

**Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh:
A Case study of Laxmipeta Massacre**

A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of the requirement for
the award of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**BY
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2021

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh: A Case Study of Laxmipeta Massacre**” submitted by Mr. Suman Damera bearing Regd. No. 14SPPH12 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism-free thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

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DECLARATION

I, Suman Damera hereby declare that this thesis entitled **“Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh: A Case Study of Laxmipeta Massacre”** submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. Ramdas Rupavath is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET.

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*Dedicated to the Martyrs
fighting against Caste and the
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAMS	-	Adi Andhra Mahasabha
AMS	-	Andhra Mahasabha
AP	-	Andhra Pradesh
APCC	-	Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee
BC	-	Backward Caste
BKD	-	Bharatiya Kranti Dal
BSP	-	Bahujan Samaj Party
BSP	-	Bihar Socialist Party
CID	-	Criminal Investigation Department
CM	-	Chief Minister
Cr PC	-	Code of Criminal Procedure
CSP	-	Congress Socialist Party
DMS	-	Dalit Mahasabha
DPM	-	Deputy Prime Minister
DSP	-	Deputy Superintendent of Police
GOs	-	Government Orders
HYV	-	High Yielding Variety
INC	-	Indian National Congress
IPC	-	Indian Pinal Code
JP	-	Janata Party
JPN	-	Jaya Prakash Narayan
KNPS	-	Kula Nirmulana Porata Samithi
MBCs	-	Most Backward Classes
MLA	-	Member of Legislative Assembly
MRPS	-	Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi
NCBC	-	National Commission for Backward classes

NCBR	-	National Crime Records Bureau
NCSC	-	National Commission for Scheduled castes
NTR	-	Nadamuri Taraka Ramarao
OBCs	-	Other Backward Classes
PCRA	-	Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955
PM	-	Prime Minister
PoAA	-	Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989
PSP	-	Praja Socialist Party
RRK	-	Rytu Rakshana Yatra
SC	-	Scheduled Caste
SIP	-	Sub Inspector of Police
SP	-	Samajwadi Party
SP	-	Socialist Party
SSP	-	Samyukta Samajwadi Party
ST	-	Scheduled Tribe
SVD	-	Samyukt Vidhayak Dal
TDP	-	Telugu Desam Party
UOA	-	Untouchability Offence Act, 1955
UP	-	Utter Pradesh

Chapter – 1

Introduction

Caste occupies a historical significance in India. The caste system is a foundational base of Indian society. Caste has set specific standards and norms to exhibit domination of upper caste and the subordinate position of Dalits. Upper castes utilise violence to maintain their authority and strengthen the caste rules. Caste has been a primary feature that determines access to power and domination in the realm of social relations. It does not mean that caste is a static entity, but it is a dynamic force. The dynamism of caste is evident in its flexibility to adjust to the changing socio-economic conditions. But, it persists and thrives. It helps in moulding the society filled to the edge with the relations of power and domination. Caste, as is known, is the basis of dominating power. However, it is not limited to that. Even the movements and narratives that reinforce in opposition to this domination carry the stain.

The caste system is well established and deep-rooted in Indian society; various scholars have discussed caste consciousness and its diverse manifestations. “Caste is the fundamental category to understand the Indian Society (Srinivas M.N. 1972:739). But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet (Manusmriti, I-31:1). Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts, and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brahmana (Ibid X-75:69). The Brahmana is declared (to be) the creator (of the world), the punisher, the teacher, (and hence) a benefactor (of all created beings); to him let no man say anything unpropitious, nor use any harsh words. (ibid XI-35:72). The four Varnas – Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra- together have brought into existence the fifth Varna called Ati-Shudras (Untouchables). Manu Dharma not content with the creation of the fifth Varna also created castes within this fifth Varna. Near well-known trees and burial- grounds, on mountains and in groves, let these (tribes) dwell, known (by certain marks), and subsisting by their peculiar occupations. The dwellings of Kandalas and Svapakas shall be outside the village, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall

eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place” (Manusmriti, X-50-52:68).

“The idea of caste is a ‘spectre’ to most of the Indians; certainly, it is a spectre, as it cannot be detached, disassociated, ignored, or even be dismissed. Caste is a totalitarian object, which interconnects the social life of individuals. Caste was not a colonial invention; rather it existed before the colonial period. During the pre-colonial period, caste representations were articulated more in terms of the Varna system based on a four-fold vertical system- Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra (Satish Ch. 2014:10). Scholars such as Ambedkar have proclaimed that the origin of the caste system can be located in the Brahminical text ‘Manusmriti’. He further asserted that it was ‘endogamy’ which has altered the mechanism of the caste system. Nevertheless, his contribution to caste studies was not recognized as much as within sociological literature” (ibid, 11).

While the whole world is divided based on colour and class, caste has been India's dividing factor. Indian society ensured the untouchable status to some people despite all of them being of the same colour. “Caste system does not demarcate racial division. Caste system is a social division of people of the same race” (Ambedkar B.R. 1936:49). Depending upon its position and occupation, every caste is placed on the ladder of the caste system, with one above the other and one below the other. It is expected that in these days of impressive scientific and technological advancements, people would shed their caste and bring into reality the cherished ideal of ‘Unity in Diversity’. But, regrettably, that is not the case. People in other countries are moving away from the discriminatory identity of colour and are working towards individual, collective, and national advancement. However, in contrast to that, people in this country are continuing to oppress others in the name of caste despite accumulating knowledge, thereby upholding the idea of caste in India.

In every generation, each caste or the class corresponding to it, i.e., castes belonging to Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishya’s, have dominated the life on this earth and monopolized power, wealth, and state power. After that, castes in the aforementioned Varna’s after establishing themselves in powerful positions have transferred their positions to the castes of Shudra Varna. The process

is still ongoing. Castes belonging to Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishya's and Shudras have captured land, political power, business, media, and other sectors and are assisting each other to lead a comfortable life. By assisting each other, they are making sure that the Dalits who were once known as untouchables are kept away from all these sectors and thereby discriminating against them.

According to various reports of the National Crime Bureau, violence on Dalits has become an everyday feature of public life in India and social reality. Violence has different faces, such as physical, domestic, sexual, etc. Amongst all, what stands out and the most traditional and percolated much more strongly even in modern times too is caste-based violence. Caste-based violence is as old as the existence of the caste system itself. Caste-based violence functions independently at the same time it even operates along with other forms of violence to disseminate discrimination, insults, and humiliation. The offspring of caste violence have a broader and deeper reach across the breadth and length of Independent India. The incidents such as Karamchedu, Chunduru, Vempenta, Neeerukonda (AP), Kilvenmani, Puliyangundi, Tamrabarani, Melavalapu (Tamil Nadu), Belchi, Laxmanpur Bathe, Bathani Tola (Bihar), Kambalapalli, Vannenur, Kadkol (Karnataka), Jajjera, Gohana (Haryana), Khairlanji (Maharashtra) are just the tip of the iceberg. They are not isolated, intermittent events, but structural reflections of upper caste hegemony against the Dalits.

Few sociological studies (Pandian 2000; Jaoul. 2008) have indicated that the assertion and public visibility of Dalits is the prime reason behind the perpetuation of caste violence. This phenomenon cut across, regional, spatial, formal and informal, institutional and non-institutional spaces. More importantly, it gained more significance from the 1980s because of the growing awareness among the Dalits as they are asserting their rights and resisting the hegemony of the upper castes which eventually lead to the foundation for a new political discourse of an independent Dalit movement. The Frontline too, a magazine based in Tamilnadu had recorded the accounts of caste violence from 1995-2004.

The incidents of caste violence against Dalits from the 1990s. She says that the Dalits have taken the path of resistance against this caste violence to protect themselves and to assert their

fundamental right to life with dignity and self-respect. Dalits are now resolved to fight for equal societies. Caste violence has been more visible now in the post-independent era, it is not to overlook the amount of caste violence that happened during pre-independence era, where Dalits who worked as agricultural labour and in other menial jobs had been facing several forms of discrimination such as humiliation, oppression and violence by higher caste feudal lords and used the discriminating language of caste whenever and wherever possible to further humiliate Dalits (Narula, 1998). The growing socio-economic empowerment of the dominant castes along with political power is enabling them to organize all the other castes against the Dalits and to perpetrate violence against the Dalits in an organized and systematic order. The socio-economic aspects of the dominant castes and the political inequality are closely related to fueling increased caste violence against the Dalits. The atrocities against the Dalits are planned and executed systematically to victimize Dalits as a community and not at an individual level. The atrocities against Dalits are carried out in a way by consolidating all other castes against the Dalits to result in the maximum amount of casualties and even targeting those who are not connected to the dispute to inflict terror. The dominant castes behind such attacks intend to wrack the livelihoods and devastate the collective societal symbols of Dalits to demoralize them. Dalit women are the most vulnerable targets in the wake of such attacks, commonly sexually abused, and apparently, the attacks are more often backed up by strong political support (ibid).

In this context, two important phases of the Dalit culture have been identified in contemporary India. It is manifested both in the experience of pain as a result of social exclusion due to caste perceptions in Indian society and experiences of movement towards the affirmation of its identity through liberating possibilities (Lourdunathan, 2015: 1). In this context, it has been observed that due to the traditional caste structure, violence and atrocities erupt very often. The upper castes try to subjugate and torment the lower castes primarily to maintain their hegemony. Thus, it is essential to study the social system to understand the ongoing social complex process (ibid).

In the era of modernization, the world has changed and the consciousness of the world as a whole has deepened about the nature of inequality and injustice, but the caste system and its remnants like violence on the Dalits in everyday life have remained as they were earlier. Caste violence has merely changed the patterns and modes of practices. Now, caste works in subtler and discrete

ways. Nothing worthwhile has changed in the underlying ideological structure of the Hindus. Even the graded inequality has remained in the casteist minds of the Hindus. Literature and culture of dominant castes constantly work to keep the caste alive as caste serves their vested interests and lets the hierarchy in society continue. Caste has blocked the rationalised cultural preferences not only among the touchable Shudra but the worst victims of the caste system like the Ati-Shudra i.e., the untouchables. However, a few Dalits are also willingly following the patterns of the caste system of the dominant caste Hindus and try to be called or appear like upper-caste Hindus. Several sub-castes are existing among untouchables. The religious beliefs and rituals of caste Hindus nurture and provide impetus to the socio-psychological constructions of the caste system.

Caste kills both freedom from wants and freedom from fear which are prerequisites for pursuing a happy life for any individual. The task of raising caste consciousness and awareness of human rights is a challenging one. Therefore, it is essential to expose the evils of caste, and exploitation of Dalits in the caste strata is important for the suffering Dalit masses. To bring awareness in social, political, and religious ways of common Dalits are to be carried forward by the Dalit movement. Besides, Dalit movements can play a key role in raising caste consciousness and human rights awareness among the Dalits in the same way as the Black Nationalism movement has done. It is to be noted that, words are more powerful than weapons so that Dalit thinkers and writers fight the ruling class i.e. the so-called higher castes who have mismanaged the history and culture founded by Dalits and expose the worst impact of caste on the Dalits (Narwani, 2011).

1.1. Social Reformers against the Caste system in Pre-Independence India

When India was reeling under colonial rule, it was said that entire India stands in unity against colonial rule. People have fought the British for independence transcending religion, caste, and class. Upper castes, all the while discriminating lower castes, fought together with the latter to dislodge the colonial power. The oppressed sections were at the forefront of the Independence struggle because they have considered the British as the common enemy. As people are very much aware of the awfulness of slavery by the upper and the lower castes fought against British rule. One can gauge the 'Power' and the 'Domination' of caste from the fact that after attaining

independence, the upper castes who fought against the British continued to treat the people of lower castes, especially people of scheduled castes, as slaves, all in the name of caste.

According to Gail Omvedt, the social structure of pre-independence was a variant of India's social system as it has been dominated by caste. Therefore, the Indian caste system, its nature and influence in framing the social structure and caste system in India that gave rise to violence in certain circumstances has to be understood critically. The social structure and caste system undergo continuous constriction and changes which depend upon the interrelationship of castes and their interests. It is to note that the hierarchy in social structure was maintained through the Chaturvarna system, and has been survived through the caste system that denied numerous opportunities to the marginalized sections in India.

Numerous social reformers fought against social evils such as untouchability, sati-system, child marriages, etc. in pre-independent India. It was in that context, Jyotirao Phule who was a prominent 19th-century Indian social reformer fought against the social evils of untouchability during the Anti-Brahmin movement to remove them. Significantly, this movement initiated by the warrior of the oppressed, Jyotirao Phule in Maharashtra has been a constant source of inspiration for many social movements to follow. He rebelled against the existing caste discriminations that deny the rights of the lower castes, working, and peasant class controlled by the brahminical ideology on the masses. Jyotirao Phule is an educator, social reformer, and philosopher hailing from Maharashtra who fought against social evils like caste, the practice of untouchability, remarriage of widows, etc. and strived for the upliftment of women through educating them and contributed to various agencies of public participation such as education and agriculture (Omvedt, 1994: 97). "Jyotirao Phule was the main founder of the anti-caste movement in India, the national unification of the masses of the people in India required an attack on Brahmin domination and Hinduism itself. This attack he carried on at all levels, elaborating a theory of history along with a reinterpretation of Indian mythology, and communicating it to the masses with polemic tracts, songs, plays, and organisation building. Phule was the first person to start the social movement to create awareness among the SCs and STs in India. In 1848, an incident took place in his life that later sparked off the social revolution in Indian Society. Jyotirao was invited to attend the wedding of one of his Brahmin friends. Knowing that he

belonged to an inferior caste, the relatives of the bridegroom insulted and abused him. Jyotirao Phule left the procession and made up his mind to defy the norms of prevailing caste-system and social restrictions” (ibid).

After he was humiliated by the Brahman at the Hindu marriage, Phule has strongly opposed the caste system and the Hindu hierarchy, particularly the evil practice of untouchability. Phule was motivated and inspired by western civil liberties and rights. Most importantly, by a renowned book titled ‘The Rights of Man’ by Thomas Paine. In 1848, Jyotirao along with his spouse, a great woman social reformer, Savitribai Phule started a girls’ school in 1848 to educate them believing that awareness through education eradicates discrimination and oppression on the marginalized. Furthermore, Jyotirao Phule established the Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1873 to work concretely towards his determination to form equal societies. The primary aim was to fight against the social evils imposed by the Brahmins that oppressed the marginalized, to enlighten the oppressed sections through education, and to liberate them from oppression and exploitation. Jyotirao played a key role and spearheaded various social reform movements especially in Maharashtra, remembered for his struggle through education against the oppression and exploitation caused by the dominant castes on the lower castes.

From the Pre-Independence to Post-Independence period, B.R. Ambedkar’s contribution is very significant in organising the Dalits for the eradication of the untouchability and caste system in the early twentieth century in India. Before Independence, Ambedkar led several movements for the eradication of untouchability. As Eleanor Zelliott says “B.R. Ambedkar first began with the urban Mahars and came to affect the position of Untouchables all over India. Through the Government of India Act of 1935, as well as special educational programs and reserved government posts, the untouchables gained full-scale representation at all levels of government. As a further result of the movement, certain social reforms were enacted. One of the reforms was a ban excluding untouchables from wells used by high-caste Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar experienced caste discrimination right from his birth. He was the first untouchable’s student at the government high school nearby Elphinstone road in Bombay. Ambedkar was disturbed by the segregation and discrimination that he faced in primary education to higher education. In 1907, he passed his matriculation examination and entered the University of Bombay, becoming one of the first

persons of untouchable origin to enter a college in India. In 1920, the Dalit movement has emerged under the leadership of Ambedkar, he started anti-caste movements in Maharashtra, later it spread all over India. For the eradication of untouchability, several social reformers played a vital role in pre-and post-independence” (Eleanor Zelliot, 1969:12-14).

M.S. Gore rightly stated about the Dalit movements in India. Ambedkar was the first prominent leader of the untouchables in modern Maharashtra, who rose amongst the untouchables themselves. Jyotirao Phule (1826-1890) and Vitthalrao Shinde (1873-1944) who worked for the emancipation of the untouchables belong to different castes. Phule belongs to Mali caste, and Shinde, a Kshatriya Maratha. While their dedication to the welfare of the untouchables was unquestioned, the movements they led were neither protest movements nor exclusively focused on untouchability eradication (Gore. M.S, 1993: 73).

B.R. Ambedkar opposed the caste system and its practice because the Hindu four-fold Varna system never allows untouchables to enter the mainstream society. As the reason for the caste hierarchy, Ambedkar described the traditional status of untouchables and caste disabilities in the following words, “The doors of education were closed for the untouchables. They were not allowed to bear arms. They could not earn enough money or acquire wealth in any manner. Even in the matters of words, they were not allowed a free choice. They could not use decent culture, language but instead, they were required to use crude language to help identification. They had to live outside the villages and far away from the towns in caves, on the trees or huts or tents made of tattered clothes. They could not own animals other than pigs, dogs, and donkeys. They were not allowed to eat wholesome food, not to wear decent clothes. In certain regions, they were not allowed to put on the loincloth which went below the knee cap. They could enter the village only during day time and had to return to their huts before sunset. They were branded as untouchables, un-useable and unapproachable” (T.R. Naval, 2004: 18).

The duration from 1930-1936 was a very significant period of the social movements in India. B.R. Ambedkar has played a very important role to uplift the oppressed sections particularly in this period. In 1930, a conference was conducted by the All Indian Depressed Classes in Nagpur. B.R. B R Ambedkar was invited as the representative of the untouchables to the first round table

conference and he attended it. In 1932, Ambedkar had achieved political rights for Depressed Classes for the first time. According to the Poona Pact (1932), the British government has accepted the representation and agreed for forming the separate electorates to the marginalised sections. In 1936, Ambedkar announced the provincial conference of Depressed Classes in Nasik district. He says “I was born a The Hindu, but I will not die as Hindu”. About all the historic incidents, Ambedkar has created caste consciousness and political representation. Particularly his fight against caste disabilities between 1930- 1936, because of that this period is called as a turning point of SCs and STs Movement in India. “B.R. Ambedkar was also a social reformer; he not only started organisations to radicalise the Indian Society, but he was also intellectually simulative too. He has started several newspapers and societies with an agenda to uplift and create political awareness among the downtrodden. On 1920, January 31st, he started a weekly paper called ‘Mooknayak’ (Leader of the Dumb). On 20th January 1924, he formed ‘Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha’ (Association for the welfare of depressed classes), the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha motto was still used in SCs and STs literature, Educate, Agitate, Organize” (Gail Omvedt, 1994: 61).

B.R. Ambedkar is the foremost social reformer to understand the complexities in the caste system as he opined that, “Most parts of the world have had their type of what wards call the lowly. The Romans had their slaves, the Spartans their helots, the British their villains, the Americans their Negroes, and the Germans their Jews. So the Hindus have their Untouchables. But none of these can be said to have been called upon to face a fate that is worse than the fate which pursues the Untouchables. Slavery, serfdom, villain age had all vanished. But Untouchability still exists and bids fair to last as long as Hinduism will last. The Untouchable is worse off than a Jew. The sufferings of the Jew are of his creation. Not so are the sufferings of the Untouchables” (B.R. Ambedkar, 1946: 11).

Every part of the world has practiced various forms of slavery alike the Indian caste system. Most countries scrapped away these inhuman oppressions caused to fellow human beings, except caste based oppression and the practice of untouchability in India. There is a fundamental difference between slavery practised in other parts of the world and the caste system practised in India. The practice of untouchability in India is worse than slavery as by the incidence of birth, one falls

into various castes in the social hierarchy which cannot be altered until his/her death. Such oppression was never followed by any ancient or civilized nations of the world.

The origin of caste results in the practice of untouchability. Untouchability is being practised to date not just by the Hindus but by most religious practices in India such as Muslims, Christians etc. The caste-based social hierarchy and the practice of untouchability were never given up by the caste Hindus of Indian society and the people on the lower rung were never allowed to be equal and are struggling to live a life of dignity and respect pre and post-independence. In the developmental process of rapid change in the nation, the Indian psyche still retains, nurtures caste-based social discrimination. Most importantly India is a caste-based country, where the Brahmins located on the top of caste hierarchy and Dalits are forced to be on the bottom resulting in stark differences that leads to discrimination and oppression.

1.2. Institutional Intervention against the supremacy of Caste in Pre-Independent India

British Colonial rule in India has used the caste system for its benefits to perpetuate the dominance of race and caste. They have executed divide and rule policy based on colonial race, caste and class system. “The British government exploited people with the caste system as a means of social control. The British Elite themselves with Brahmins restoring some of its privileges but had been repealed by the Muslim rulers. However, many Indian customs concerning the lower castes seemed discriminatory to the British and were outlawed. In 1850, British have for the first time banned the inhuman practice of untouchability in India. During the 1930 and 40s, the British government has made laws to protect the untouchables”. Dalits are subjected to various kinds of humiliation, ill-treatment and physical abuse by the upper castes. They have been doing it as a matter of right and social sanction for ages. Therefore these acts are never considered legally punishable offences in the Hindu code. It is only at the advent of a democratic and civil society that these offences were recognized as crimes by the mainstream society. “Between 1932 and 1936 a number of temple entry and anti-disabilities bills were introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly and the Madras and Bombay legislatures” (A. Ramaiah, 2007: 26). A century later, the Indian government has enacted the Anti-Untouchability

Act in 1955, but even today, inhuman practice of untouchability, ill-treatment, physical abuses, and basic human rights violation against Dalits are continuing (ibid).

