempted to eliminate social disunity, but politics in free India dividing society on the cast identification are creating disunion and social disintegration. The unending struggle between caste and caste for socio-political superiority has become a “source of constant ill-feeling in these days.” It is observed that another form of “caste prejudices” are emerging due to political skirmishes to draw political capital out cast-ridden election campaigns. We have seen some important changes in the society. The society as a whole rejected the domination of priestly class on social affairs. The political mobility prepared the ground for “throwing off the yoke of clericalism” traditional way to exploit, discriminate and expropriate the life of depressed classes. The constitutional prerogatives removed the tyrannical and despotic sway of the priestly class and their political authority thereof.

There is strong desire among the people of India including scheduled caste to improve the status of *dalits* living in rural areas. There is an urge found among the

populace of scheduled castes to achieve upward mobility. The Constitution, legal devices, political organisations and society as a whole want to see a society without atrocities.

(Footnotes)

- ¹ M.N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India*, [Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 962], P. 3.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, *Infra*, p.5.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ K.S.Padhy and JayashreeMahapatra, *Reservation Policy in India*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1988.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ *Ibid.*p.5
- ⁹ R.K Bakshi, *Dalit and Human Rights*, New Delhi, Akhand Publishing House, p.2.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Id.* at p.4
- ¹² See also, E. Zelliot.
- ¹³ *Supra note 6.* p.X
- ¹⁴ K.S. Padhy and Jayshree Mahapatra, p.5
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ G.A. Natesau, *Indian Review*, 1911, reproduced in “*The depressed class in India*, p:181.
- ¹⁸ *Id.* at p. 181.
- ¹⁹ *Id.* at p. 183.
- ²⁰ T.M. Mani, *End of Casteism*, Chennai Vergal Publication, 2010, p.6
- ²¹ G.S. Ghurya, *Caste and Race in India*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1969 reprint, 1988, p.44
- ²² *Id.* at p.45.
- ²³ *Id.* at p.60.
- ²⁴ *Id.* at p.62.
- ²⁵ *Id.* at p.65.
- ²⁶ O.P. Ralhan, (ed) *The Depressed Classes in India*, New Delhi, Gitanjali Publication, 1987 p(i)

Arshi Ansari

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Rajni Kothari, *Caste in Indian Politics*, [New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1970] p.5.

³⁰ M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in India*, *Indian Review*, 1960, reproduced in *The Depressed Classes in India* (ed) O.P. Ralhan, New Delhi, Gitanjali Publishing House, 1987. P.227.

³¹ Valentine Chirol

³² See for detail, Upendra Baxi, (ed) *Democracy, Equality and Freedom*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1993.

³³ S.N. Sandanshiva, *Reservation for Social Justice*, Bombay, Current Law Publishers (1986) p.20.

³⁴ K.S. Padhy and Jayashree Mahapatra, *Reservation Policy in India*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1988, p.15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ O.P. Ralhan, *The Depressed Class in India*, New Delhi, Gitanjali Publishing House, 1987, p.(ii).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Id.* at p. (iii).

⁴⁰ Acharya P.C Ray, Barahmo Samaj and Untouchability, *Modern Review*, 1932, reprinted in O.P. Ralhan, op, citp.224

⁴¹ Ideas have been borrowed from K. Jone's *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* Cambridge: U P 1989.

⁴² Details are lucidly narrated in Tripathi R.S. and Tiwari, P.D (eds) *Dimensions of Scheduled Caste Development in India*, New Delhi, Uppal, 1991.

⁴³ *Supra Note* 33 p.24

⁴⁴ *Supra Note* 34. P.16

⁴⁵ For detailed information refer to B.R. Ambedkar's writings and speeches, vol. I, p.252.

⁴⁶ *Supra Note* 43, p.18

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Sandanshiva, *op. cit.* P. 7

⁴⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, Religion as social vision: (198) as referred by J.K. Pundir, *Social Movements in India*, p.11

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Mark Juergensmeyer, p.80.

- ⁵² Parmanand Singh, *Social Justice and Equality in India*. P.117
- ⁵³ O.P Ralhan op cit. P.12-13
- ⁵⁴ R.K. Bakshi, *Dalit and Human Rights*, New Delhi, Akhand Publishing House, p.10
- ⁵⁵ Kiran Preet Kaur, “Reservation Policy and Scheduled Castes: A Profile”
, in S. Bhatnagar, R.N. Soni & Raj Kumar, (eds) *Social Justice and Equality in India*, New Delhi, Ess Ess Publication, 1987.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Article 17 of the Constitution of India.
- ⁵⁸ Kiran Preet Kaur, op. Cit. P.18
- ⁵⁹ *Id.* At p. 120
- ⁶⁰ O.P. Ralhan, *op. cit.* p. xvii
- ⁶¹ *Id.* at p.232