“Untouchability means the practices evolved as social restrictions in sharing food, access to public places, offering prayers and performing religious services, the entry in temples and other public places and denial of access to drinking water sources, etc. The first penal statute to remove untouchability was introduced during the British in 1938 in the Madras legislature. Discriminating the untouchables in public places such as roads, wells and transportation and other secular institutions including restaurants, hotels, shops, etc. was made a cognizable offence that attracted a fine and imprisonment for up to six months. The Bombay Harijan Temple Worship Act, 1947, conferred on the Dalits a right to enter temples and offer worship. During this period, two other enactments were also passed namely the Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1947 and the Hindu Social Disabilities. Removal Act, 1948 which prohibited the practice of untouchability and sought to punish those who indulged in it” (Naval. T.R, 2001:16).

1.3. Constitutional Safeguards for the protection of Dalits in Post-Independent India

The Indian Constitution (Article 46) provides that “the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. To preserve the rights of the oppressed and to ensure the overall development of the Dalits through the safeguards guaranteed by the India constitution, and empower them socio-economically, culturally and politically.

“The preamble of the Indian constitution has provided all citizens are equal by the law and most importantly there should not be any discrimination on the grounds of Religion, caste, sex, race and Place of birth. Fundamentally, India is a caste-based society and every citizen of India is divided on the grounds of the Hindu Chaturvarna. These constitutional principles when comes into the reality, there is no liberty, equality, and fraternity among all the citizens, because the concept of caste system was equal by the law and unequal by the caste”. In this connection, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has rightly opined on the Indian caste system;

“You cannot build anything on the foundation of caste. You cannot build up a nation; you cannot build up a morality. Anything you will build on the foundation of caste will crack and will never be a whole” (Ambedkar, 1945:66)

“Article 366(24) Scheduled Castes means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purpose of this Constitution. Article 341(1) The President may with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State or Union territory, as the case maybe. Article 341(2) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification issued under clause(i) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.”

“The safeguards provided in the Constitution of India to the Scheduled Castes are grouped in the following broad heads: (1) Social Safeguards (2) Economic Safeguards (3) Educational & Cultural Safeguards (4) Political Safeguards (5) Service Safeguards”.

Social Safeguards

“Article 17, 23, 24 and 25 (2) (b) of the constitution of India enjoins upon the state to provide social safeguards to Scheduled Castes. Article 17 relates to the abolition of untouchability practices in society. The Parliament enacted the protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, to tackle untouchability, a practice against Scheduled Castes.

Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and beggar, and other similar forms of forced labour. It provides that any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable per law. However, there is no specific mention of the SCs in this Article, but most of the bonded labour comes from SCs. Thus, this Article has a special significance for them. The parliament enacted

Bonded labour system (Abolition) Act, 1976 for the identification, liberation and rehabilitation of bonded labourers. Article 24 provides that no child below 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. Even in this Article, there is no specific mention about the SCs, but a substantial portion of child labour involved in hazardous employments belong to SCs. Article 25(2)(b) provides that The Hindu religious institutions of a public character shall be opened to all classes and sections of The Hindus. The term 'The Hindu' connotes Sikh, Jain, and Buddhist religions broadly. But in practice, this provision is ignored, and members of SC/ST have been restricted from entering temples. Though this social evil is gradually vanishing yet incidents of prohibiting SC/ST people from entering the temples are sometimes reported in the press and have also been brought to the Commission's notice. Collective efforts of all sections of society are necessary for providing unhindered access for SCs/STs to the Hindu temples and the Hindu religious institutions”.

Economic Safeguards

“Article 23, 24 and 46 of India's Constitution promulgates the economic safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 46 Provides, The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice all forms of exploitation. It emphasises the improvement of Socio-economic conditions of marginalized sections of the country”.

Educational and Cultural Safeguards

“Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India empowers the State to make special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or SCs & STs. This provision was added to the Constitution through the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, which amended several articles. This provision has enabled the state to reserve seats for SCs/STs in educational institutions, including technical, engineering and medical colleges. In this article and Article 16(4), the term 'backward classes' is used as a generic term and comprises various

categories of backward classes, viz. Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, (Other Backward Classes, Denotified Communities (Vimukta Jatiyan) and Nomadic/Semi-nomadic Communities”.

Political Safeguards

“Article 330 provides reservation of seats for SCs & STs in the Lok Sabha. Article 332 provides for reservation of seats for SCs & STs in the State Vidhan Sabhas (Legislative Assemblies). Article 334 lays down the provision relating to the reservation of seats for SCs and STs in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabha (and the Anglo-Indian Community's representations in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabha by nomination). Article 243-T states that the seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in every Municipality and the number of seats reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Municipality as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the Municipal area or of the Scheduled Tribes in the Municipal area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality. Not less than one -third of the total number of seats reserved under clause(I) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes”.

“Under Article 243-D, which came into existence with the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992, seats in Panchayats from village Panchayats to Zilla Parishad will be reserved for SCs & STs in proportion to their population at the respective level, in a direct election. Out of the seats reserved for SCs & STs, one-third of seats will be reserved for these communities' women. These reserved seats for SCs/STs shall be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat at each level”.

Service Safeguards

“Service safeguards are provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution under the Articles 16(4), 16(4A), and 335. Article 16 (4) states that nothing in this

article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts favouring any backward class of citizens, which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under State. Article 16 (4A) states that nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which in the opinion of the State are not adequately represented in the services under the State. Article 335 deals with claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in services and posts. The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of the efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State”.

“In the year 2001, the Parliament through Constitution (Eighty-fifth Amendment) Act, 2011 amended the provisions contained in Articles 16(4A). In Article 16 (4A), the words in the matters of promotion to any class have been substituted. As a result, reservations in promotions can be given to SCs/STs if the state feels inadequate representation. The most important mandated provisions in Article 338 of the constitution is section (9) which stipulate that 'The Union & every State Govt. shall consult the National Commission for Scheduled Castes on all major policy matters affecting Scheduled Castes'.

Other Legal Provisions

Dalits facing discrimination, humiliations, assaults, and atrocities perpetuated as a reason of the caste hierarchy is a day-to-day social reality in India even after independence. The discrimination against Dalits persists in all spheres of social life, although the Indian Constitution mentions safeguards like the Right to Equality and criminalization of Untouchability. Following are the legal interventions of the state to protect the Dalits.

Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955

Article 17 of the Indian Constitution deals with the abolition of untouchability. The

Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 was passed by the Parliament under powers conferred by Article 35 of India's Constitution. Any restrictions on entrance and worship at temples, access to shops and restaurants, the practice of occupations and trades, use of water sources, places of public resort and accommodation, public conveyance, hospital, educational institutions, constitution and occupation of residential premises, holding of religious ceremonies and processions, can be penalized or imprisoned for up to six months, cancellation or suspension of licenses and public grants. Significantly, the Act placed the burden of proof on the accused and not the prosecution. However, there were several lacunae in the Act, and there was widespread criticism that the Act was not serving the purpose for which it was enacted. The Act did not define the term untouchable or untouchability. The punishments awarded under the Act were inadequate and not deterrent enough. The Government addressed the inadequacies by appointing a Committee to review the Act's working and suggest changes. Based on the Committee's recommendations, a bill to amend the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 was introduced in the Lok Sabha in 1972. The old Act was amended by the Untouchable (Offences) Amendment and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1976 and rechristened as the 'Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955' (Subba Rao 2014:47).

Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976

“Indian Constitution, through Article 17, protected Civil Rights have been defined as any right accruing to a person because of the abolition of untouchability under Article 17 of the Constitution. Preaching and practising untouchability or any similar act would be considered a cognizable and non-compoundable offence as per the act. Preventing a person on the ground of untouchability from entering a place of worship established or maintained by a religious denomination has been made an offence. All untouchability offences, for which punishment does not exceed three months, can be tried summarily. The punishment for untouchability offences was enhanced, and both fine and imprisonment would be awarded for such offences. For subsequent defaults, the punishment has been enhanced to range from one-year imprisonment with fines of Rs, 500/- to two years imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10,000/-. State Governments, under the Act, were also empowered to impose collective fines on the inhabitants of any area found committing and abetting the commission of an offence under the Act. A person convicted

under the Act is debarred from contesting elections to the Central or State legislature” (ibid).

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

“The magnitude of atrocities on the Dalits every year intensified. Thousands of atrocities have been reported and registered in different states of India. In 1985 the Karamchedu massacre happened, and seven Dalits were brutally killed by the Kammas, one of the dominant Castes in Andhra Pradesh. It led to the eruptions of movement by the Dalits across the country. Subsequently, the Government of India enacted Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989”.

“The Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and Rules, 1995 was enacted to prevent and protect SC/STs from atrocities against them by the dominant castes. Because the existing laws, i.e., Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 and Indian Penal Code have failed to protect these groups and avoid gross offences against SC/STs”. “An Act to prevent the commission of offences of atrocities against the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, to provide for Special Courts for the trial of such offences and for the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of such offences and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto”(PoA Act, 1989).

Though the PoA Act was very stringent and powerful on paper, there is no such serious commitment from the government to prevent atrocities. The act proved ineffective and inadequate in dealing with the caste-based atrocities in Indian society. The spirit of democracy lies in safeguarding all the sections of society, which facilitate their life with dignity and honour, enjoy equal opportunities, the fruits of development, and equal access to resources. Therefore, the Indian state is bound to protect all marginalised communities, thereby improving their socio-economic status and bringing social justice (Prasad, Chandra & Kumar, 1998). But in practice, state on numerous instances went against the spirit of the Constitution. The literature review below portrays the broad and more profound picture of caste discrimination, violence and atrocities against Dalits in India.

1.4. Review of Literature

In this section, an attempt is made to revise the works and projects of academics and activists, who have systematically historicized and projected the oppression against Dalits 'hegemonic and physical violence. While doing so, they have advocated for the Dalits' safeguards as a powerful weapon to counter and re-counter hegemony, which alone can emancipate the Dalits politically, socially and economically.

B.R. Ambedkar (1936), carried out the debate on India's social system arguing that caste is unbreakable without addressing its root cause, the orthodox religious beliefs of the Hindu religion that is formed and whose hierarchy is determined on the basis of caste division. The Hindu society is rigid by the influence of the caste system, and that constant effort must be made to eradicate these evils. "He argued that social evils like Sati, child marriages and prohibition of widow remarriages were outcomes of the caste system. He discussed the features of the division of labour, absence of inter-dining and the principle of birth. Therefore, he proposed inter-caste marriages, inter-dining and abolition of sub-castes to annihilate the caste system". Contrary to the caste Hindus belief that caste is a mere division of labour, Ambedkar argued that it is also a division of labourers that leads to graded inequality. He also argues that the people are categorized and selected based on ascribed statuses but not on skills and merit. He further explains that caste as a brutal discriminatory apparatus that demands submission of a man's natural powers and inclinations for the benefit of the dominant sections of the caste hierarchy. It is a subdivision of the people of the same race in to several castes to gain monopoly over the economic system, thus, caste is a barrier to economic efficiency, and it has disorganized the Hindus according to B R Ambedkar.

Further, he argued that members of each caste not only dine together among themselves but also marry within the caste. Hence, he argued that a typical Hindu lives as a frog in the well refusing contact with other sections of the society. Further, he treated caste as responsible for the issue of national dis-integration. He believed that caste consciousness has served to keep alive discrimination between castes, and it has been preventing unity among the Hindus. Chaturvarna is as old as the Vedas.

Kolakaluri Enoch (1969), in his short story *Oorabhavi* (The Village Well), depicts an atrocity from multiple positions. The story revolves around the denial of access to a public well for the Dalits in a village and the ultimate success of Dalits in getting access to that well through an unrevealed strategy adopted by a Dalit woman. She plays a trick by accusing that the upper caste young man assaulted her. She even dared to beat up the Munsif in disguise and set the haystacks on fire. The idea of atrocity has different meanings in the story. It is multilayered and manifested in social structure. The upper castes are unanimous in considering the incident of polluting the well with a dead body's skeletal frame. They don't feel it is atrocious to practice untouchability against Dalits. They treat this as a regular act and sanctity of social and religious codes. They don't see the denial of access to the public well or temple to Dalits as violence.

On the other hand, Dalits have to face physical violence even on suspicion. Any Dalit act that threatens the caste Hindus' power has been treated as arrogance, leading to violence. The incident of polluting the well may have a different meaning for Dalits. Behind this incident lies the social anger of the community. Though it seems to be an act of adventurism, an isolated and individualistic act and connected to the will of the community as a whole, it had a different meaning to Dalits. The shared meaning can be seen when they decided to not remove the skeletal frame of the dead bull from the well by using the language of the upper castes that Dalits should not touch the well of the upper caste. The story was published in 1969, and the assertion portrayed in the story was realised after the Karamchedu massacre. A collective assertion of Dalits, demanding rights and human dignity, was witnessed. Society has seen systematically organized and cruel mass atrocities committing by caste Hindus against Dalits. There is a difference in intensity, geography, social agency, and caste violence pattern from the story to recent experiences. But the story *Oorabhavi* helps in understanding and theorizing the atrocities.

K. Balagopal (1985) in his essay on "*The Karamchedu Killings: NTR Phenomenon*", explained that the kmmas in that area are the wealthy, land-owning communities eventually leading to dominant political discourse. Daggubati Chencu Ramaiah is the leader for the Kamma community. Most Dalits from the area gain their livelihood working as labourers at their households or working as agricultural labourers in their field. Due to Green Revolution, and before that colonial agrarian policies kmmas economic status improved, which led to the

diversification of their economic activities from agriculture to other areas of commerce such as film industry, gaining contracts and others. During this time, the consolidation apart from the economic situation is extended to political control by denying the congress party and were consolidated under the newly emerged Telugu Desam Party (TDP). The economically empowered kamma community consolidated under Daggubati Chencu Ramaiah's leadership, the brother in law of the then Chief Minister N T Ramarao. Equally, the Dalits who got educated and aware of their rights were trying to consolidate themselves and assert their rights. Thus, the Dalits considering the so-called secular, Dalit and minority welfare government, the Indian National Congress (INC) as a platform that was in direct competition to the TDP government supported by the Kammas played a crucial factor in the rivalry between the Kammas and the Dalits. Added to the political disagreements and the Dalit youth's added assertion has sparked tensions between them. The socio-economical and politically empowered Kammas couldn't stomach and has taken advantage of the above factors to perpetrate violence against the Dalits.

Narasimha Reddy. D (1985), argues that with the growing wealth and incomes, the Kammas have been enthusiastically ensured their dominance and authoritarian position in the village. The means of ensuring dominance range from abuse, punishment and even expulsion of the Harijans¹ and the other weaker sections. Humiliation directed by the kammas against the Dalits is a common practice where the Dalits habituation to such humiliation in regard of their helplessness is taken as sanctification. The Dalits entering in to different fields, the progress by them are seen as a threat to their dominance and hierarchy by the Kammas. To serve the purpose of control, The Katcheri is enforced by the kammas where the Dalits are punished to the trivial committed in following caste rules. The atrocities he attributes to the weaker sections' relentless dependence as wage labourers and tenants, cultivators and firewood collection and cattle grazing perpetuate the unabated ill-treatment. In 1982, when the Kammas attacked Malas, the Madigas sheltered them. Since then, the Kammas have cast a jaundiced eye on the Madigas and wanted to teach them a lesson. The victory of the 1985 assembly election found enough political clout to complete their conspiracy. In this write-up, it is interesting to note the Kamma self-images, which the author recorded in his discussion with the Karamchedu Kammas.

¹ "Members of a hereditary Hindu group of the lowest social and ritual status. In the year 1982 the usage of the term Harijan banned by the Government of India".

The building up of caste solidarity as a significant weapon in ensuring all ground dominance remains in the backdrop. “Nobody can defy a Karamchedu Kamma and get away with it”, says a Kamma youth very proudly. “All top educationalists, industrialists, technologists, even film stars are our people. Our people are the finest doctors and scientists, even in America”. All that the author says is the “recent political changes in the state had brought the Karamchedu Kammas even closer to the centres of political power”. The then Chief Minister’s eldest son-in-law had won the assembly election from Karamchedu. They claimed, “We certainly have political out”. It is not as if NTR has interfered in this case. He doesn’t need to; the police and administration have interrupted because of NTR’s closeness to us”.

The simple act of raising a protest by a Harijan boy against a Kamma youth and the young Harijan woman's interference on July 16 was seen as a blatant challenge to the Kamma community's authority. Karamchedu massacre cannot be viewed as an isolated and unique instance of atrocity. The magnitude and intensity of violence are due to the wealth and political clout of the Kammas but the patterns are woven around July 17, 1985, are similar. The social fabric of the Indian countryside has evolved itself into a strange amalgam of feudal texture with modern colours. The elements of capitalist penetration are only helping to sharpen the cutting edge of feudal forms of authority, while political rhetoric is replete with the scenarios of equality, equity and Castelessness; social reality is rife with repression and ever strong perpetration of the caste order. Karamchedu is only an example of the emerging social tensions in the countryside. The oppressed consciousness parallels the increasing domination of the socio-economic and political hegemony of the dominant castes. The state response, he says, has always been to view each atrocity in isolation and to mollify by declaring compensation for the dead and paltry relief to the living. Karamchedu has enough pointers to awaken the people to see the poverty of government perception of the problem. Karamchedu is an example of ‘trickle down’, and the people were above the much fetid poverty line. Food, clothing and shelter are not the only problems of the oppressed. One has a scenario about what is in store even if it is lifted above the so-called poverty line.

Gail Omvedt (1994) book on “Dalits and Democratic Revolution” explains the beginning of the

Dalit movement in the country. The author takes up the emergence of the movement in Nagpur, Hyderabad, Andhra and Mysore and finally visits western Maharashtra's movement, which led to the Ambedkarites version of Dalit assertion. In the global context, it is the end of the First World War combined with the Russian revolution's challenge. In India, the Montague Chelmsford reforms proposed new powers to the natives. She also reminds one that it was a time when the mass struggles and ideological upheavals marked the country. She finds the times characterized by the following movements - worker or peasant movements, Gandhism, Hindu-Muslim tensions, the rise of the Hindu Nationalism and non-Brahman political formations.

All these provided the ideological and organizational environment within which early Dalit organizing took place. At the same time, Dalit initiatives put pressures on these sections, making the issue of 'untouchability' a politically salient one. The emerging Dalit movement theme she names as the 'autonomy – integration' theme. The people who ask for integration demand that some compromise be struck between the Hindus and others demand autonomous Dalit political formations. In the coastal districts of Andhra, one of the most economically vibrant in the Madras Presidency, that Dalit movement emerged. The irrigation schemes such as Godavari and Krishna rivers had changed the feudal system in these areas. Kammas benefited most from the development of agriculture. The erosion of traditional jaijmani ties allowed the Dalit castes of Malas and Madigas to move ahead. Coastal Andhra witnessed one of the most critical radical elite based movements outside Bengal. Veerasalingam Pantalu, a nineteenth-century social reformer, took up both women's as well as Dalit issues. Andhra Mahasabha emerged taking the above-mentioned issues but Omvedt says that it was mainly in the Hinduistic orientation. She summarizes two novels, Mallepalle by Unnava Laxminarayan, and Harijan Nayakudu by N.G. Ranga.

The first describes the destructive effects of commercialization and the latter, the peasant leader's ideological positions. But Omvedt reminds that these were not at all the questions which attracted Dalits themselves. In the 30s, they organised as Adi-Andhra with the Dravidian movement's influence in 1917 and later. In 1917, in the 'First Provincial Panchama Mahajana Sabha', Bhagyareddy Varma announced that 'Panchama' was not a term found anywhere, and they told they were the real sons of the soil. Thus came the term 'Adi-Andhra'. Adi Andhra conferences

were held practically every year after this. By the 1931 census, 665,000 people identified themselves as 'Adi-Andhra' in Madras Presidency. Dalits faced increasing pressures to identify either with the Hindus or with Muslims.

Among all the formative forces, the "socio-economic plight of Dalits, the increasing atrocities, the powerful literature of revolt, and the raised consciousness of Dalit youths about their conditions were the more decisive factors that generated this movement. The connection between Dalit literature and the Dalit Panthers movement runs very deep. The Dalit Panther Movement (hereafter DPM) was the political expression of the spirit of protest and rebellion, which was being consciously developed through the medium of literature. The Dalit literature was an all-out plebian attack on the orthodox establishment. The literature created by the Dalit writers was rebellious and explosive. One Dalit literary leader claimed that Man was the pivot of Dalit literature and that this man would strive for total revolution to bring about equality, liberty and fraternity". These literacy movements among Dalits not just upheld the cultural revolution of the Dalits but out rightly rejected and refuted "the Hindu religion and its legacy".

Susan Bayly (1999) argued that caste is divided in modern India into upper castes and lower castes based on systematic violence. The caste system has operated through Brahminical ideologies' systematic violence, which resulted in violence and conflict in both public and private life. Whenever violence upsurges, acts of assertion take place. After Independence, new agrarianism-which was a political intention to bring land reforms and it demanded to improve the economic status of the Indian farmers. Its turbulent repercussion of both traditional and substantiated forms of caste solidarity have continued to put real power into the hands of upper castes, feudal families, elite castes and classes. As a result, there was an outbreak of mass violence for which many coined the term 'caste war', 'caste dispute', 'caste battle' and even 'caste genocide'.

D. Parthasarathy (1995), in his study entitled *Patterns of Collective Violence in a Provincial City: the Case of Vijayawada*, examines the collective violence by force. The violent action of two groups fighting with each others was the focus of the manifest phenomena of violence. Whether pre-planned or spontaneous by the opponent group, this violence symbolizes collective violence.

He focuses on the caste factor of the collective violent actions in Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh. In the economy, since the primary motive is political, the wealthy peasant entrepreneurs settle for those kinds of activities that are easy to manage and yield quick profits. Consequently, there is an avoidance of industrial and large scale labour to the city's small scale functions and tread towards illegal economic activities.

Smita Narula (1999), book entitled *'Broken People: Caste Violence against India's "Untouchables"*, talks about the struggle of the Dalits. She expresses that the Dalits are still fighting for their rights in several forms like land ownership, representation in the panchayat, and demand for self-respect and dignity. Despite the efforts of the Dalits, they could not acquire their rights. Due to the control of upper castes over the economic resources, the state institutions like the judiciary and the police, Dalits could not get equal rights and positions. Whenever a Dalit tries to gain equal rights, they have to face violence, resulting in atrocities against the Dalits. Dalit women are also victimised as they are raped, assaulted and massacred. The dominant caste groups have exploited Dalit labourers. It is too shocking that the majority of these atrocities go unnoticed and unpunished. According to this study, violence against the Dalits is widespread in Indian society. The rights of Dalits are protected by law on paper only. Therefore, it raises the question of the constitutional legitimacy of the Indian state and society. The report suggests setting up of special courts at district, state and national levels and monitoring the effective implementation of the laws to protect Dalits. Upper castes dominate and control higher administration positions, representing only certain castes' economic and political benefits. The struggle of the Dalits aims at challenging this kind of domination.

Nicholas Dirks (2001) in his book entitled, *'Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India'*, explains that caste is a modern phenomenon in India. He discusses the historicity of caste. According to him, caste is an outcome of the historical juncture between the colonial British rule and the Indian ancient culture. Caste may be the result of modern society's precipitated process, but still, there is the continuation of old social inequalities of the past. Caste never died. Dirks explain the relationship between the Indian caste politics and colonialism. The projection of the caste system is founded in the Brahminical hierarchy of purity and impurity.

Furthermore, he discusses the homologies of continuities in the reality of caste in postcolonial India. Dirks argue that caste and communal violence can often be the legacy of the caste system. He explains that the caste's narrative and its reflexivity exhibit contemporary form of inequality and discrimination. Dirks says that a critical history of the colonial period in the production of caste does not justify using this critique to argue caste to be just when it becomes the vehicle for mobilising oppositional politics.

S.R. Sankaran (1997), while examining the constitutional safeguards, various special legislation, constitutional amendments of equality and human dignity, policy measures and welfare programmes for the all-round development, egalitarian social order, equity for all sections of the society, freedom from any form of discrimination of marginalised, said that there has been significant progress in their socio-economic conditions despite all the odds but it is not adequate. "Development of these communities should be viewed not only in absolute terms but also concerning the rest of society's development. The progress in relative terms requires that there is not only a positive change in their socio-economic situation but is fast enough to ensure that the disparity is progressively minimized and ultimately eliminated. Thus, the development of these communities is a part of ensuring equality and social justice; the objectives enshrined in the constitution and pursued since independence".

Sudha Pai (2002), in her book '*Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution*' has examined the consequences of delayed development of Dalit consciousness in India, Uttar Pradesh (UP). UP witnessed a few anti-caste movements before independence. It took nearly four decades for a strong movement, though not anti-caste in nature, to encourage, eventually resulting in a Dalit political party's triumph to capture political power: The Bahujan Samaj Party. While tracing the rise and growth of the BSP in Uttar Pradesh, this book made a systematic analysis BSPs ideological, mobilization strategies and electoral progress, both historically and politically, as a symbol of Dalit assertion. In recent years, the strong wave has taken two forms: electoral and grassroots activism.

The study finally concludes that the BSP has brought social emancipation issues and not merely political rights, to centre stage, explaining the centrality of Dalit politics, particularly its

mobilization power in the polity today to which the BSP has contributed in considerable measure. BSP opposed the caste system radically, with a distinct Dalit self-identity, strong leadership and social base, and a powerful party that mainstream parties cannot co-opt. Its establishment and success were possible because it presented itself as an alternative party representing the Dalits' interest. The party's electoral success is attributed to its ability to adopt its mobilization strategies in the rapidly changing political situations in UP. The sustained electoral mobilization of the BSP was possible through its appeal among the Dalits and sections of the backwards to construct a Dalit-Bahujan state, to "capture political power which is the key to social transformation. However, the text's flip side shows that the BSP, though an Ambedkarites Party, not in the ideological or programmatic sense, but purely in political terms, its leadership has a limited vision. It is not interested in social transformation or revolution. It aims at merely some changes in the existing system that would give social and political power in the Dalits".

Chinna Rao Yagati (2003) in his book entitled '*The Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad 1900-1950*', attempts to analyse consciousness of the Dalits and socio-political development of the Dalits in India. It also examines social discrimination against the Dalits, Dalits education, political participation and protest literature. He says that the theories on the origin of untouchability are numerous. They range from theories based on taboos, and Manu Dharmasastra to theories based on race and occupation. Education plays an important role in society for encouraging liberation.

On the one hand, the liberating role played by missionaries, colonial policies, social reformers, the Dalits intelligentsia, and philanthropists themselves encouraged the Dalits upward mobilization; on the other hand, The educational development among the Dalits could not change the economic condition of the Dalits. However, education did produce certain leaders who gave direction to the Dalits movement in Andhra and Hyderabad. The emergence of political consciousness among the Dalits emerged in politics in the early twentieth century. It led to the independent Ambedkarites movement. It is also associated with the non-Brahmin movement in Andhra. This Dalits movement influenced other states, and they accepted non-Hindu social identity. He, further observes, within the Dalits movement, the group rivalries associated with unlimited power the political parties backed by dominant castes has brought had become decisive

in controlling political power that brought an end to the movement itself. With his preoccupation outside Andhra and his involvement in Delhi in the 1940s, Ambedkar influence could not compete with Congress and Communists for long.

D. Maurya (2004) in his article entitled “Human Right Violations and Atrocities on the Dalits” talks about atrocities on the SCs/STs and says that it is an ancient vintage. The roots of such discrimination are planted in the hierarchical caste Hindu system. In the past, the Hindu society's hierarchical social structure had sanctified domination of the higher castes over the middle and lower castes, accorded them a privileged position and prompted them to ill-treat the people of the lower castes. Atrocities, abuses and excesses by the high on the low were endemic with little or no threat of retaliation from those subjected to humiliation and harassment. These types of violence have proliferated in varying degrees in all parts of the country and the victims had little or no option other than to suffer silently. Neither the law nor the police and the state's administrative apparatus helped remove their predicaments. “The reasons of atrocities included such problems as land disputes, civic facilities and atrocities, untouchability related crimes, self-assertion and atrocities, other causes like state inaction or inadequate action. In order to understand the nature of atrocities and the causes thereof, the meaning of the atrocities has to be made clear. To ensure dignity and self-respect to the Dalits on one hand, there is a need to launch a democratic movement far and wide in India against the forces of status quo and discrimination. On the other hand, there has to be a global concern for Dalit human rights and action against age-old practice of untouchability and graded inequalities”.

Bojja Tharakam (2005) in his book *Nela, Nagali, Mudeddulu* depicts the politics and philosophy behind the reduction of a Dalit to a third bull in the agrarian society. The upper caste got their power because of their control over the land. The Dalits have no other options other than working in his fields like a bull, without having any identity or recognition. The control over him is invisible. A special life style is ascribed for him, which is sanctified by social rules supported by law. The social system did not allow him to think. The landlord enjoys all power over him and his family, including his wife. The dominant strategically suppresses the questioning tendency of Dalits. Further, the Dalit's life is forced to a slave as the dominant receives support from the government machinery and religion, god and philosophy. In Dalits' village life, the landlord had

established his control over the body (labour), the priest over his mind (thinking/creativity) and the money lender in another form. All the agents of this exploitation are forward castes. They have their caste interests and a necessity to protect the honour, power, and supremacy of caste over their subordinates. They all work together for the smooth functioning of their hegemonic system. The power dynamics work collectively and independently as per necessity. The judiciary views Dalits with suspicion and treats them as potential criminals without trials. The Dalit is leading a life equal to a bull where the dominant caste feels the comfort. The discomfort arises when a Dalit questions the authority. If the bull has to become a man, then he has to acquire land and education. Along with land and education, caste is also the determining force. It won't allow Dalits to liberate themselves from the life of slavery. Caste is an artificial construction to establish control over Dalits in concrete reality. Caste determines the thinking though it does not have any material basis. By knowing this, the feudal lords keep education, land and power away from Dalits. To get these two, they need power and to change their life requires courage to question this systemic dominance. The questioning of the power leads to an atrocity. The author in this writing hints that atrocity lies in the power of land, knowledge and caste that are working as a social system. Any kind of critical intervention by the subordinates of this social structure in any form has to face the violence.

Kathi Padma Rao (2005) in the book *Dalita Rananinadam*, describes the nature of atrocities and the role of the Dalit intellectuals who were actively involved in the movement. The Dalit leadership has emerged as a consequence of the struggle against the Kammas. The Karamchedu massacre symbolises Kamma consolidation in terms of their energies (different means and modes), weaponry, political and police mechanisms to instigate violence against the unorganized Dalits, who never thought of such violence. The method of upper-caste violence has depended on the raising of awareness and assertion of Dalits. These dominant castes who once targeted individual Dalits and cattle sheds or canals have changed their strategy to organize planned attacks on them, understanding the Dalit sections' growing consolidation. Both the consolidations, (Kammas and Dalits of Karamchedu) are for two different purposes and counteractive. Dalit consolidation and assertion for rights result in dominant caste consolidating socio-economic-political energies to retain their hegemony. According to Padma Rao, The Karamchedu massacre is for the sustainability of the dominant caste's caste hegemony.

K G Satyamurthy (2005) argues that Coastal Andhra Pradesh has agricultural and economic reforms but not cultural and social reforms. As a result, the financial improvements of upper castes have made them more powerful and less tolerant. The author opines on expanding reforms in social and cultural spheres that would not have caused violence and atrocities on Dalits and other marginalized sections.

Ganshyam Shah, Harsh Mander, Sukhadeo Thorat, Satish Deshpande and Arnita Baviskar (2006), in their book entitled *Untouchability in rural India*, examined caste system and social stratification in India. The study exposes the practice of untouchability in India which banned since 1955. Action Aid India studied 565 villages across 11 states of India in 2001-02. The study was confined to Scheduled Castes (S.C.) as per the Indian government's definition. The term 'Dalits' is more broadly used for oppressed sections, including Adivasi's (Shah et al., 2006: 165). The Dalits constitute more than 15 per cent of the Indian population. Punjab (28%) has the largest concentration of the Dalits, followed by West Bengal (24 %), Uttar Pradesh (21 %), Tamil Nadu (19 per cent), Rajasthan (17 %), Andhra Pradesh (16 %), and Maharashtra (11 %) (Shah et al., 2006: 39). The study tried to identify the situation of the Dalits and the range and practice of untouchability. According to this study, the Dalits have been humiliated and socially deprived due to their fixed occupations. The Dalits also have to face multiple forms of violence in everyday life. The study also exposes the campaign of Dalits resistance and struggle for rights in India.

Sukhadeo Thorat (2007), discusses the Hindu social and religious views and the systemic human rights violations in India. The concept of human rights has always expanded to the socio-economic, political, civil, cultural, and developmental rights and indigenous people's rights. The struggle to secure these rights is an attempt to establish human decency and morality. He also argues that the criticism of universalism expanded the scope of human rights and provided cross-cultural research, and monitored compliance with human rights standards and human rights violations or exploitation. This paper has significantly explained the meaning, nature and sources of human rights violation and the human rights problem in social, cultural, political and economic fields. This paper critically examines the roots of the Hinduism planted deeply on the basis of caste hierarchy that perpetuates the practice of untouchability is in direct opposition to the

framework of universal human rights. The castes in the hierarchical order follow an unequal distribution of rights, especially the economic rights that involve trade, ownership of property, employment and wages along with education, etc. He, further analyses the historical relevance of human rights by assessing several wars and human rights declarations. It further assessed the Indian constitution and its protective measures for the untouchables in India and has critically analysed the Hindu social system to point out its social evils. He argues that the Dalits did not merely face social discrimination but also faced economic segregation at the macro and micro levels. Finally, he argues that the structural roots of inequality and the human rights of the former untouchables could be solved with a fundamental change in the caste system's social, political, and economic aspects.

Gopal Guru (2009) says caste-based violence is a way of humiliation that affects all the forms of social life through sets of attitudes which include ignorance, arrogance, and servitude of victim and repulsion to the victim. The notion of humiliation lies in disgust, degradation, discrimination, and segregation which are the causes for violence. It is necessary to create within the victim a sense of his moral worth. The oppressor requires a sensitive human being to communicate the sense of rejection. A victim needs to develop an insight into his/her rejection. Those who fail to gain this insight do not provide the defining condition of rejection.

Assertion of the Dalits for their rights can be possible with the conscious understanding of the oppression. A specific context precedes the assertion, and it is intense in modern settings because modernity breaks the traditional hierarchy, the dominance of certain castes, and its predicaments of oppression and feudalism. On the other hand, these platforms pave the way to modern ways of practising oppression which is subtle yet effective. Transgression of the boundaries between the private and public sectors is an example of contemporary humiliation. Secondly, the capacity to control the corporeal body in the public domain defines the individual dignity and decency of the bourgeoisie society.

Anupama Rao (2009) in her book titled *The Caste Question: The Dalits and Politics of Modern India* explore how stigmatized subjects were transformed into citizens. Rao gives an account of the challenges that the Dalits face and continue to be afflicted by violence and how they are

marginalized. “She suggests that the term 'Dalits Enfranchisement' and the forms of governmental reparation for stigmatized affliction have produced new forms of vulnerability that exacerbate the relevance of conjectural violence to affect the contemporary Dalits identity. An important result of these moves has been to provoke localised anti-Dalit violence and re-enactment of ritual humiliation, which underscore the continued salient caste divisions between the political and the religious-ritual domain of social experience of Dalits. To this violence is attributed a purely instrumental or utilitarian function-seeing it as a reaction to Dalits economic mobility or political mobilization of Dalits. In fact, violence continues regardless of efforts to suppress it because it is also a pedagogical instruction in a symbolic order obscured by modern state forms and discourses”. The violation of the rituals by the Dalits met with brutal measures directed towards them, in case of females, sexual violence. The female bodies are seen as political entities and invading her dignity through acts of sexual violence is overseen by the state apparatus.

Ashwini Deshpande (2011, book entitled *The Grammar of Caste: Economic Discrimination in Contemporary India*, explains the influence of caste on the economic outcomes from a sociological perspective. She has mapped the historical caste inequalities and experiences of discrimination based on gender, class and caste. She argues that caste-based discrimination and segregation occur in both public and private sector. According to her, discrimination can also be seen in the education: system; however, education increases social mobility and helps raise equality of opportunity.

Surinder Jodhka (2012) in his book titled, *Caste*, finds a wide variety of perspectives on the caste question, such as custom, ritual, tradition, or even religion. The focus of caste from the perspective of inequality, race, caste, gender, or ethnicity has certainly changed with time, but these factors have indeed not disappeared. “Sociologists have often described caste as a 'close system' of stratification where social groups, usually divided based on their occupation, strictly follow the code of behaviour prescribed by traditions regarding marriage and kinship alliances”. It is evident that caste's category is invoked notions of tradition, nativity, custom, ritual, and backwardness, and these generate strong political effects. Interestingly, he argues that the notion of caste today is an important element of public policy, not only for the developmental state but

also for the global funding agencies and civil society groups engaged with questions of poverty and exclusion, and the caste also became a prime issue in the Indian democratic political process. He further argues that the political mobilization of communities has changed the value of caste in contemporary India.

The reproduction of caste could not happen independently of the political and economic processes. The system of caste hierarchy directly shaped agrarian or land relations, which influenced its reproduction. The caste and land relations were intrinsically tied; they fashioned economic inequalities and were closely tied with the political relations of the times. The perspective on caste that emerges from historical and empirical studies presents a different picture of caste hierarchy. J argues that people on the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy often question its legitimacy. The state policies of affirmative action are affected by the structural changes in the Indian economy, the processes of modernization, development and the resultant processes of social and economic transformation change the context and content of relations among the various castes, but they also alter the internal structure of castes communities. He further argues that the traditional habituation of the oppressed sections to discrimination, oppression and violence against them has made it complicated for them to erase the caste system or come out of it as beyond kinships; it is a cause of oppression and violence against them. He further adds that the contemporary discourse of caste is thus, not about tradition or village social life, but it is framed in the context of the widely accepted normative parameters of inclusive citizenship, universal entitlements, participatory democracy, and the challenges of institutionalising them.

K. Balagopal (1991) in his article, “Chunduru and post-Chunduru”, opines that the atrocity in Chunduru took place due to increasing assertion from the Dalits and their fight against their counterparts in a growing phenomenon of empowered socio-political and economic independence but not because of their oppressive status in Guntur. The Dalits, especially from the Mala and Madiga communities gained better access to education thus enhancing their awareness in their position and identity not witnessed in other parts of the state. Most remarkably, the second generation has started to reject the domination, humiliation and hegemony imposed by the dominant castes deep-rooted in the Indian psyche. This generation of youngsters was a

product of the upward phenomenon that discards and rejects the submission to the caste Hindus' dominant manifestations in spaces of political, cultural and economic factors that structured traditional dominant castes. This overall consolidation and assertion from the Dalit sections against the dominant castes couldn't stomach, perpetuating violence against them in Karamchedu and Chunduru. This increasing assertion is the prime cause that attracted significant attention and protest.

Indicating the height of Dalit assertion, he says, "The Dalits of Chunduru courageously and steadfastly set a new trend of agitation and protest by way of rejecting the hypocritical overtures of the ruling party, as well as the theatrics of the dissident congressmen and the opposition leaders. They firmly rejected not only the politicians, who made all attempts to project themselves as saviours who would have done everything to protect the victims only if they had an inkling of what was impending or the ruling party's dissidents or opposition leaders take the victims under their wing, with the promise of giving them the very heaven once they came to power tent back the *netas* too in a most humiliating fashion. Dalits, in contemporary India, bear the anguished burden of a long unbroken legacy of the deepest social degradation. Whereas they usually fall at the bottom of almost any parameter relating to economic well-being or quality of life, the distinct burden that only they bear among all underprivileged groups in India is the degradation of century's old tradition of untouchability".

K.Y. Ratnam (2008), argues that the Dalit mobilization in Andhra Pradesh and the Socio-economic condition of Dalits. He has analysed the contemporary social context, Dalit movement and its efforts to strengthen democratic values and social relationships in Andhra Pradesh. He analysed the political economy of Andhra Pradesh and the social evils of the state as well. To assess the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh, he divided the Dalit movement into two parts: One, the Dalit movement in Hyderabad; and, two, the Dalit movement in the Andhra region. He further argues that the approach, strategy and level of consciousness of Dalits of this region are different from Dalits of other regions. The article further focuses on the atrocities on the Dalits at places like Karamchedu, Chunduru, and Vempenta and so on. As a result of these incidents, Dalits started asserting their rights, and new Dalit leadership has emerged. The leaders endlessly tried to make Dalit conscious and democratise people and state even after these historical Dalit

movements in Andhra Pradesh. The concepts of 'Dalit middle class or Dalits elite' are important in India's discourse of caste politics.

Keshav Kumar (2012) explains various forms of caste atrocities are evident in Andhra Pradesh, such as murder, rape, hate, honour killing, social boycott, abuse, harassment and many other types of violence. As a consequence of such violence, Dalit assertion for rights, demand for constitutional safeguards, access to land, justice, and education, access to public facilities, religious activities, and cultural activities leads to a life of dignity and respect have raised. Thus, violence is dynamic. Violence, most of the times, is based on caste. There has been more than three and a half lakh of atrocity cases on the Dalits from 1981 to 1995, which means 62 cases of atrocities, occur per day in India. Therefore, it can be argued that this form of violence is negative as it has acquired an abnormal rate.

Sambaiah. G (2016) in his book entitled '*Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*', analyses the contours quest of Dalits for social equality and political power that have forced them to take the brave journey through rough socio-political terrain, the end of which seems to be nowhere near. Certainly, from the politics of claiming separate identities to the politics of claiming caste-based identities in their journey-both in social and political fields in the colonial and post-colonial periods, the quest has reached a momentous stage in the contemporary period. In the pre and post-independent era, Dalit politics was shaped and continuing to be influenced by the position in the caste The Hindu hierarchical system sanctifies their strategic exclusion. Such strategic marginalization connotes that the Dalits are forced to lead a life of marginality. That excluded from the order of Varna, which has caused oppression of several forms in socio-economic and political spaces and denial in acknowledging their cultural spaces. The response of Dalits to these systemic exclusions in India examined in three dimensions: first, there is anti-caste Dalit movement from the late 19th century onwards; second, there is thematic focus on caste, domination, and democracy; third, there is a comparative study of the northern region and the southern regions of India. This basic work has recognized three stages in Dalit politics and mobilization. It has examined Dalit politics from an Ambedkarites perspective and opined that the Dalits use caste as a weapon in their struggle against caste and caste-based dominance to attain equality and power. The method can transform the body politic of Dalits and the caste

system itself and democratic politics in the country.

Kalekuri Prasad (2016) responding to the Chunduru massacre through his poetry

My name was Kanchikacherla Kotesu
My place of birth is Kilvenmani, Karamchedu, and Neerukonda
Now Chunduru is the name that cold-blooded feudal brutality
Has tattooed on my heart with ploughshares
From now on, Chunduru is not a noun but a pronoun
Now every heart is a Chunduru, a burning tumour
I am the wound of multitudes, the multitude of wounds
For generations, an unfree individual in a free country
Having been the target of humiliations, atrocities, rapes and torture
I am someone raising his head for a fistful of self- respect
In this nation of casteist bigots blinded by wealth
I am someone who lives to register life itself as a protest
I am someone who dies repeatedly to live
Don't call me a victim, I am an immortal, I am an immortal, I am an immortal
I don't need words of sympathy or tears of pity
I'm not a victim, I'm an immortal, I am the fluttering flag of defiance.

1.5. Research Questions

1. How the socio-economic, political empowerment of Dalits and their assertion for rights is a root cause of violence?
2. What are the changing patterns and dynamics of caste violence in Andhra Pradesh?
3. What extent did the state's intervention, political and civil society organizations provided justice to the victims?

1.6. Objectives

1. To evaluate the changing nature of violence and its forms in Andhra Pradesh and

India in general.

2. To examine the Dalit assertion against the caste violence in India in general and AP in particular.
3. To examine the atrocities on Dalits in the Laxmipeta village of Andhra Pradesh
4. To understand the views and perception of victims of atrocity and others discernment on the Laxmipeta massacre.
5. To explore the impact of violence from the experiences of the victim (social, economic, and psychological).
6. To evaluate the intervention of the state, political, and civil society organizations to provide justice to the victims.

1.7. Methodology

The thesis has used both qualitative and quantitative methods in its understating of the problem of caste violence. The data is largely collected from primary sources. Secondary sources are used to evaluate judgement sand acts and elicit information pf atrocities from print and electronic media. Also, the secondary data is obtained from libraries of several universities, institutions, and government departments of various states of India. The study has relied upon the literature related to the subject to arrive at conceptual clarity and a theoretical understanding. Furthermore, the study depends upon the Gazettes, GOs to collect the necessary data.

A significant part of the data is elicited from structured and semi-structured interviews with open-ended and closed-ended questions from different strata of people in the village. An interview schedule was used to collect demographic data of the field site. Different strata of society were interviewed for the study, such as Dalits of Laxmipeta, Turpu Kapus, other caste group people of Laxmipeta, civil society activists, intellectuals, student activists, bureaucrats. This method is used to give a fair representation of public opinion and participation. The study, therefore, depends on the simple random sample method in collecting the demographic data and purposive sampling in collecting the views of the various stakeholders in the Laxmipeta incident. An exploratory method was used to understand the notion of violence on Dalits in the present times.

As a part of the primary source, Laxmipeta village (Vangara Mandal, Srikakulam district), is selected for the field study. This was the village where violence was committed on the Mala caste people by the dominant Turpu Kapu caste people. A total of 135 respondents were interviewed by using questionnaires. Out of them, 100 respondents are from the Laxmipeta village, 35 respondents are civil society activists, academicians, lawyers, police, and bureaucrats. The study maintained the social composition and gender equity of respondents by collecting the information from village panchayat.

1.8. Chapterisation

Chapter 1- Introduction

This chapter intends to conceptualize the study and its volatility. It discusses different constitutional safeguards to protect the citizen's right for life, dignity and opportunity. It also focuses on literature reviewed related to the study. This chapter emphasises the research protocols like the problem of the study, objectives, research questions, and the methodology of the study. Further, it gives precise information about the categories of respondents involved in the research work.

Chapter 2- Theoretical framework of Caste Violence

This chapter lays out the theoretical framework of the thesis. It attempts to present a method for a study of violence as a discourse and theoretical aspect of social interactions. An attempt is being made to explain the question of violence and its complexities in various fields. Besides, it explains the violence discourse constitutes the discipline in ways that are quite distinctive, gradually proliferating into other disciplines with increasing legitimacy. It is various forms of violence such as collective violence, structural violence, routine violence and symbolic violence, and so on. Violence has focused upon the concept and context of violence, nature, and pattern of violence, types of inter-subjective violence, the violence of performance, violence, and non-violence, development and collective violence, violence and democracy, culture location of violence, the political economy of violence, and so on. The chapter's purpose is to propose

possibilities to develop a field of investigation to provide an exhaustive account of violence as we see, know, feel and comprehend it around.

Chapter 3- Mapping violence against Dalits in India: An Overview

This chapter is a historical account of the caste violence in India. It discusses the main concerns of caste found in different parts of India, maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities across the country. It further evaluates the socio-economic and political spheres related to India's caste system, which the study is concerned with and tries to present the Dalits situation in India. This historical account is very important to understand the changing nature of caste violence. This lays out, which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits, what are the major reasons for those acts of violence. It looks as if there is any change in either actors or the reason that led to violence. This chapter also gives data on the atrocities in different states.

Chapter 4- Violence against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: A Historical Outline

This chapter is a historical account of caste violence. It evaluates the socio-economic and political changes in Andhra Pradesh and tries to present Dalits' situation in Andhra Pradesh. It further, discusses the impact of the green revolution in Andhra Pradesh. This chapter maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities committed against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. It analyses major incidents of caste violence in the state over a period of time and also provides an outline of which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits, what are the major reasons for those acts of violence. It looks as if there is any change in either actors or the reason that led to violence. This chapter also gives data on the atrocities in Andhra Pradesh.

Chapter 5- Upward mobility of Other Backward Classes and atrocities on Dalits

The present chapter deals with Other Backwards Classes' upward mobility (OBCs) and atrocities against Dalits. This chapter gives a historical account of understanding the rise of OBCs and some of the incidents of caste violence perpetrated by OBCs across the country. This historical account is very important to understand the changing nature of caste violence. This also lays out

which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits and the major reasons for the act of violence.

Chapter 6- The Laxmipeta Massacre

The purpose of this chapter is to engage with the Laxmipeta massacre. Before that, it is important to know the geographical, sociological, politico-economic landscape of the district. The discussion about the caste, land and political power inflicts against Dalits in Laxmipeta. It also analyses Dalit's assertion for self-respect and dignity as the root cause for the massacres against Dalits. This chapter deals with the Laxmipeta massacre as a case study and collects the victims and other opinion-makers response. It gives detailed information about the Laxmipeta massacre and its aftermath, a debate about the Dalits movement and social activism will be taken up followed by the interventions made by the state.

Chapter 7- Conclusion

The thesis concludes by discussing the major findings of the study based on the theory and field.

Chapter-2

Theoretical Framework of Caste Violence

The previous chapter introduced the problem of caste violence and its changing dynamics from time to time. It also dealt with research questions and methodology. This chapter lays out the theoretical framework of the thesis. It is an attempt to present a method for a study of violence as a discourse and theoretical aspect of social interactions. An attempt is also made to explain the question of violence and its complexities in various fields. The discourse on violence is quite distinctive and gradually proliferating into other disciplines with increasing legitimacy. The forms are collective violence, structural violence, routine violence, and symbolic violence, and so on. The domain of Violence has got academic attention and focus on the concept and context of violence, and caste violence. The purpose of the chapter is to propose possibilities to develop a field of investigation to provide an exhaustive account of violence as we see, know, feel and comprehend it.

The humiliation, exploitation, segregation, and marginality are consequences of using violence and are expressions of atrocity or condemnation. The organized violence promoted by the upper castes for the sustenance of caste hierarchy shows how violence is being recognised' in social setting instead of being censured (Gorringe, 2006: 238-8). The epistemic violation of the practices of caste nurtures a context that leads to violence. This further leads to increased tension and conflict between castes. Extensive evidence can be found from atrocities about the inadequacy of the governments' intervention. People still practice caste and its associated predicaments of honour and pride by channelling violence on the marginalised instead of putting an end to this inhumane and brutal violence in the name of caste. Violence based on caste is still a reality and continues in the Indian context. Human rights watch reported that Dalits and Tribals are facing violence, atrocities, and discrimination despite the legislative laws and policies that are supposed to safeguard them reporting the ill commitment/reluctance by the local authorities in implementing them. This chapter mainly focuses on conceptualizing caste violence and its philosophical understanding from the historical accounts (ibid: 257).

The origin of caste-based violence has its roots in the Hindu Dharmashastras like Manusmriti.

The Law of Manusmriti is also known as Manu Dharmashastra. According to Manusmriti, the Shudras have no rights to read the Veda and Puranas, and only Brahmin has this right. The Manusmriti clearly states

Education

“If the Shudra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue should be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be cut to pieces” (Manu XII. 4).

Manu justifies assault against low born

“With whatever member, a low-born man shall assault or hurt a superior, even that member of his must be slit or cut more or less in proportion to the injury; this is an ordinance of Manu (Manu VIII. 279: 29). He who raises his hand or staff against another shall have his hand-cut, and he, who kicks another in wrath, shall have an incision made in his foot.” (Manu VIII. 280: 29).

Manu’s Punishments for Arrogance

“A man of the lowest class, who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, shall either be banished with a mark on his hinder parts, or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock (Manu VIII. 281: 29). Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed; should he urinate on him, his penis: should he break wing against him, his anus (Manu VIII. 282: 29). If he seizes the Brahman by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard, or by the throat, or by the scrotum ” (Manu VIII. 283: 29).

2.1. Atrocity Meaning, Concept, and Context

The philosophical understanding of ‘atrocity’ may provide moral and political meanings and captures the very phenomenon of violence. The problem of atrocity has been approached differently by the victims, perpetrators, and state. The Dalit movement and Dalit literature have primarily been concerned with ongoing atrocities against Dalits. For them, atrocity means the active functioning of an illegitimate social structure called caste against Dalits. The root cause for atrocity is the caste system. They are critical of the social hegemony and the state apparatus's

failure in protecting the victims of the caste system. Their meaning of atrocity lies in their struggle against atrocity. For the perpetrator, atrocity means control over the victims and an effort to continue the hegemony. He even doesn't want to recognize it as an atrocity. Social scientists are mostly engaged in finding the causes of atrocity. They often view atrocity as a problem with the tradition or consequence of modernity. In reading atrocity, their humanitarian concerns are linked with development. The state always looks at atrocity as a problem of law and order. It concerns atrocity as a hurdle to harmony and views it as an anti-developmental act. It articulates atrocity from a perspective of prevention (Kumar P.K, 2012).

According to Beatrice Heuser (2012), the concept of atrocity means inflicting pain or humiliation of the victims by the enemy combatants who are required to be incapacitated or disarmed. In the category of atrocities, infliction of violence against the civilian and vulnerable is taken to account, including humiliation, sexual assault, rape and murder. It is important to note that atrocities are not emotional acts and fight against disciplined military professionals committed by insurgents. On the contrary, the government mechanisms try to suppress insurgent Dalit communities' assertion and their nonviolent sympathisers. Thus, historically, the struggle between the insurgent Dalit communities to assert the government's rights and its suppression through counter-insurgency has led to atrocities. (Heuser, 2012: 3).

There has been controversy on the definition of "Atrocity". All the serious offences are not treated as atrocities. Apart from the murder and grievous offences, one would have fallen back upon the measures of punishment provided by the code in defining what constitute 'serious' offences because the prescribed punishments depend on the nature of the criminal act, not upon the impact of such on the historically situated victim groups as a whole (Subba Rao G.N, 2014). The idea of atrocity and violence is multifaceted; it cannot be measured in terms of physical and psychological aspects but has to consider all aspects of religion, culture and social mobilization of the individuals of different castes in the social hierarchy. These atrocities got their political meaning with the active mobilization of Dalits against this kind of violence. The political meaning of atrocity could be seen from the intellectuals who emerged from these sections. They exposed the state's failure in protecting Dalits from these atrocities (Kumar P.K 2012). Atrocities have been the frontal face for caste violence. Violence has been the vehicle for atrocities. Though they appear as two different, they are inextricably linked to each other. Atrocity generally means

behaviour or an action that is wicked or ruthless, an extremely cruel act; a horrid act of injustice; an inhumane character without compassion or consideration for others (ibid: 1).

Atrocity is not just an act of harming but a display through bodies. The injury marks on the victimized bodies of the living and dead instigates horror to demoralize the asserting oppressed sections. “The marks of injury and death on living bodies are elemental in these politics designed to engender horror and to disrupt confidence in a normative reality”. Since the atrocities lead to excessive violence which in turn instigates the suffering in the individual victim, the normative reality will be jeopardized of the individual self and his social participation. An atrocity is a traumatizing experience of violence that affects the victim who received the excessive violence sanctified through the factors of law and morality (Micheal.H. 2002). Atrocity as foreseeable and intolerable produced by culpable wrongdoing harms. Her theory of atrocity highlights that atrocity is an evil that strips humans of their basic human rights of dignity and the right to lead a respectable life of individuals. She treats atrocity as evil and discussed it as a part of moral – political agenda. As she argues that the instigators of violence and the victims of an atrocity expresses strong reactions as the atrocity is identified by the name of the victims, place of the atrocity. She explains that there is a paradox in understanding the atrocity as the victims may overstate the reprehensibility of the incident and the perpetrators' motives while the perpetrators may be unaware of the depth and intensity of their deeds leading to such an atrocity. Claudia explains to us the broad framework of her atrocity paradigm which suggests exploring deep into the perceptions of the victims a bit more and duly considering the perceptions of the perpetrators towards their deeds and to the needs of the victims further (Claudia Card, 2002).

To safeguard the Dalits from caste atrocities, the state came up with the SC/ST Prevention of atrocities (POA) Act of 1989. It defines atrocity in its own language with legal procedures and punishments for committing offences against SC/STs. The act has brought a few definitions or new features into the act that made clear judgments on what can be an offence under it. The act is taken as a safeguard to people or group of people belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The act has defined offences of atrocities that can put a person behind bars. These are related to:

- “Physical Atrocity – Tonsuring of head, moustache,

- Verbal Atrocity – Acts that are derogatory to the dignity of members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
- Atrocity related to insults – Garlanding with chappals (slippers)
- Social Atrocity – Denying access to irrigation facilities or forest rights,
- Dispose or carry human or animal carcasses, or to dig graves,
- Using or permitting manual scavenging,
- Devadasi – Dedicating a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe woman as a devadasi,
- Atrocity related to castes – Abusing in caste name,
- Atrocities against women – Perpetrating witchcraft atrocities,
- Social & Economic Atrocity against SC & ST – Imposing social or economic boycott,
- Atrocity in Politics – Preventing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates from the filing of nomination to contest elections,
- Hurting a Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes woman by removing her garments,
- Forcing a member of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe to leave house, village or residence,
- Atrocities based on religious beliefs – Defiling objects sacred to members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe,
- Touching or using words, acts or gestures of a sexual nature against members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe.”

The offences like hurt, grievous hurt, intimidation, kidnapping, etc., against a person or persons belonging to SC/ST can attract imprisonment of 10 years or less under the Prevention of Atrocities Act. However, only those offences are taken under the PoA Act, which is already inscribed in the Indian Penal Code (IPC) ACT.

Atrocity and violence as understood and used as the same in most cases, but a critical insight into it reveals that they are relational inherently, however, fall into two different categories. “Violence is a sociological and cultural category. It is mostly descriptive in nature. Atrocity is a moral and political category. It is evaluative in nature. The word ‘atrocious’ is an adjective form, meaning

very wicked or cruel or shocking. The noun form of it is ‘atrocious’, meaning wicked or cruel act” (Kumar.P.K.2012:2).’

2.2. Perspectives on Violence

Though violence has been rampant in human society, very little attention is being shown by social scientists. According to Bettina E. Schmidt and Ingo W. Schröder described an approach to understand the cause for violence and experiences. The study was to understand the perceptions of actors, respondents, and observers, on violence (B.Schmidt, I. Schröder, 2001). Georg Simmel (1908) studied fight and he was the first to think about evolution thoughts on violence. The main instruments he identified were intergroup on conflicts. According to him, “violence is a synchronic event, where social relations between individuals and collectivities serve specific ends at intergroup and intragroup levels. This practical approach provided space for studying violent confrontations, an anthropological perspective that views them as social action relative to the interests and convictions of the conscious actors”.

The inter-connection between violent acts is a basic state of conflict. There are three important statements about the nature of violence and its social ramifications: “First, violence is never completely idiosyncratic. It always expresses some kind of relationship with another party and violent acts do not target anybody at random (although the individual victim is likely to be chosen as representative of some larger category. Second, violence is never completely sense- or meaningless to the actor. It may seem senseless, but it is certainly not meaningless to the victim or observer. As social action, it can never be completely dissociated from instrumental rationality. Third, violence is never a totally isolated act. It is – however remotely – related to a competitive relationship and thus the product of a historical process that may extend far back in time and that adds by virtue of this capacity many vicissitudes to the analysis of the conflictive trajectory.” (B.Schmidt, I. Schröder, 2001:3)

The anthropological approach of the above philosophers adopted “an analytical, comparative perspective to contribute to the understanding and explanation of violence. It is observed that the acts of violence are not sudden outbursts but they are deeply rooted in history and operated in the cause and effect model. Violence is performed as well as imagined by reflexive, socially positioned human beings under specific historical conditions for concrete reasons (ibid: 19).

Their anthropological approach provides parameters for explaining the violence and attempts to understand the processual characteristics of violent action. They described it in a four-stage model. The four stages are; First, Conflict – the socio-economic contradictions at the base of intergroup competition. Second, Confrontation – the perception of these causes by the parties involved as relevant, creating an antagonistic relationship. Third, Legitimation of the official sanctioning of violence as the legitimate course of action through the imagination of violent scenarios from the past and their social represents. Questions such as the direction, timing and framing of violent acts are decided at this point. Fourth, War – if these three stages have been passed, violence is finally put into practice as a means to achieve specific ends.” (ibid)

Phenomenology of violence suggests the understanding of violence as relational, interpersonal and intentional. It has to be understood from within. It is concerned more about meanings and senses of particular acts, though it acknowledges the influences of structural processes such as economic, legal, religious, cultural and ideological. Caste violence has to be understood from a phenomenological point to open up the complexities involved in understanding it (Kumar P.K. 2012). Women suffer more than men for the violation of rules of purity and impurity in matters of food habits and sexuality. It is also a matter of subjective violence that evolves from discrimination and inequality that leads towards the reactionary measure taken up by the Dalits or the oppressed sections. It is to note that oppressors cannot be with the oppressed as being against the oppressed is the essence of violence that leads to domination (Srinivas. M.N.1996: X). Therefore, violence is based on the idea of the oppressor and the oppressed and it can be argued that the ideology through which the interest of one group is served by subverting the interest of another group (Mani, 2005: 13).

It is to note that violence is a painful experience of an individual or a group. The analysis of violence comes from the experience of victims of violence. Violence as a concept has to be understood in relation to specific areas of violence like wars and conflicts. Crime belongs to the domain of criminology; punishment belongs to the domain of law and jurisprudence; domestic violence to that of sociology; terrorism and other forms of political violence belong to the domains of political science and so on ((Bufacchi, 2007: 2). Hurting with a deliberate intention to injure another person is violence and can be categorised as hitting, injuring with weapons, sexual abuse on women such as character assassination and rape, murder etc. Thus, non-physical

forms of violence such as coercion or force, ideology, or social control operate at the mental level and the severe manifestation of power is violence. (Turner, 2006: 652). Violence takes place as disrespect in the name of caste and changes its scope and meaning from time to time and from space to space. Violence is defined by the nature and situation of the context that the action happens. It is to be noted that violence is the unwanted infliction of physical force on a willing less victim to cause various psychological and physical abuses ranging from deliberate hurting and injuring to death at times (Keane, 19996: 65).

According to Riches, violence has many definitions based on cultures, actors, and interpreters. (Riches, 1986:1). “The ‘contestable giving of physical hurt’ is often recognized as violence (ibid: 11) and the interaction among the ‘basic triangle of violence’: the performer(s), the victim(s) and the witness” ((ibid: 8) is studied. The ‘act of hurt’ is not independent but depends upon the ‘witness’ to get its legitimacy (ibid: 8).

Arendt explains violence being perpetuated due to the rise in the social, economic and political continuity is the outcome of preceded acts of violence. It is an interesting observation that violence is perpetuated for the fulfilment of economic and political interests. Any peaceful negotiations in the context are just manipulations and the war and violence are continuing. (Arendt, 1969: 9). The modern world is with severe frustration for several reasons and they even boast about violence. (ibid: 82-3)

Understanding violence, in a rational way, is an extreme expression where victims are denied their freedom. The denial of fundamental rights of equality, liberty and fraternity is an act against civil society. The incidents of violence involving members of one or more ethnic groups are regarded as being merely isolated incidents having no broader significance or as being ‘riots’ or massacre frequently as a part of the political struggle. It is argued that in most cases of violence, certain community organizations, cultural organisations or political parties treat other community as an enemy, an oppressor, or a threat to their own community in the process of their progression (Brass, 1997: 16-17).

Thus, one must be vigilant while comprehending violence and its nature and find out the stimulus behind such atrocities and exploitation. So that, it can be assumed that there are two reasons behind such exploitation, firstly, all the atrocities and violence that happens for an economic gain by someone’s disadvantage turned out to be beneficial to another. Secondly, exploitation happens

for the mere sake of exercising power by abusing and insulting others to express power and domination which is a strong motive for violence. Hence, there are two dominant arguments to violence in academic discourse i.e., the identity argument and the consequentiality argument (Bufacchi, 2007). Ahuja brings out a novel dimension of violence i.e., psychological violence. Mental assault is more powerful than physical assault. This kind of violence substitutes physical violence. The psychological violence is invisible, cannot show the evidence but causes deep pain. The trauma created by invisible factors can be observed only by a deep analysis of the incident (Ahuja, 1988). The previously mentioned caste violence was intended to create such fear in the marginalised communities so they would never dare to question their authority.

The concept of violence is to be considered in a phenomenological approach within which it is observed and symbolized whereas a psychological approach has been defined through its occurrences, causes and consequences. One form of violence is philosophical and ideological uncertainty, which contradicts the values of moral, social, economic and political spheres. Another form of violence could be seen in the public sphere where the use of violence could be embodied and communicated. The roots of violence lie in the broken sense of morals (Das&Nandy, 1995). Violence is not simply the reproduction of local structure of antagonism but also an opportunity for the remaking of local social order (Waghmore, 2013). Violence is seen widely and aggressively in different forms in the contemporary world. Violence, not only has become more intensive and extensive in human society but also its enlargement has engulfed all species of nature, big and small (Singh, 1999).

According to Collins, the nature of violence is classified depending on good and bad social conditions. Violence operated by non-state actors against some sections of the society is bad violence and the violence operated by the state for the law and order is good violence. Hence, the violence has moral and immoral dimensions, and it is difficult to define the real nature of violence to the bragging and swaggering of the social scientist who tries to define it in clear terms such as cultural violence about which kind of talk is taking place through networking (ibid: 24).

Coser identifies three main social functions of violence. They are violence (1) as achievement (2) as a danger signal and (3) as a catalyst. The violence acts as a form of achievement for the marginalised when all doors of their social life are closed. It acts as a danger signal and awakes the community to take precautions to stop further damage, and finally, it has the potential to act

as a catalyst to think and plan for counter-mechanism. The act of violence committed against broken people leads to a revolutionary movement which may also result in breaking up his connection with his past life and its obligations (Coser, 1966).

Slavoj Zizek in his work 'Violence: Six Sideways Reflections', examines the cultural form of violence and questions the tolerance of violence in philanthropy. The violence is often perceived as an act of extremists. Zizek made a conceptual analysis of the typology of violence for a deeper understanding. It suggests that the analysis of violence itself results in reproduction and participation and causing horror of violence. Therefore, he proposes to make a binary between the factual truth found in the reality or 'truthfulness'. According to him, the factual data may result in creating confusion and is therefore unreliable. To prove his point, he gives an example of a traumatized victim and expresses the possibility that sometimes victims are unable to share their experiences of pain, trauma and or humiliation from which they suffer in daily human behaviour. Therefore, to provide the solution for the unreliable report, one needs to follow an appropriate approach towards subjects or victims with due respect to the victims of violence (Zizek, 2008).

Michel Wieviorka says that if we view modernity as a progressive phase in human history, one needs to understand two main conceptions of violence. The first conception grants legitimacy to violence and expects to play a revolutionary role. Engels and Marx are the two proponents of this tradition. In the words of Marx "violence is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, the instrument by means of which every social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms." (Wieviorka, 2009: 1). "According to the second conception, violence will inevitably decline as reason comes to the front stage. But the history of the 20th century suggests otherwise. So, we must be cautious in giving credence to these divisions. As some have even questioned the very conception of modernity and argued for 'multiple modernity's' (Eisenstadt). Some have even argued for 'post modernity'. From those perspectives, there is no particular reason why there should be a decline in violence. On the contrary, violence can appear and spread in countless spaces. Wieviorka say that violence can be encouraged both by reason, which turns it into an instrument to be used by actors for whom it is a resource or a means to an end, and by identities and religion because it is a part and parcel of their demands and aspirations which can sometimes be unlimited." (ibid: 2).

The “word violence is applied to countless phenomena and used to describe all sorts of events and behaviours, both individual and collective: delinquency, crime, and revolution, mass murder, riots, war, terrorism, harassment, and so on. If we include its moral, and not simply physical, dimensions then the concept lends itself to infinite possibilities. The application violence of in moral dimensions was done by Pierre Bourdieu by introducing the concept ‘symbolic violence’. Symbolic violence represents the violence used by dominant systems such as state or actors that are so powerful as to prevent the dominated from producing for themselves the categories that would allow them to understand their own subordination.” ((Wieviorka, 2009: 3).

Johan Galtung divides violence into three forms. They are, firstly, direct violence, structural, and cultural violence. According to him, “violence is avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible.”(J. Galtung, 1990:292). Direct violence is something that directly affects human needs. He further classified human needs into four kinds i.e., “survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs, and freedom needs. Direct violence is something that affects these needs. Killing, maiming, siege, sanctions, desocialisation, repression, detention, and expulsion come under direct violence. Structural violence is to restrict certain people from meeting their essential needs. Cultural violence can be understood as aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence- exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science- that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.” (ibid).

2.3 . Perspectives on Caste Violence

The experience of caste violence is theorised by many scholars. They argued against the faultier idea of democratization of public space where Dalits are not allowed access to certain public arena such as temple entry, access to water, panchayat office, village squares and so on. Violence against Dalits is a reaction to their efforts to access such public space. Collective violence is also seen as a Dalits claim of equal citizen rights. Violence has, however productive role has as it becomes a vital factor for Dalits assertion and unites Dalits to fight for their rights. This leads to the spread of the Dalits movement. The Dalits movement spread awareness and shapes Dalits politics which challenges the traditional form of public space and authority of certain caste groups that dominates every aspect of the public domain. It is imperative for Dalits to get a space in the public domain and local institutions which contribute to creating a civil society. In post-colonial

India, Dalits have been demanding the practice of equal citizenship, however, they penalise with caste violence. The state needs to act as a medium for facilitating Dalit Human Rights. If the state is indulging in violence, then it is a hindrance for making civility. Therefore, the Dalits have to face caste as well institutional violence (Waghmore, 2013: 69).

Oliver Mendelson and Marika Vicziany have divided violence on Dalits into two broad categories i.e., Traditional and Modern. Traditional violence is something that is been committed on Dalits as a reason of lower status in the caste hierarchy. These include restricting access to common resources like water in villages, at teashops, marriages processions etc. The modern form is something that revolves around a new and still emerging social and political identity of Dalits of the recent past. They argue that violence on Dalits when Dalits try to progress by utilizing the constitutional provisions. Further, they write that if one looks at the demands of Dalits, they can be divided under two major headings. Firstly, when the Dalits assert their rights of equality and against discrimination such as untouchability and secondly when they try to gain access to public spaces and land or an increase in their wages. The later demand has caused intense violence in the contemporary years. These two categories in common forms an attitude which can be called resistance (Mendelson and Marika, 2000:45-46).

The dominant castes instigation of violence is backed up by the philosophy of denying the rights of the individuals, so as to hinder them in understanding one's life and the relations with the world, thus forcing the individual into a state of, psychological and physical, subordination in a cruel and inhumane way. The forms, kinds and nature are practised in various contexts and have many names such as sexual assault, rape on women and humiliation, social boycotts, attacks and murder on the individuals to check their advancement and to consolidate their caste hegemony (Kumar.P.K.2012: 1.Violence has been understood in the social context and power relations. Structural violence has been differentiated from revolutionary violence. Revolutionary violence is often considered counter-violence. It even treated as an act of inauguration of the self of the oppressed. Caste violence is structural violence. It is an act of discrimination, humiliation and exploitation against the oppressed committed by the dominant social group in the name of caste. It is a political act and used as a means to control power over the weak. Violence is an emotional act that motivates one's own behaviour of superiority (ibid: 3).

Caste-based violence is a way of humiliation that affects all forms of social life crookedly, through sets of attitudes that include ignorance, arrogance, the servitude of the victim and repulsion to the victim. The notion of humiliation lies in the form of disgust, degradation, discrimination, and segregation which are the causes for violence. It is necessary to create within the victim a sense of his moral worth. The oppressor requires a sensitive human being in order to communicate the sense of rejection. A victim needs to develop an insight into his/her rejection. Those who fail to gain this insight do not provide the defining condition of rejection (Guru, 2009).

Ashis Nandy, argues that humiliation is a situation. It can never be extra-or trans-human to humiliate someone, you have to grant your target human sensitivity. You also have to be willing to be captive to the will of the humiliated. In this respect, humiliation is a bit like torture. One is a successful torturer only when one's victim begs for forgiveness and screams for mercy thereby satisfying the torturer's sense of power, control, or sadism and thus endorsing his sense of mastery over himself. He further explores those situations when the victim doesn't beg for mercy or refuse to see the humiliation will only further the frustration and desperation of the perpetrator and least humiliation in a process of struggle to maintain the hierarchy sanctified by caste Hindu society (Nandy, A.2010)

Caste violence refers to the form of discrimination, humiliation and exclusion to which the Dalits are subjected in their day to day life. Therefore, affirmative action is a prerequisite for the larger development of these sections. Besides these, Dalit politics moved towards attaining political power and resisting the violence on them. "The social antagonism and violence of the everyday life structure in the political field, even as politics heightens the agonistic nature of social life." (Rao.A.2009). In addition, the rising militancy has been offset by new formations of anti-Dalit violence. In contrast, Dalit liberation is significant and develops distinct practices of political recognition. Dalit history, of consciousness, is the history of India's political modernity. It is the problem of representation and violence by the upper caste which instead of creating security has created a new definition of the 'nationhood' where nationalism is similar to Brahmanism rather than 'Indian.' The constitution of India offers an effective and comprehensive framework in the pursuit of social justice. Violence against Dalits has become an everyday feature of public life in India, Caste atrocities such as murder, rape, beating, torture, arson, molestation and so on are prevalent everywhere (ibid).

Caste violence has multiple dimensions and is also multi-layered. It is not an act of deviant behaviour. It is a conscious, collective and chosen act. It is community-based rather than class/individual-based. Caste violence is both instrumental and constitutive. It is a deliberate act to gain social control over the victim. It could not be treated as a situational or spontaneous act but rather a planned and organized act of violence both psychically and psychologically. It can be ascribed to both religion and culture and to tradition and modernity. The social structure lies behind every act. Caste violence is not only an act of violence but also humiliates and demeans the self of the victim/community and subjugates them into a voiceless oppressed state. (Kumar, P. K. 2012). Caste violence can be divided into two categories i.e. everyday violence wherein the Dalits face subjugation, and symbolic violence wherein the Dalits struggle on different levels. Violence does not always have a physical form; it also has mental and psychological form. In most cases, violence has symbolic nature like humiliation, impurity and indignity associated with the caste. Caste violence is utilised as a tool by dominant caste groups for maintaining their authority in the production system as well as power in society. The caste-based societal structure creates the hierarchy of high and low. This hierarchical structure could not be seen as merely political and economic spheres. Cultural factor is vital to observe caste values and caste rules. In post-independent India, cultural and symbolic violence are replacing with discrimination and physical violence becomes an important part of the everyday experience of Dalits life (Verma, 2011).

The violence must be understood from the phenomenological approach to the everyday life of an individual and the frequency as well as intensity of violence. Caste violence is an act of emotion that operates individual aspiration and human behaviours. The notion of caste violence can be understood through narratives of Dalit suffering. The suffering led to humiliation, which further leads to Dalit assertions (Blume, 1996: 923). The paradox has shaped Dalits politics and structures which gave scope for new forms of Political Violence. It also brought new mechanism of caste groups that formulate caste. Due to it, the phenomenon of caste politics has changed. It reformulated the idea of emancipation as it is not only about economic or material; it takes a larger point of view through self-respect movement and modern political structure. In other words, it includes social rights as well. Rao argues against the use of collective violence which is utilised by upper-caste to fulfil their political benefits and subjugate against Dalits regulations. (Rao.A. 2009: 34).

Parthasarathy divides violence into three kinds namely, the physical, symbolic and structural. “Caste is an ensemble of relationships determined and constantly reproduced by three kinds of violence. The first is explicitly visible and large scale mass killings and mundane forms of corporeal violence meted out to Dalits. This has remained physical in its nature although such incidents arise in response to the threats posed to the symbols of the caste system. The other two kinds of violence are symbolic and structural. Structural violence is a structural condition in such that discrimination, exclusion, unwanted inclusion, degradation and humiliation are possibilities written into the very structure of the condition. The violence works in the structure is subtle and is like an invisible grid. It is the symbolic violence that works and makes the structure appear normal and legitimate through the language, representation and discourses that constitute the symbolic fields”(Parthasarathy,2017:49). “The symbolic violence functions to reinforce certain dominant ideas in a society and maintain the existing unequal relationships intact” (ibid: 56). Caste violence as explained is a product of the interaction of three factors: caste consciousness, asymmetry of power of Dalits and non-Dalits, and a triggering event. The logical remedy is to block any of these three factors to stop caste violence. In the context of the increasing crisis in rural areas during the neoliberal policy regime coupled with the increasing cultural assertion of Dalits, it is unlikely that the violence that this triangle would be easily managed (Teltumbde, 2016:188).

The caste structure perpetuates a rigid system that produces caste violence, denial, hatred and subjugation. It regulates the hierarchical system which justifies and marginalization and subordinate position of Dalits (Lourdunathan, 2015). Moreover, violation of human rights through exploitation and humiliation of Dalits require a legal battle. The Dalits approach based on human rights is questioning the projection of development for welfare approach. One can address the issue of Dalits, different forms of casteism, globalisations and so on (ibid: 131). Bhabha associates the cultural paradigm to violence and elaborates it with regard to historical context saying that the violence is, “manifestly directed towards the rediscovery of truth which lies in the order of symbols” (Bhabha, 1994: 285). He opines that violence existed only after they tested theirs as a fighting body. It was in the symbolically burned houses of the victim (ibid: 299). Thus, the culture of violence appears to be situated in between the line of difference of the subject and object. In the cultural festival celebration of a Hindu epic, objects and subjects can be studied by their historical mythological stories, which “reflects the anxieties of dislocation” (Ibid: 297).

For instance, although women are burnt, the Hindu religion enjoys it as pain through the Holi festival. This sort of attitude to its history is visible as it reflects some of the orientations of psychoanalysis and semiotics, “Anti-memories at that level allow greater play and lesser defensive rigidity. Further, the process of appropriation and revisions in historical texts give rise to practice and normalisation of a culture that fuelled by the tension between the symbols of perpetrators and victims that represents the order of the society” (Ibid: 287).

According to Bourdieu, that space exercises and asserts the power structures into psychological and physical aspects of the people (Bourdieu, 1999: 1266). However, it is to note that the public sphere or space where the power is exercised as said by Bourdieu, has been dominated occupied and used by the upper strata in India to control all the spheres such as social, economic, political and cultural spheres. Notwithstanding these, they also used the public domain to continue their superior status which they have been enjoying for centuries and discriminate and continue their violence on the marginalised sections in India.

To summarise, violence is embedded in everyday human life in general and Dalits’ life in particular. It is not only the physical nature of violent encounters but forms, patterns, and nature that normalize violence in state and society. It is to note that certain forms of violence are subtler and some of them are gruesomely aimed at debilitating or killing the spirit of a person, his self-image, self-respect and ultimately destroying the identity of a person, community, or a group.

It is imperative to note that caste works negatively and leads to the suffering of the lower strata. Caste has been constructed as a graded and dominant institution of society and has invariant stability. Caste has varied dimensions and discourses in its relation to atrocities. In India's context, caste atrocities have different forms of violence committed by the dominant sections on the marginalized sections like Dalits. B. R. Ambedkar's philosophy emphasizes the hierarchical division of the society on the lines of the caste system, which is established in India and has been justified by the ancient Varna system. Understanding caste from the sociological perspective, the caste system's hierarchical structure has given rise to inequalities that empower the upper castes to maintain and continue their dominance over the lower castes and marginalized sections and thereby establish their hegemony over them. It is visible in social exclusion, discrimination, and violence against the Dalits and other marginalized sections. Caste is not only a social or structural construct of society but also is a psychological construction. From the psychological point of

view, caste atrocities reflect through different aggression patterns, the nature of emotion and frustration, and the people's symbolic behaviour. Social and physical violence is evident whenever the Dalits try to assert themselves and access the state's opportunities and resources over the citizens.

The Dalits faced surplus violence at nuanced forms of daily life. Caste discrimination persists in our society which not only tarnishes the self-respect of a person or community but also prohibits the person or the community from upward mobility. Undoubtedly, such violence results in physical atrocities which are often resorted to when subtle (psychological or emotional) violence takes place. The whole discourse on violence revolves around disrespect, inequalities, indignity, injustice, and resistance. The traditional inhuman practices are continued in modern India and turned into violence when Dalits attempting to modernise. The dominant castes looking forward to having fruits of modern political and economic domains while maintaining the social and cultural hegemony. The conflicts are arising due to the dual nature of dominant castes against marginalised castes.

Chapter-3

Mapping violence against Dalits in India: An Overview

The previous chapter focused on understanding violence, caste violence in particular, theoretically. It also discussed nature and different forms of violence. The question of atrocities and their relation with caste violence has also been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter is a historical account of caste violence. This chapter maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities across the country. This historical account is very important to understand the changing nature of caste violence. This lays out, which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits, what are the major reasons for those acts of violence. It looks as if there is any change in either actors or the reason that led to violence. This chapter also gives data on the atrocities in different states.

The growing assertion and resistance from the Dalits by the formation of militant Dalit movements, real or imagined, against the atrocities since the 1970s to protect them is being manipulated by the dominant castes as a threat to the secular ideals of the nation. The dominant castes are projecting themselves as both the victims and the upholders of the national values (Narula, 1998). There were 40,000 atrocities committed against Harijans that were reported between 1966 and 1976 according to the government statistics which is the highest in any period, ironically termed as Indira Gandhi's decade of development. During the Janata government, 17,000 incidents were reported officially. The most affected areas of such caste violence are reported from states viz., Tamilnadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Gangetic North Indian states.

Despite constitutional safeguards, affirmative action and states legislative protection acts, the atrocities against Dalits are still persistent in name caste. Atrocities against Dalits becoming a day to day activity by the dominant castes, discrimination and untouchability being practised in all walks of life reasons may socio, economic, and political. "Dalits are the most vulnerable and exploited people in India, we are talking over 167 million people in the country. The majority of whom live in segregation and experience violence, murder, rape and atrocities to the scale of 110,000 registered case a year according to 2005 statistics" (Narula, 2008: 255).

According to NCRB data, crimes committed against Dalits increased to 25% from 16.3% in the year 2016. Yet, the cases pending for police investigation has risen by 99% from 55% in the year 2006. The Cases pending at the courts were raised by 50% from 28% (Alison & Chaitanya, 2018). According to the census 2011, the Scheduled Castes population comprising 16.6% of the total Indian population increased from 16.2% (2001). Not less than 422,799 crimes against Dalits were reported between 2006 and 2016. Among the reported crimes against Dalits increasingly highest in number in eight states such as Delhi, Goa, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Sikkim and Kerala increased over 10 times (ibid).

3.1. Social Movements against Caste discrimination and atrocities in India

The “Socio-economic plight of Dalits, the increasing atrocities, the powerful literature of revolt, and the raised consciousness of Dalit youths about their conditions were the more decisive factors that generated this movement. The connection between Dalit literature and the Dalit Panther movement runs very deep. In fact, the Dalit Panther Movement (DPM) was the political expression of the spirit of protest and rebellion which was being consciously developed through the medium of literature. The Dalit literature was an all-out plebian attack on the orthodox establishment. The literature created by the Dalit writers was rebellious and explosive. One of the Dalit literary leaders claimed that Man was the pivot of Dalit literature and that this man would strive for total revolution to bring about equality, liberty and fraternity. This Dalit literary movement was not only a living movement of Cultural Revolution but out rightly rejected and refuted Hindu religion and its legacy” (Omvedt, 1994). The Dalit movement has two bases i.e. political participation and caste-based antagonisms and violence. Dalits challenge the power of upper-caste dominance, untouchability and social inequalities and so on. The Dalit movement has created tremendous conciseness among marginalised sections and also politicised them. This process leads to the formation of free-thinking, dignity and independence among Dalits (Gorringe, 2006).

Dalit Panthers was started by Namdev Dhasal in April 1972 in Mumbai. After the establishment of the organisation, many Dalit activists started to join the organization. The Black Panther Party (1966-1982) was a result of the African American revolution against the apartheid practised by the whites in the USA. The Dalit Panther movement and its name were inspired by the Black

Panther revolutionary movement which inspired the people to fight as a panther to reclaim the rights of the oppressed. It motivates the people of oppressed sections to rise above and fight for social justice.

The decades of the 1980s to 1990s are constructive in the Dalit movement as it consolidated Dalits to fight against the oppression caused by the caste Hindus by accessing areas such as education, employment through special provisions guaranteed by the constitution. Consolidation of Dalits started during the 1980s and 1990s and constructed the Dalit movement to challenge the state for the empowerment of Dalits in the field of employment, education, and other special provisions guaranteed by the Constitution. “Dr. B R Ambedkar was the warrior of the oppressed who has worked for the upliftment of the oppressed sections by empowering them socio-politically through education”. His contributions and teachings came down to the caste system and its oppression perpetuated by the dominant castes in all rural and urban spaces and inculcated self-esteem in the growing phenomenon for the assertion by the oppressed. The approach of Dalits in facing the caste Hindu oppression is through gaining access in academic and employment spheres that leads to the cultural, socio-economic empowerment of the Dalits. However, “a strong political consolidation is yet to be manifested in the minds of the people”. Essentially, the phenomenons of Dalit movements are based on the followed factors: 1. atrocities perpetuated against the Dalits and the exploitation of socio-economic factors are to be countered by the movement. 2. The movements for creating equal and just societies in the pursuit of social justice and consolidation for furthering their assertion for self-respect and dignity.

3.2. The Trends of Caste Atrocities on Dalits in India

Though the atrocities have been systematic, however, it has taken place at a slow pace (Macwan, 2004: 37-8). The perpetration of humiliation and physical attacks are higher succeeded by Murder and sexual base as Rape. The NCRB data reveals that there was an increase in rape cases over the years. The rape cases increase from 1083 in 2000 to 2073 in 2013 cases against Dalit women. Cases including kidnapping and abduction also increased from 268 in 2000 to 628 in 2013. There is no significant change observed in crimes such as murders and physical hurt, whereas a case of arson and robbery is a decreasing trend (Thorat, 2017: 6-7). “There have been contrasting trends towards cross-caste ethnic mobilization and caste bases assertion. Violence occurs due to interplay between caste and politics in the state” (Gorringer, 2012: 1).

Table 3.2.1. List of major incidents in India

Incident/Massacre	State	Date of Occurrence	Died/Injured
Kilvenmani	Tamil Nadu	25/12/1968	Set fire to the huts of the Dalits 44 Dalits were killed by upper-caste Landlords
Belchi	Bihar	16/05/1977	11 Dalits were stabbed to death by the upper caste landlords
Karamchedu	Andhra Pradesh	17/07/1985	6 were killed and 3 women were raped and several others were injured as a result of the organized mass attack by the dominant feudal caste, the Kammas.
Chundururu	Andhra Pradesh	06/08/1991	8 Dalits were killed and several others were injured as a result of the organized mass attack by the dominant feudal caste, the Reddys.
Bathani Tola	Bihar	11/07/1996	21 Dalits were killed by Ranvirsena belongs to Bhumihars
Ekwari	Bihar	10/04/1997	8 Dalits were killed by Ranvirsena belongs to Bhumihars
Melavalavu	Tamilnadu	June 1996	6 Dalits were killed by Ranvirsena belongs to Bhumihars
Laxmanpur Bathe	Bihar	1/12/1997	61 Dalits were killed by Ranvirsena belongs to Bhumihars
Veldavur	Tamilnadu	25/01/1998	400 Dalit huts were destroyed and set fire by the upper caste Vanniyar caste
Shankarbigha	Bihar	25/01/1999	22 Dalits were killed by Ranvirsena belongs to Bhumihars
Kambalapall	Karnataka	11/01/2000	7 Dalit homes set fire by Reddys
Vannenu	Karnataka	26/08/ 2001	1 Dalit woman dragged from home paraded naked and tied and beaten allegedly mediated between Dalit man Valmiki caste woman helped them to get married
Jajjar	Haryana	15/10/ 2002	4 Dalit youth were burnt alive on the eve of the Dussehra festival in the presence of government officials by the upper castes
Kadkol	Karnataka	25/07/2006	Social boycott of Dalits for digging water from a public well for 3 months
Gohana	Haryana	August 2005	20 household set fire by the upper castes
Belchi	Bihar	1/01/ 2006	6 Dalits were burnt alive by the Kurmi Yadav caste
Khairlanji	Maharashtra	29/09/2006	4 members of the same family belonging to the Dalit community were paraded naked, raped and killed
Dharmapuri	Tamilnadu	December	268 houses set fire by Vanniyar

		2012	
Dangawas	Rajasthan	14/05/ 2015	4 died 13 Injured by Jats
Una Incident	Gujarath	11/07/2016	7 people tied and beatento death by upper castes
Shabbirpur	Uttar Pradesh	5/05/2017	12 Injured, 55 houses burnt by Rajputs

Source: compilation of incidents reported in different articles and books and newspaper.

The incidents of atrocities clearly establish that casteist state of mind and those perpetuate criminals enjoy state-sponsored violence against the Dalits (Teltumbde, 2015: 11). There are many atrocities against Dalits over the years that have increased due to caste. Violence is gradually becoming a common phenomenon in India. There is a rise in the sources of inter-subjective violence caused by castes and their politics. The assertion and the resistance for the rights of the Dalits is one of the major trends for committing violence against Dalits. There is a lack of determination and reluctance from police, the persistent trend of acquitting the accused in the majority of the atrocities. Atrocities against Dalits in Rajasthan are on an average of about 5024 a year between 1999 and 2002 with 46 killings and 138 rape cases, (Praful Bidwai 2002). The state of Gujarat also has witnessed many atrocities against Dalits, the incident of Morikha (2000), a village of Vavtaluka where a Dalit youth was killed and his body was left hanging on a tree but the case was declared as suicide and the village Sabarda was socially boycotted. Similarly in the year 2000, in the Saurashtra region, several violent attacks were made against the Dalits by upper castes: the Thangarh (2012) massacre, Una Flogging of the Dalit youth (2016) and so on. Few massacres are illustrated very briefly for a better understanding of the atrocities against Dalits in the Indian context.

The Kilvenmani Massacre, 1968.

The agricultural labourers of the Tanjavur district were used as slaves by the landlords. The system was prevalent in the unified Tanjavur district until the 1960s. The children of these labourers were even denied education. The labourers were subjected to harsh punishment during works. The landlords appointed henchmen to beat down the labourers even if they are tired after their work continues. One of the cruelest acts of the landlords were forcing the labourers to drink water mixed with cow dung.

During this period, in the village of Kilvenmani, the Tanjavur district, the leaders of the communist movement, campaigned extensively among the labourers to bring awareness among the labourers of their rights and succeeded in organizing the agricultural labourers. These labourers now demanded a hike in wages as their working hours were unlimited. The landlords who were until then unquestioned, couldn't stomach the assertion of these agricultural labourers. They rejected the demands of the workers and denied work for those who were associated with the union and even attacked them as a move to disintegrate the unity of the workers.

The landlords then formed a union Paddy Manufacturers Association and appointed workers from other districts leading to scuffles between the association and the labourers. Though the government was alerted about these scuffles no action was taken to protect the labourers. The landlords have targeted a local shopkeeper and subjected him to extreme torture. The local peasants tried to release him from the supporters and the scuffle resulted in the death of a landlord's agent. This was the threshold for the spark of the massacre where the landlords consolidated their number along with their henchmen and the police forces started to raid and burn the huts of the peasants. Around 200 men have arrived in police Lorries and have blockaded the huts of the workers. They set their houses on fire, the villagers taken aback by the surprise attack, retaliated and ran for their lives. But the landlord's henchmen circled the houses and thrown back around 6 workers into the fire and children to burn, such as the brutality of the attack that was instigated by the landlords and their henchmen along with the police force. Aftermath the massacre, the landlords went to the police and applied for a reappraisal framing the attack as a clash between the labourers and were granted protection. Apart from the other victims, the massacre resulted in the heinous murder of 6 men, 16 women and 23 children. (Nagaraju, 2013)

Ranvir Sena Violence against Dalits

In the state of Bihar, Bumihars started Ranvir Sena in Belaur village, Bhojpur in 1994. Right from its emergence as a militant group, the Sena being implicated in Rapes, ransacking the villages, killings. At the very least, 300 people were killed by the Ranvir Sena between 1995 and 1997. A series of atrocities from October 1997 has resulted in over 400 deaths and others as specified by the human rights activists who were killed or injured in smaller confrontations. "The administration would be happy if they kill the real extremists among the Naxalites, but they are killing soft targets like women and children and attacking villages of Dalits and weaker sections

which are unprotected”. Ranvir Sena started enjoying significant political backing from different political parties including Congress, BJP and Janata Dal all these political parties supported Ranvir Sena activities because of the reason that all the leaders or representatives belong to Bhumihar Caste (Narula, 2008:53).“According to Home Ministry reports, the Sena possesses 4000 guns both with and without licenses. Until they fire their weapons a group of Ranvir Sena members could be merely a group of landlords carrying legal arms”, (ibid, 55).

The incidents such as Bathini Tola in (1996), Haibaspur (1997), (Ekwari 1997), Laxmanpur Bathe (1997) Shankarbigha and Narapur (1999) and many more were committed by Ranvir Sena. Few incidents exemplified below for better understating about the butcheries of Ranvir Sena in the state of Bihar (Nagaraju, 2013).

Bathani Tola massacre 1996

“21 Dalits were butchered by the Ranvir Sena belongs to Bumihar caste in Bathani Tola, Bhojpur in Bihar on 11 July 1996 among the dead were 11 women, 6 children and 3 infants. Ranvir Sena group killed women and children in particular with the intention of deterring any future resistance which they foresaw. A group of 60 members belongs to Ranvir Sena reportedly descended on the village and set 12 houses on fire. Using deadly weapons, lathis, guns, and the perpetrators continued the attack for more than hours. The attack was allegedly in reprisal for the previous killing of 9 Bumihars in Nandhi village, by the CPI (ML). The clash began when CPI (ML) started organizing the agricultural labourers to demand an increase in wages. CPI (M-L) members organized the labourers to stop working in the agricultural fields and called for an economic blockade against landowners. The attack on Bathani Tola was an attack to weaken the CPI (ML) movement organizing in the village and to prevent a labour boycott on hundreds of acres of land. No action was initiated against Ranvir Sena perpetrators for the Bathani Tola massacre” (Narula, 1999: 71).

Laxmanpur Bathe massacre 1997

Laxmanpur Bathe massacre was not the first one or the last atrocity against Dalits in Bihar. On 1 December 1997, “Ranvir Sena raided 14 Dalit households and killed 61 Dalits, 16 children, 27 women and 18 men. In some families, three generations were killed and 20 were seriously injured. As most of the men escaped the village when the attack began women and children

murdered high among the fatalities. During the violence, at least 5 minor girls around the age of 15 years were raped and mutilated before being shot in the chest by the Ranvir Sena. Most of the allegedly belonged to the families of Party Unity supporters, the group had been demanding more equitable land distribution in the area”. The Dalits have been asserting their rights which sparked strong reactions from the landlords as to assert their hegemony and dominance by targeting the vulnerable Dalits such as women and children by consolidating their socio-economic and political structures. They were sending a clear message that they wouldn’t tolerate a disturbance in their social structure. (Nagaraju, 2013).

Kambalapalli Incident 2000

Seven Dalits were locked up in a house and were burnt down alive in the Kambalapalli village from Kolar District, Karnataka by dominant Reddy caste mob on 11th March 2000. The deep-rooted hatred by the dominant castes on the oppressed Dalits are further revealed by the Civil Rights Enforcement (CRE).

“In the Kambalapalli incident started on the night of Maha Shivaratri, the Hindu festival on, during a deity procession. The issue was brought to the notice of prompt action and police was taken to keep order and law. From then onwards, gradually but continuously till March eleven, the police force was thinned and on the fateful day, just 3 constables had been published without any advanced weapons to deal with the eventuality. Last enmity & hatred between dominant caste and Dalits made violence much more than likely. For starters, several Adi Karnataka Dalits caught hold of a village waterman belonging to the dominant caste, stabbed as well as killed him. The information spread as the reddy and a wildfire gathered to talk about a training course of action. Meanwhile, the police personnel vanished because of the dread of attack on them. About one in the night the Reddys doused kerosene, petrol along with other inflammable products on 2 houses belonging to Holeyas. Since these houses had been designed with cement the side wall space on the terrace had been broken to type in the home to attack the occupants, who were thought to be the killers of the waterman. Lastly, the assailants bolted many doors from outside and set the houses on fire. 7 individuals aged from twenty-five to seventy were burned to death within half an hour”, (Muzaffar and Rajendran 2000:1610).

Shabbirpur Violence 2017

On 5th May 2017 in Shabbirpur village, Saharanpur district in the Northern Uttar Pradesh, the Rajputs, dominant in the area has set at least 55 Dalit houses on fire and ransacked them. A total of more than 12 Dalits were injured in the attack. The Rajputs had taken to a celebration that involved a procession with heavy music to celebrate the birth of Maharana Pratap which went through the Dalit majority village of Shabbirpur. The Dalits have objected to the hoarse celebrations that sparked a tussle initially that eventually turned out into an attack when the armed Rajputs with swords and firearms have gathered around 2000 people of their community as per expressed by the villagers and the investigating agencies and burnt down and ransacked the houses of the Dalits. (Nagaraju, 2013)

Una Incident (2016)

On 11th July 2016, seven people belonging to the Dalit community had been accused of exporting the beef while they are skinning the carcass of an old cow in the village of Mota Samadhiyala, Una district, Gujarat. A team of cow protection force alleged the Dalits of killing cows. Dalits tried to explain them that they were skinning dead cows but in vain. The Dalits were tied to the auto and were beaten mercilessly with sticks, iron pipes and knives. Four of them were stripped and had been brought to Una town in auto and assaulted once again in the public spaces. The perpetrators escaped from the spot noticing the arrival of the police. This heinous act was recorded and circulated on social media which became viral. (The Wire, 2016)

3.3. Incidents of Caste atrocities in India

From the 1960s, the number of atrocity cases has increased. Mostly, the atrocities on Dalits are committed by land owners, Backward Class (BC) wealthy communities. The green revolution and land reforms contributed to the commodification of rural property (source). The economic structural change in the countryside contradicted social structure. The capitalist transformation in the production system changed the traditional production relations and it was replaced by capitalist relations which resulted in conflicts. In Andhra Pradesh, atrocities increased in the districts of Prakasam and Guntur but the rate of atrocity was low in the dry land region of Telangana which is poorer than the Prakasam and Guntur district. Similarly, in Haryana, five Dalits were lynched (2002) in the Jhajjar-Panipat-Sonepat belt which is notable for

industrial development and, capitalist agriculture. Therefore, one can generalise from the above cases that prosperous rural areas that are witnesses of agrarian transformation and development have become sites of caste violence that suppressed the Dalits (Teltumbde, 2010: 56-7).

According to Thorat, inequality identifies poverty and inter-group conflict which bring consequences of discrimination and exclusion on issues like income distribution. For the caste system, income and economic growth are more important as control over resources and material condition which are determined by the caste status (Thorat & Newman, 2010: 11). The rules determine economic matters like the type of occupation and employment, property right, wage, education and so on which result in deprivation and poverty of lower castes (Thorat & Newman, 2010: 11-2). Therefore, the poverty of lower castes and their weak economic condition exhibit the practice of deep-rooted exploitative caste rules. The caste structure is responsible for disparities in the economic arena and unequal distribution of resources.

According to Teltumbde, this phenomenon occurred during the economic transition. The region adopted a capitalist mode of production in agriculture that created a surplus force of rural mass. This surplus rural people migrated to the urban areas for survival. They became a new face of urban areas that came into conflict with the privileged castes. The agrarian development has enriched one section which owns land that, however, has worsened the economic condition of lower castes which are landless or land labourers. This scenario played an important role in keeping lower castes at the bottom of the economic ladder (Teltumbde, 2010: 57).

The economic factor of caste exhibits how caste structure determines the distribution of resources and production relations. It becomes a system of economic governance that practices certain rules that remain in the caste hierarchy. The caste structure formulates the fixed economic and social position of different caste groups as the system stands for heredity of occupation and service that exhibit division of certain people or social groups. The caste system maintains unequal economic rights as the economic position is fixed through one's birth in a particular caste. Hierarchy is one of the fundamental characteristics of the caste system which is justified through Hindu philosophical texts. The forced exclusion and discrimination in an economic

domain affect the economic position of lower caste people as it affects various economic matters such as land ownership, different types of service and labour, use of capital, investment into the certain marketplace and so on. The process identifies market discrimination as well. The heredity of occupation exhibits the 'forced exclusion' from certain occupations that contribute to keeping the lower caste at the poverty line (Thorat, Mahamallik & Sadana, and 2010: 148). After analysing the several factors for violence, it is essential to analyse, evaluate and examine a few caste violence cases in India. To understand caste atrocities in India in detail, the data has been collected. The data is given below.

Table 3.3.1. Most atrocity cases registered states during 1995-2007

SL.No.	State	Total crimes against SCs/STs	Rank as per % Share
1	Uttar Pradesh	95,319	1
2	Madhya Pradesh	81,941	2
3	Rajasthan	78,782	3
4	Andhra Pradesh	39,286	4
5	Gujrat	22,820	5
6	Karnataka	21,362	6
7	Tamilnadu	20,063	7
8	Bihar	19,682	8
9	Orissa	18,232	9
10	Maharashtra	14,630	10

Sources: NCRB, Crime in India 1995-2007

The National Commission for SCs and STs carried out different studies that observed the restriction of access to public resources and places like temple entry, hotels, teas stalls and drinking water. Discrimination and humiliation being practised denial of sitting in front upper castes on the chairs, barbershops and attending social ceremonies with variation in the intensity of different practices in States. However, the study of the commission also accounts for discrimination being practised in educational institutions and primary health centres supposed to be used by all the public. The commission also observed that untouchability in its grave form is mainly being practised in rural areas. The study also said that the intensity is declining in some rural areas, education creating awareness among the Dalits.

The Commission has recommended several measures for vigorous enforcement of the Act (National Commission on SCs and STs, 1989). These include wide publicity to the provisions

of Protection of Civil Rights Act, review by Central Government about the availability of facilities like legal aid to complainants seeking legal action, proper selection of Public Prosecutors and their utilization for initiating and supervising prosecution, setting up of Special Courts, holding of meetings of monitoring committees periodically, reviewing of the enforcement of the Act by State Governments regularly, identification of untouchability prone areas on a time-bound basis, preparation of a compendium of guidelines for implementation of the Act and expanding promotional activities like inter-caste marriages, etc. Central Government should also review the work done by NGOs in this field and seek their help and cooperation in the enforcement of the Act.

Table 3.3.2. State-wise crimes against Scheduled Castes during 2001-2010

S.No	State	2001	2005	2010
1	Andhra Pradesh	2933	3117	4321
2	Bihar	1303	1824	3516
3	Chhattisgarh	501	454	340
4	Gujarat	1242	1307	1008
5	Haryana	229	288	380
6	Himachal Pradesh	110	55	101
7	Jharkhand	158	277	577
8	Karnataka	1621	1780	2505
9	Kerala	499	345	583
10	Madhya Pradesh	4212	4356	3374
11	Maharashtra	625	865	1132
12	Orissa	1734	1439	1710
13	Punjab	134	140	115
14	Rajasthan	4892	3795	4979
15	Tamilnadu	2336	1206	1631
16	Uttar Pradesh	10732	4397	6272
17	Uttarakhand	168	99	35
18	West Bengal	10	12	63

Source: Reports of National Crime Records Bureau

The above table illustrates state wise number of crimes against SCs for a period of a decade. From the table, we can infer that the North Indian States has recorded the highest cases. Uttar Pradesh recorded the highest among all the states for the entire span of 10 years followed by Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan

fluctuating their place between each period. The southern State of Andhra Pradesh recorded high among southern states, occupied fourth place in the country.

3.3.3. State-wise crimes against Scheduled Castes during 2012-2019

S.No	State	Year							
		2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
1	Andhra Pradesh	3057	3270	4114	4415	2335	1969	1836	2971
2	Arunach Pradesh	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	NA	NA
3	Assam	4	8	2	5	4	10	8	21
4	Bihar	4821	6721	7893	6438	5701	6747	7061	6544
5	Chhattisgarh	262	242	1066	1028	243	283	264	341
6	Goa	10	12	17	13	11	10	5	3
7	Gujarat	1028	1190	1130	1046	1322	1477	1426	1416
8	Haryana	252	493	830	834	639	762	961	1086
9	Himachal Pradesh	129	148	122	95	116	109	130	189
10	Jammu & Kashmir	2	NA	NA	NA	1	NA	1	2
11	Jharkhand	696	978	903	738	525	541	537	651
12	Karnataka	2605	2566	2138	1987	1869	1878	1325	1504
13	Kerala	810	756	816	752	810	916	887	858
14	Madhya Pradesh	2875	2945	4151	4188	4922	5892	4753	5300
15	Maharashtra	1091	1678	1768	1816	1750	1689	1974	2150
16	Manipur	NA	1	1	NA	2	NA	NA	NA
17	Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	Odisha	2265	2592	2266	2305	1896	1969	1778	1886
21	Punjab	71	126	123	147	132	118	168	166
22	Rajasthan	5559	6475	8028	6998	5134	4238	4607	6794
23	Sikkim	5	6	10	11	1	5	5	4
24	Tamil Nadu	1647	1845	1546	1782	1291	1362	1430	1144
25	Telangana	NA	NA	1694	1678	1529	1466	1597	1690
26	Tripura	76	48	49	28	NA	1	1	NA
27	Uttar Pradesh	6202	7078	8075	8358	10426	11444	11924	11829
28	Uttarakhand	33	34	61	93	65	96	58	84
29	West Bengal	85	115	159	186	119	138	119	119
	TOTAL	33,585	39327	46962	44941	40743	43122	42748	45852

Source: Reports of National Crime Records Bureau

The above table deciphers the information about the crimes that had been recorded for a period of 7 years. Following the trend of the previous decade, Uttar Pradesh continued to record the highest cases in the country and stood on the top above all states. It had been followed by Rajasthan, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh. There is a substantial increase in the magnitude of cases across the country in the second decade of the 21st century.

3.3.4. State-wise crimes against Scheduled Castes under PoA during the year 2001-2019

S.No	State	Year									
		2001	2005	2010	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
1	Andhra Pradesh	950	1244	1509	695	2104	2263	446	308	198	179
2	Arunachal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Assam	0	0	0	0	2	5	4	10	8	4
4	Bihar	513	1141	2548	5584	7874	6293	253	338	198	4
5	Chhattisgarh	164	115	95	2	359	216	0	3	0	2
6	Goa	NA	NA	NA	NA	12	13	6	2	1	0
7	Gujarat	356	434	220	212	1075	1009	165	151	205	121
8	Haryana	33	73	131	14	444	510	35	44	49	52
9	Himachal	41	18	72	82	113	91	100	88	93	155
10	Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Jharkhand	35	64	245	479	903	736	507	315	322	325
12	Karnataka	983	1108	1292	1380	1865	1841	1437	1298	96	83
13	Kerala	121	41	35	73	712	695	89	150	104	82
14	Madhya Pradesh	435	344	13	2	3294	3546	4	7	12	1
15	Maharashtra	146	258	319	277	1763	1795	218	181	167	217
16	Manipur	NA	NA	NA	NA	1	NA	0	0	0	0
17	Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	Odisha	645	639	1224	1785	1657	1821	0	39	31	41
21	Punjab	49	72	50	13	123	147	41	37	32	36
22	Rajasthan	295	415	103	112	6734	5911	106	106	117	135
23	Sikkim	NA	NA	NA	NA	3	3	1	1	3	2
24	Tamil Nadu	682	829	1255	1334	1486	1735	82	103	76	84
25	Telangana	NA	NA	NA	NA	1427	1292	428	274	170	145
26	Tripura	NA	NA	NA	NA	1	1	0	0	0	0
27	Uttar Pradesh	4885	1623	1328	1847	8066	8357	1065	2358	2369	2378

28	Uttarakhand	84	50	25	10	60	80	29	3	16	25
29	West Bengal	5	5	27	35	130	159	26	36	19	19

Source: Reports of National Crime Records Bureau

The above table details the crimes recorded under the PoA Act for a span of nineteen years, constituting approximately two decades. Among the states across India, the atrocity perpetrated against Dalits is high in Uttar Pradesh. It was followed by Rajasthan, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. It is apparent from the above statistics that there is a sudden fall in the number of atrocity cases from the year 2016 that had been recorded. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh, the cases had diminished from eight thousand sixty-six to one thousand sixty-five. This trend has not confined to Uttar Pradesh alone but is visible in all states. The exact reasons for this decline remain obscure, but we can presume certain reasons which could be, Atrocities against SCs were not recorded under the Prevention of Atrocity Act but booked as crimes under IPC. One another plausible reason could be that a compromise is being brought between aggrieved parties. Authorities rather than filing a case and following an exhaustive judicial procedure, are building a compromise and finally pursuing SCs to withdraw the Atrocity case. Thus, the stark decline in atrocity cases in the last four years is understood.

Table 3.3.5. Various forms of crimes against SCs during 1981 to 2004 (Year wise)

Crime	Year								
	1981	1986	1991	1996	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Murder	493	564	610	543	526	763	739	581	654
Rape	604	727	784	949	1083	1316	1331	1089	1157
Kidnap & Abduction	NA	NA	NA	NA	268	400	319	232	253
Robbery and Dacoity	NA	NA	NA	NA	146	174	134	94	98
Arson	1295	1002	602	464	290	354	322	204	211
Hurt/Physical Assault	1492	1408	1706	4585	3497	4547	4491	3969	3824
Others	10434	11715	13944	24899	13822	12201	14383	11401	14435
Total	14318	15416	17646	31440	32343	33501	33507	26252	26827

Source: National Crime Record Bureau, reports

Table 3.3.6. Various forms of crimes against SCs during 2005 to 2014 (Year wise)

Crime	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Murder	669	673	674	626	624	570	673	651	676	739
Rape	1172	1217	1349	1457	1346	1,349	1,557	1,576	2,073	1331
Kidnaps & Abduction	258	280	332	482	512	511	616	490	628	319
Dacoity	26	30	23	51	44	42	36	27	45	29
Robbery	80	90	86	85	70	75	54	40	62	105
Arson	210	226	238	225	195	150	169	214	189	322
Hurt	3847	3760	3814	4216	4410	4,376	4,247	3,855	4,901	4491
Others	11077	11808	13490	14623	15082	14,983	14,958	14,164	16,797	14383
Total	26127	27070	30031	33615	33594	32,712	33,719	33,655	39,408	33,507

Source: National Crime Record Bureau, reports 2005 to 2014

Table3.3.7. various forms of crimes against SCs during 2015 to 2019 (Year wise)

Crime	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Murder	546	786	746	796	818
Rape	2326	3170	2897	3089	3366
Kidnaps & Abduction	687	855	955	937	916
Dacoity & Robbery	77	86	94	125	80
Arson	30	87	150	147	163
Hurt	1006	1148	13076	13077	13270
Others	12675	14324	10481	10829	12723
Total	44941	40473	43122	42748	45852

Source: National Crime Record Bureau Report of 2015 to 2019.

The above tables (3.6, 3.6.1, and 3.6.2) shows two important trends. One, all kinds of crimes against scheduled castes are increasing year by year over the years. It is a testimony to the system that is against scheduled castes. Two, the highest number of crimes are in the category are physical assaults followed by rape and murder. One is able to observe that if it is a physical assault it easy to get away from the system hence the conviction rate very low. It is evident that scheduled caste women are the most vulnerable to sexual violence notwithstanding the untouchability ascribed to them pertaining to other aspects. SC women subjected to such kind of assaults have to bear the brunt of discrimination in the family and society. The other issue of grave concern from the above table is the number of murder cases. Murders are on par with rape cases occupy the top third position among other crimes. This demonstrates the attitude of those who murder and inclined to murder SCs. The SCs are an easy target for the upper castes

and the attitude that they can get away by murdering an SC. This explains the challenges that legal and judicial systems have been encountering in deterring the violence against SCs in general and SC women in particular. Whence, it exemplifies the attitude of perpetrators, and it is a challenge for the legal system in deterring the violence against Scheduled Castes.

According to the data provided by NCRB, the total number of registered crimes committed against SCs increased every year. 14318 crimes against SCs were registered in the year 1981. Subsequently, the number has increased to 17646 in 1991, 33501 in the year 2001 and further increased to 45, 852. On the whole, the data indicates that there is an increasing trend in the number of crimes committed against Dalits in India.

The situation of Dalits is worst and alarming. The data analyses the murder cases reported have been increasing in their nature. There were 493 cases reported in the year 1981, the number has increased to 818 in the year 2019. The rape cases 1172 in the year 1981 and increased to 3366 cases in the year 2019. “It increased to 564 in 1981, 610 in 1991 and with a marginal decline of 543 in 1996, it increased further to 763 in 2001. Though the number of murders showed a declining trend in the year 2002 with 739 murder and 2003 with 581 murders, it recorded an increase in the following years. The murder of Scheduled Castes by the Non-Scheduled Castes increased to 654 in 2004, 669 in 2005 and further increased to 673 in 2006 and 674 in 2007, but declined marginally to 626 in 2008 and 624 in 2009.” There is also a steady increase in the rape cases in India.

The above table also explains the incidents of crimes against Scheduled Castes from 2010 to 2014. It can be observed that there is a constant increase in the incidents of crimes against Dalits in the consequence years. The year 2013 has witnessed an increase of 17.1% in crime committed against persons belonging to Scheduled Castes as 33,655 cases reported in the year 2012 which increased to 39,408 cases in the year 2013. An increase in incidents of the crimes was observed in all crime heads except arson during 2013 over 2012.

One of the indicators of the violence and how effectively the state is trying to control the violence is the pendency rate. It is an important indicator of how the state and judiciary are working to protect the safeguards of the constitution given to Dalits. The data below shows the state of affairs

with regards to this.

Table- 3.3.8. Pendency Rate for Cases of Crimes against SCs/STs during 1997-2007

Year	Number of Cases for Trial, Including Pending Cases at the start of the year	Number of Cases Pending, a Trial at end of that year	Trial pendency rate % a- b/100
1997	45,591	37,299	81.8
1998	47,155	39,447	83.7
1999	49,703	40,963	82.4
2000	50,908	43,044	84.6
2001	52,314	43,602	83.3
2002	53,481	44,061	82.4
2003	51,278	42,487	82.9
2004	49,180	40,533	82.4
2005	47,688	39,595	83
2006	46,421	38,576	83.1
2007	46,091	37,895	82.2

Sources: NCRB reports from 1997- 2007

The pendency of atrocities cases also a big problem in the implementation process. From 1997 to 2007 the numbers of POA cases are pending. In the starting year of 1997, the total pendency cases are 45,591, and ending of 2007 the total trial and pendency cases are 46,091 cases. Importantly the trial pendency rate is starting 81.8 in 1997 but at the end of 2007, the pendency rate is 82.2 per percentage. According to the National Crimes Records Bureau of India, reports say that the atrocities cases pendency rate is every year increasing on a numerical basis.

More than one lack forty-three thousand atrocity cases (1, 43,505) (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, 2000: 64) are registered in the year of 2000, but when comes to the conviction cases are very less around twelve hundred and forty-one (1,241) cases. The remaining one lack thirty-two thousand and two sixty-eight (1, 32,268) cases are pending. The state of Uttar Pradesh was the top of the year around seventy-seven thousand and three fifty-four (77354) cases are registered. The present focusing state of Andhra Pradesh also recorded more atrocity cases against SC/ST. particularly in the 2000 year three thousand and sixty-seven (3067) cases are registered, but only thirty (30) cases ended in conviction. Significantly 947 cases are ended in

acquittal. Finally, the states of Andhra Pradesh pending atrocity cases are 2090.

3.4. Atrocity Cases are Unreported

Most of the SC/ST atrocity cases were unreported in India due to the upper caste dominance, fear of the local dominance. “This statistical information does not faithfully reflect the ground situation. These are only the figures reported by the state governments/union territories to the Ministry of Welfare. The actual number of cases of atrocities on SCs and STs may be much more, for example, Delhi reported only two cases of atrocities during 1992, but during those years five cases of atrocities that occurred during 1992 were dealt with in the Commission (National Commission for SCs & STs, 1996: 15).

When cases against SC/ST there are other comes to the atrocities reasons also there to practice caste discrimination. Social and economic boycott and blackmail are widespread. In view of the fact that the main perpetrators of the crime sometimes co-opt a few SC/STs with them and take advantage of local differences among the SC/STs and sometimes they promote and engineer crimes but get them executed by some members of SC/STs, the Act should be suitably amended to bring such crimes and atrocities within the purview of the definition of atrocities under the Act. Likewise, the Special Courts established under Section 14 of the Act are required to follow the committal procedure under Cr.P.C. Such an interpretation prevents the speedy trial envisaged under the Act. The absence of adequate special courts has resulted in slow disposal of atrocity cases and a huge backlog”.

According to the National Commission for SC/ST reports says that the below reasons for not covering the atrocities cases there are (i) Victims are too powerless to complain against the dominant caste, rich offenders (ii) Tremendous local pressures applied to ensure a compromise is made and atrocity case not registered (iii) Reluctance by police to register atrocity cases (iv) Caste bias and corruption among police leading to non-registration of cases (v) Pressure on the police to keep reported crime rates low in their jurisdiction (vi) Slow investigation by police and low rates of conviction leading to victims' losing hope of justice through registering cases (Vii) Lack of awareness among the SCs/STs about provisions of the SC/ST (POA) Act.1989 (National Commission for SCs & STs, 2006).

In the light of these, it is necessary to emphasize caste violence and the Dalits experience. Mungekar has pointed out that in official Indian crime statistics, it has been reported that every day, around 27 atrocities were committed against Dalits during the period of 2001-2005. “A crime is committed against the Dalits in every 18 minutes 3 Dalits women are raped and 2 of them are murdered, 2 Dalits houses burnt in India, 11 Dalits are beaten, 13 Dalits are murdered and 5 Dalits homes or possessions are burnt every week”. Thus, 26,127 crimes were committed against the Dalits. These included 1272 rapes against Dalits women and 669 cases of murder reported (Mungekar, 1999: 289-291). According to S.K. Thorat, the economic factors of the Dalits which comprises more of the manual labour and the reduced access to the property of the Dalits in comparison with the increased access of the dominant castes to the ownership of property, entrepreneurship and employment is starkly visible. He argues that this restricted access of the Dalits and the increased access to the property makes them further segregated and is the root cause for the backwardness of the Dalits and the consolidation of power and dominance of the dominant castes.

3.5. Analysis on violence against Dalits in India

The study of these incidents reveals increasing social consciousness among the Dalits. The problem of untouchability cannot be resolved merely by constitutional provisions. The practice of untouchability is a social, economic political and moral problem. To solve it, social reformation is imperative (Deliege, 2001: 200-01). The Dalits also are determined to fight Upper castes' dominance both at the level of the social and political sphere. It is the ‘tradition’ to discriminate, torture, kill the other castes who were trying to get a share in the resources such as land, respect, the power that were in the hands of few castes. What this tradition in practice means is that whichever caste is socially dominant or economically and demographically powerful in a region or a village it would have control over the resources of that region. The resources can be land, politics, industries, media, power, etc. It is also a fact that whoever are in control of these resources are the people who are in a continuous state of insecurity. This insecurity is because of these dominant sections' fear of losing their power in case of their even slight carelessness. They are also fearful of the fact that their carelessness would result in other sections claiming a stake in the power and resources that are at their disposal. If that happens, equality would reign and there would be no more people to serve them. It is the ordained duty of Dalits to serve the upper

castes. But, if they take claim on the resources, the ordained duty no more holds. Hence, the upper castes attempt to make sure that Dalits get no control whatsoever over land, education, employment, and private property.

According to B.R.Ambedkar “It is your claim to equality which hurts them. They want to maintain the status quo. If you continue to accept your lowly status ungrudgingly, continue to remain dirty, filthy, backward, ignorant, poor, and disunited, they will allow you to live in peace. The moment you start to raise your level, the conflict starts. Untouchability is not transitory or temporary feature; it is eternal, it is lasting. Frankly, it can be said that the struggle between the Hindus and the Untouchables is a never-ending conflict. It is eternal because the religion which assigns you the lowest status in society is itself divine and eternal according to the belief of the so-called high caste Hindus. No change warranted by the change of time and circumstances is possible.”

The Dalits are increasingly challenging the hegemony and discrimination of the caste system and untouchability. In this challenge, the Dalit's main weapons are education and employment opportunities through reservations. However, the Dalit's assertion and unity is a threat to the hegemony of the dominant castes, these attempts of assertions attract strong reactions from the forward castes who then attack to disintegrate through acts of humiliation, social boycott, murder, rapes, and demolition of the Dalitwadās. Irrespective of the form of the assertion, for dignity, for the hike in the wages or accessing education and other public resources, it always is perceived as a threat by the dominant castes and is met with extreme measures to check the status quo. The Dalits increased assertion for rights is met with harsh consequences as the caste hierarchy tries to uphold its hegemony.

The response of the state and society vis-à-vis caste violence results in the victimization of the Dalits on different levels and that contributes to creating different perspective like right based, Marxist and subaltern perspective, socio-democratic perspective, and power as well as social equality. Despite being the biggest democracy, India is a witness to human rights violations. It reflects that the growing number of atrocities, custodial murders, and police abuses including torture and so on. It is a failure of implementation of laws and policies to protect certain communities (HRW, 2012: 328-33).

To sum up, In light of the atrocities against the Dalits is continuing to be the social reality of India, Dalits and other oppressed sections are forced to be vulnerable, to be oppressed and a serious violation of human rights is happening to assert the hegemony of the dominant castes. The establishment of equal societies as per the constitution is comfortably denied as equal governance is influenced by the socio-economic and political powers thus challenging the democratic constitutional safeguards on whose pillars equal societies are built. The practice of untouchability and caste-based discrimination has been prevalent as a reason for the under-reporting of atrocity cases and the ineffective implementation of constitutional safeguards. Atrocity acts were ignored and left to vain coveted by the government's negligence in the caste-based Indian society. Flaws in the investigative process leads to low conviction rates along with the caste biased government agents such as the prosecutors, judges, and other government mechanisms manned with dominant ideology and its influence such as the police force, judiciary, and other organs of governance involved in it and their lack of familiarity with the provision of the relevant legislation. Effective implementation and supervision of these mechanisms is the need of the hour that requires legal scrutiny. In Indian society, the whole thing is getting changed day by day but the caste mind is not changing for long. The dominant castes' mindset is still ruled by the so-called caste hierarchy. Due to the lack of implementation of the law, the Dalits are facing the consequences. The violence against Dalits is becoming worse every day in India. The state should form and implement the policies and laws especially to be dealt with issues of Dalits. There are many policies and laws to protect Dalits from atrocities. But, it is not enforced fully by the bottom to top authorities. The culprits should be punished until the crimes are stopped against Dalits. Otherwise, Dalits cannot live safely in society.

Chapter- 4

Violence against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: A Historical Outline

The previous chapter is a historical account of caste violence and discussed the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities across the country. This chapter is a historical account of caste violence. This chapter maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities committed against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. It analyses major incidents of caste violence in the state over a period of time and also provides an outline of which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits, what are the major reasons for those acts of violence. It looks as if there is any change in either actors or the reason that led to violence. This chapter also gives data on the atrocities in Andhra Pradesh.

4.1. Political Economy of Andhra Pradesh

This specific section intends to evaluate the Political Economy of Andhra Pradesh while looking into the forms of atrocities and changes in the pattern of atrocities. This deals with major incidents from Kanchikacherala Kotesu, Karamchedu Massacre and Laxmipeta massacre to the present-day instances and different social movements that evolved to fight against the same caste-based violence in Andhra Pradesh (AP). AP has a history of vibrant social movements. During the 1960s, the Naxalbari movement was strong in the state. Most of the Dalits joined in the movement as a response to the oppression directed towards them by the upper castes in rural areas. Dalits have emerged through English education from Christian missionaries in early 1980s. The Karamchedu massacre of 1985 triggered new wave in enlightenment and subsequent starting off of Dalit organization called Dalit Mahasabha and most of the Dalit activists; poets and scholars were part of the movement. In the post-1990s, the Dalits entered public places like universities, government offices and the agencies of state body. In the necessitate circumstances, the government has enacted the SC and ST Prevention of Atrocities (PoA), ACT 1989 which recommended special provisions to prevent atrocities against Dalits.

For a comprehensive understanding of the political approach towards caste violence, a historical understanding of the coastal Andhra Pradesh is necessary. “While pursuing the commercial entrepreneurship, few of the castes were able to do it within the purview of the agriculture. The prime factors behind the emergence of the capitalists in India were (a) agro-economic conditions of a region (b) control of land or the social and political formation (c) opportunities during the colonial period and due to the nationalist economic policies.” (Damodaran H 2008; Upadhyay C 2009:2, quoted in Satish, 2014). When the coastal Andhra region was a part of the Madras presidency, the Brahmin community was close to the colonial rulers like the rest of the nation. As a result of this affinity, they gained access to the education introduced by the British and moved towards the urban spaces, leaving behind villages, close to development and ruling. The colonial policies of trade and irrigation projects on Krishna and Godavari rivers during the mid-19th century had greatly influenced the socio-economic conditions of the coastal Andhra region. They were mainly from the Kamma, Reddy and Velama castes of the region. Though these caste groups are gaining on the upward mobility strengthening their economic resources through land, the ritually superior Brahmin castes had denied superior caste status to them and were looked down by them and the rest of the society. (Murali.K.1995).

There are other sections among the non-Brahmin upper castes who benefitted from the colonial education system and also are unhappy about their lower caste status. They were critical about their place in the caste hierarchy and started to challenge the hegemony. They started the Non-Brahmin movement in the 1920's challenging the supremacy of Hindu sacred texts and ritual superiority of the Brahmins. It was initially aimed to achieve equal societies but soon were racing with the Brahmin communities for the superior status that eventually had led to the consolidation of their caste identity especially among the Kammas and the Reddys. The Kamma caste people of the coastal Andhra region, though this caste group is gaining on the upward mobility strengthening their economic resources through land, the ritually superior Brahmin castes had denied superior caste status to them, and were looked down and the rest of the society (Omvedt, 1994).

The merger of state into the rest of Telugu speaking region of Telangana and forming a new state of Andhra Pradesh given new opportunities to the dominant castes of Kammas and Reddys. The reforms and movement to uplift the marginalized communities led by Ambedkar during the

freedom movement and the policy of reservation has certainly brought new level of awareness among the Dalit section in the state. “In addition to peasant rebellions in Telangana, there have also been notable Maoist movements in coastal Andhra. For example, a movement was started among tribal areas of Srikakulam in the late 1960s, representing a beginning for the Naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh” (Reddy G.R. 1989: 314–15). During this movement most of the Dalits joined in the movement as a response to the oppression directed towards them by the upper castes in rural areas.

To attain self-sustenance in food production and solving the productivity problem in agriculture, the Indian state has introduced the policy of green revolution. It was implemented in the fertile irrigated areas of the country. The coastal region of the United Andhra Pradesh was also part of the green revolution. Mechanizing agriculture, introducing high yielding varieties of seeds, introducing chemical fertilizers were the important practices that were part of the green revolution. These technologies and practices have led to the growth of agriculture. Agriculture grew but this growth heightened rural inequality (Frankel, F, 1970). Because these policies were favorable to medium and big land lords. The small and marginal farmers were not able to attain benefits because of the high investment in agricultural practices. This led the increasing inequalities in the rural areas of the country. “To counteract these effects, at the national level, the government led by Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi adopted populist policies, which brought a major proportion of the agricultural workers to the side of the Congress”(Balagopal, K, 1985:496).

The economic and political changes along with the development of productive forces in Andhra Pradesh radically changed the social relationship between traditional twice-born who occupied the top position of the social ladder and the Shudra peasant castes (Griffin, Keith, 1979). This development of productive forces in agriculture and various productive and capitalistic industries tremendously increased the economic and political power of the peasant castes such as the *Kamma* and *Reddy*. “The maneuverability of the caste system is dependent upon economic and political power of both the castes that which upholds and challenges it, the more the economic and political power of particular caste, it tries to defend the caste system as the caste legitimizes the economic and political power that caste is enjoying” (Balagopal K. 1992:2457).

“The Green Revolution accommodated the emergence and consolidation of market-related rich peasant class, which took the center-stage of Indian politics and the political economy. In the ruling class coalition, dominated by big businesses and the industrial class, the rich peasantry was an important and fairly aggressive class” (Srinivasulu. K. 2002: 13). “What took place in Andhra was an aggressively enterprising version of this class, its enterprising nature being evident in its ability to explore newer possibilities and expand rapidly over the decades. In search of fertile land and irrigation facilities, members of this class migrated during the agricultural season, travelling as far as northern Telangana to places such as Nizamabad, Karimnagar and Warangal, even to Bellary and Raichur in Tungabhadra doab in Karnataka. There, they purchased or leased land to cultivate, returning to their native lands with the surplus at the end of the agricultural season. Their settlements are referred to as Guntur palles. Sociologically, the majority of this class belongs to the Kamma, Reddy and Kapu castes of the Krishna-Godavari delta. They have also entered into cinema industry and dominated its production, distribution and even exhibition; invested in education and contributed to its commercialization and come to dominate even the media – both print and electronic”. The Green Revolution aided the accumulation of wealth that lead to the empowerment of these Kamma, Reddy communities that made them economically strong and helped these caste groups to migrate to the urban spaces to invest the wealth generated in to several spheres such as film, industry, education, hospitality, agro-industries, contract and other businesses thus taking a shift to capitalistic trajectory. These rural agrarian communities have now taken a shift to invade the powerful capitalistic urban spaces. This improved raise in the status has made them powerful to control the political structures thus taking control of the state. During the same period there was a new political party established in 1982 by NT Ram Rao to represent the interests of the Kammas. In the same period we also witnessed the brutal incident of Karamchedu. Six Dalits were killed brutally for challenging the domination of the Kammas in the Karamchedu massacre (1985) (ibid).

The Karamchedu massacre of 1989 triggered new wave in enlightenment and subsequent starting off of Dalit organization called Dalit Mahasabha most of the Dalit activists; poets and scholars were part of the movement. In the post-1990s, the Dalits entered public places like universities, government offices and the agencies of state body. In the necessitate circumstances the government has enacted the SC and ST PoA Act, 1989 which recommended special provisions to prevent atrocities against Dalits. “What one should understand from the Karamchedu incident

is the idea of intensification of caste should be viewed in the context of farmer-capitalism. It is not only a case of how caste has become politicized (Kothari, 1970: 20) or been given a new lease of life (Srinivas M.N. 1957: 529). Rather, the Karamchedu massacre shows, more precisely, a further intensification of caste as a structural phenomenon in which class and political power provide a clear possibility of using violence”.

4.2. The Consciousness and Movements against Atrocities on Dalits

The emerging Dalit movement theme she names as the ‘autonomy – integration’ theme. The people who ask for integration demand that some compromise be struck between the Hindus and others demand autonomous Dalit political formations. In the Coastal districts of Andhra one of the most economically vibrant in the Madras Presidency that Dalit movement emerged (Omvedt 1994). She also reminds that the Dalits were organizing as Adi-Andhras with the influence of Dravidian movement in 1917 and later. In 1917, in the ‘First Provincial Panachama Mahajana Sabha’ Bhagyareddy Varma announced that Panchama was not a term found anywhere and they announced they were the real sons of the soil. Thus came the term ‘Adi-Andhra’. Adi Andhra conferences were held practically every year after this.

Historicizing Dalits assertion in Andhra Pradesh as a result of the growing consciousness and Dalit assertion in Andhra Pradesh started from the beginning of the 20th century. This indicates a complex and diverse pattern of the growing assertion and awakening of the Dalits about their rights has become intolerable to dominant castes. The growth of socio, political consciousness of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh can be traced back to the early 20s. The formation of the Adi-Andhra Mahasabha in 1917 under the leadership of Bhagya Reddy Varma, Kusuma Dharmanna, etc., was a land mark in the history of Dalits liberation in modern Andhra Pradesh and for the first time Dalits were organized and mobilized by organic intellectuals (Rathnam.K.Y, 2008).

Dalit Mahasabha

Dalit Mahasabha was formed as a consequence/response to pursue justice for the Karamchedu massacre (1985). Dalit Mahasabha as a movement is intended to consolidate the Dalit voice against the social inequalities and continuous atrocities that are taking place as a reason of the caste Hindu hegemony. The practice of the caste based discrimination and the eradication of

untouchability that are interwoven in to the Indian social fabric are the prime goals of the Dalit Mahasabha movement. It laid emphasis on a culture reconstruction that prepares the oppressed equipped to face and fight against the oppression perpetuated by the dominant castes (Rathnam, K.Y. 2008).

The blending of the Marxist and Ambedkarites perspectives is further reflected in the APDMS objectives, spelled out in the manifesto: “Annihilation of casteism, removal of untouchability, ending caste contradictions within the oppressed classes, preparing the oppressed classes for social revolution, making the Cultural revolution a success, continuing the struggle for nationalisation of land and property, enlightening people about the exploitative policies of the ruling classes so as to advance people’s struggle, making social revolution a success and Striving for Dalit and human rights” (Sambaiah.G. 2015). The formation of the Dalit Mahasabha movement and its perusal towards justice for the Karamchedu victims has pressurised the then government in the centre to enact the SC/ST (POA) ACT in the year 1989. Since the formation of the Dalit Mahasabha, it has been constantly and intensely fighting against the atrocities and social injustice in the Indian society. It was a major movement that fought for Social Justice.

Dandora Movement

From the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, several organisations that initiated identity movements like Arundathiya, Adi Jambava organisations fought for the rationalisation of reservation to uplift the most backward and marginalised castes within the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. These identity movements have eventually formed a consolidated Dandora movement in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of Manda Krishna Madiga. Aiming at the cultural reconstruction, to project the self-respect of the oppressed of the oppressed sections, Manda Krishna has taken his caste suffix name ‘Madiga’. Though the movement fundamental principle on the rationalisation of reservation, with time, it has participated and spearheaded many movements in fighting against the atrocities on Dalits and to counter injustice. It has worked towards the social economic empowerment of the Dalits and addressed all the existing and continuing forms of injustice in the Indian society. Since its formation, it has been fighting against all forms of oppression and inequality in general and the atrocities that happened against the marginalised sections in particular until recently against the scrapping away of the SC/ST

(POA) act, 1989. Due to the protests that the movement organised and lead against the scrapping of the act across the country resulted in the successful revocation of the act.

4.3. Caste Violence and Atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

According to the NCRB, there are 2071 atrocity cases have been reported against SCs from various parts of Andhra Pradesh (NCRB 2019). According to 2011 census with approximately eighty-five lakh people belonging to Scheduled Castes (SCs) they constitute much more than seventeen percent of total population in the state. According to NCRB data, there has been a sharp rise in the amount of crime incidents in Andhra Pradesh after the state was bifurcated from the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in 2014. In 2016, with 2,335 crime incidents officially registered against persons of Schedule Caste communities, the state ranked 7th in terms of crime rate in the category. This amounts to 5.7 % of total crimes against SC in the nation in an equivalent year (Newslick, 2018).

Andhra Pradesh was reported to be in the 4th place among the atrocities that happened against Dalits in India in 2007 with a share of 11.3% and 3383 cases of atrocities that happened against the Dalits according to NCRB. These atrocities ranged from several forms as including 17 arson cases, 25 abduction cases, 105 rape cases and 122 cases among other under PoA act.

The state of Andhra Pradesh is among the Dalits Atrocity prone areas at the National level, because several caste-based violent incidents have taken place in this state like Karamchedu (1985), Neerukonda (1987), Tsundur (1991), Vempenta (1998) etc. The perpetrators of these massacres belongs to the upper castes like Kamma and Reddy in different parts of Andhra Pradesh and a few incidents had happened by backward caste communities. In this context, the aim of the chapter is to analyze the caste violence and atrocities against the Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. It also examines the cause of some cases grabbing focus on certain incidents over other incidents.

Table 4.3.1. Major incidents of atrocities on Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

Place	District	Date	Nature of the incident
Kanchikacherla	Krishna	24/02/1968	Kotesu was set on fire by upper caste (Kamma) people, poured kerosene on him and accused him of stealing a bronze
Padirikuppam	Chittoor	5/01/1983	Four Dalits killed and 80 families rendered homeless following an attack by upper caste TDP supporters.
Karamchedu	Prakasam	17/07/1985	Six Dalits killed and three Dalit women raped in a mass assault by hundreds of forward caste men of the Kamma caste.
Avdhapur	Medak	17/01/1986	Landlords belonging to the TDP set fire to 30 houses of Dalits.
Neerukonda	Guntur	15/07/1987	One elderly Dalit murdered in a mob attack by men of the Kamma community.
Gudiada	Vizianagaram	15/07/1987	One Dalit labourer killed in a dispute over a small patch of tank- bed land by a mob of backward caste farmers led by a forward caste (Raju) Congress Party leader.
Chirala	Prakasam	13/08/1987	A principal witness in the Karamchedu murder case done to death by Karamchedu killers.

Bandilapalli	-	27/11/1987	Four Dalits beaten and stabbed to death in an assault by a group of forward caste men.
Kodavatikallu	-	2/02/1988	Dalit labourer murdered by a landlord.
Beernakallu	Nellore	19/01/1989	A Dalit Deputy-Sarpanch of the village killed by TDP landlord.
Gokarajupalli		16/01/1989	A Dalit labourer killed by landlords.
Tangutur	Prakasam	3/03/ 1989	A Dalit woman raped and burnt to death by a forward caste TDP strong man.
Jabbargudem	Ranga Reddy	27/04/1989	One Dalit killed in a mass assault by the henchmen of a TDP landlord.
Pippara	West Godavari	4/06/1989	One Dalit killed in a mass assault by forward caste men led by village Deputy- Sarpanch.
Kanchikacherla	Krishna	19/03/1990	Dalit farm servant killed by youth of a landlord's family.
Gutlapadu	West Godavari	19/05/1990	Two Dalits killed in a mass assault by forward caste men.
Kothapulavandla Palli	Ananthapur	06/06/1990	A Dalit burnt alive by forward caste men.

Kaspagadabavalasa	Vizianagaram	22/11/1990	Four tribes and a harijan killed in a mass assault by forward caste men.
Moodurallapalli	Kurnool	18/03/1991	A Dalit labourer beaten and stabbed to death by a mob of forward caste men.
Timmasamudram	Prakasam	January 1991	Dalits driven out of the village by an attack of forward caste men owing allegiance to a TDP leader.
Chunduru	Guntur	6/08/1991	At least 8 and up to 20 Dalits killed in a mass assault by forward caste men of six villages.
Gokarajupalli	Krishna	3/08/1991	Dalit labourer killed by forward castes.
Vempenta	Kurnool	16/07/1998	Eight Dalits peoples were killed and thirty were injured and thrown their bodies into a house that was then set on fire by upper caste landlords. At least 100 houses were burned to the ground.
Kalvakolu	Mahaboobnagar	26/07/2001	Namala Balaswamy beat and burnt alive
Koilkuntla	Kurnool	22/01/2004	Birusanti Obanna a Dalit leader stabbed to death by Reddys
Pottilanka	East Godavari	21/06/2008	A person beaten to death and social boycott of others by the Kapus for allegedly having an affair with a girl belong to the Kapu Caste

Laxmipeta	Srikakulam	12/06/2012	Four Dalit people were hacked to death, and about 30 Dalit men and women were critically injured in a well-orchestrated attack by Turpu Kapu backward caste
Garagaparru	West Godavari	5/05/2017	Social boycott of Dalits from village by Rajus (upper caste) over installation of a statue of Dr.B.R .Ambedkar
Nagaladinne	Kurnool	30/12/2017	14 Dalit families socially boycotted in Nagaladinne village for not attending to dig graveyard
Peda Gottipadu	Guntur	1/01/ 2018	A group of Dalit youth attacked by Kamma Youth over a minor brawl which broke out on new year's eve.
Ganesh Pandal (Thullur)	Guntur	2/09/ 2019	Dr. Vundavalli Sridevi, Tadikonda MLA faced a torrent of casteist abuses for 'polluting' a Ganesh diet by TDP supporters belongs to Kamma caste.

Source: K. Balagopal (1991), Post Chunduru and other Chundurur K. Srinivasulu (2002), Caste, Class and Social Articulation in Andhra Pradesh and other books, articles, and recent paper news

Karamchedu Massacre – 1985

Karamchedu massacre happened in the Karamchedu village, Prakasam district of Andhra Pradesh, where 6 Dalits lost their lives and 3 Dalit women were raped apart from many victims who were injured by the kmmas who are the landowning dominant community. The kmmas in the area are the wealthy, land owning communities eventually leading to dominant political discourse. Daggubati Chencu Ramaiah is the leader for the kamma community. Most of the Dalits from the area gain their livelihood working as laborers at their households or working as agricultural laborers in their field. Due to Green Revolution, the kmmas economic status improved which resulted in them diversifying their wealth from agriculture into other areas of commerce such as film industry, gaining contracts and others. During this time, the consolidation apart from the economic situation is extended to political control by denying the congress party and was consolidated under the newly emerged Telugu Desam Party (TDP). The economically empowered kamma community was consolidated under the leadership of Daggubati Chencu Ramaiah, brother in law of the then Chief Minister N.T. Ramarao. Equally, the Dalits who were empowered in areas of education and aware of their rights are trying to consolidate themselves and asserting for their rights. Thus, the Dalits considering the so called secular, Dalit and minority welfare government, the Indian National Congress (INC) as a platform which is in direct competition to the TDP government supported by the kmmas played a crucial factor resulting in the rivalry between the kmmas and the Dalits. Added to the political disagreements and the added assertion from the Dalit youth has sparked tensions between them which the Socio-Economical and politically empowered kmmas couldn't stomach and has taken advantage of the above factors to perpetuate violence against the Dalits. (Balagopal, K. 1985)

In the year 1985, on July 17, six Dalits were brutally slaughtered by upper-caste feudal Kmmas, backed by then Chief Minister N.T. Ramarao. Kmmas who could not tolerate the assertion of the Dalits against them, had indulged in committing this atrocity against Madigas. Violence broke out after Munnangi Suvarthamma stifled against a Kamma man who slashed Kathi Chandraiah with the whip. Kmmas from seven surrounding villages had gathered at Karamchedu and started attacking Dalit colony, killing everyone on their way. Six Dalits were butchered and so many were injured.

It is no exaggeration that the caste Hindus' barbaric nature was revealed yet again in the brutal Karamchedu Massacre. In instances that had marked their cruelty in preserving their ladder steps caste privileges and Feudal existence, Karamchedu had been a cruel witness in the history of India and is also remarkable in response to it. The Madiga Vada of Karamchedu, has ignited the fire of Self Respect that sparked against the fattened Kammas whose existence was privileged by the ladder step caste system that created indifferences between people through their fight against them.

The fight against these feudal lords who were upper caste Hindus who own major stake of land had tagged remarkable history where this new Dalit identity has enabled Untouchables to claim self-respect and human dignity. It filled the spirit to fight against the feudal caste Hindus continued in Chunduru and Laxmipeta where Malas were brutally murdered and in Pathapally till Kandikatkoor where Dalit family was murdered cruelly as the Mudiraj community which is dominant in the village cannot stomach the victory of Dalits legally in the court against them.

The inspiration for injustice in these moments is that the oppressed shouldn't get the justice that the most moments which are happening in the name of discrimination shouldn't be successful. The conspiracy behind that is the oppressed sections which are prone to revolt would be habituated if met with injustice often as the so-called constructed success in the real sense of these brahminical, feudal sections to leave this issue up. But history has always shown instances where the spirit for self-respect and assertion fueled by social justice will be continued until it emerges out to be successful. Due to relentless struggle from survivors, rather calling them victims, the guilty were punished twenty three years after the incident by the Supreme Court. One person was sentenced to life and twenty-nine others to a term of three year's imprisonment on December 19, 2008 providing justice.

“The rising wealth and incomes of the Kamma community has been zealously ensuring its dominance and authoritarian position in the village. Exposure of the harijans to wider winds of social change is regarded as a direct threat to the Kamma dominance”. (D. Narasimha Reddy. 1985). The kammas building up of caste solidarity as a major weapon in the ensuring of all ground dominance remains is the backdrop all the time.

“The simple act of raising a protest by harijans boy against a Kamma youth and the interference by the young harijans woman on July 16 were seen as a blatant challenge to the authority of the Kamma community. Karamchedu massacre cannot be viewed as an isolated and unique instance of atrocity. The magnitude and intensity of violence is due to the accumulated wealth and the political clout of the Kammas but the patterns woven around July 17, 1985 are similar to those elsewhere. The social fabric of the Indian countryside has evolved itself into a strange amalgam of feudal texture with modern colors. The elements of capitalist penetration are only helping to sharpen the cutting edge of feudal forms of authority, while political rhetoric is replete with the scenarios of equality, equity and Castelessness, social reality is replete with repression and ever strong perpetration of the caste order. Karamchedu is only an example of the emerging social tensions in the countryside. The oppressed consciousness parallels to the increasing domination of the Socio-Economic and political domination of the dominant castes. The state response, he says, has always been to view each atrocity in isolation and to mollify by declaring compensation for the dead and paltry relief to the living. Karamchedu has enough pointers to awaken the people to see the poverty of government perception of the problem. Karamchedu is an example where the ‘trickle down’ did occur and the people there are above the much fetid poverty line. Food, clothing and shelter are not the only problems of the oppressed. One has a scenario as to what is in store even if the people are lifted above the so-called poverty line. Development means a much more fundamental social transformation. Are the powers that-be prepared to face it. (Reddy, D.N, 1985)

Chunduru Massacre (1991)

The atrocity in Chunduru took place as a reason of increasing assertion from the Dalits and their fight against their counterparts in a growing phenomenon of empowered socio political and economic independence but not because of their oppressive status in Guntur. The Dalits, especially from the Mala and Madiga communities gained better access to education thus enhancing their awareness in their position and identity not witnessed in other parts of the state. Most remarkably, the modern generation has started to reject the domination, humiliation and hegemony imposed by the dominant castes that was deep rooted in the Indian psyche. Eventually, these aware youngsters were a product of the upward phenomenon that discards and rejects the submission to the dominant manifestations of the Caste-Hindus in spaces of political, cultural

and economic factors that was structured traditionally by the dominant castes. This overall consolidation and assertion from the Dalit sections against the dominant castes is that they couldn't stomach resulting in perpetuating violence against them in Karmachedu and Chunduru. This increasing assertion is the prime cause that attracted significant attention and protest. (K. Balagopal, 1991)

The village Chunduru is in Guntur district, AP with a strong hold to the Reddy landlords and the Dalits assertion is also high as the children of Dalits in Chunduru attend schools and colleges as a majority of their parents' work for the Indian Railways. Unable to stomach this advancement and assertion from the Malas, the Reddys, dominant in the locality, always wanted to check their progress and assert their dominance. In the year 1991, dominant Reddy Upper Castes on 6th August, attacked a Dalit Colony of Tsundur village in Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The immediate reason was, a Dalit young boy's feet touched to the upper caste Reddy in a cinema hall unintentionally. In an impulse, Reddys sprang into action attacking Dalit colony killing 13 Dalits. However, the reasons for this attack are like any other caste atrocities anywhere in India. Chunduru Dalits started their assertion against the Reddys of the village and their quest for equality and self-respect was intolerable for Reddys. Prompted by Ambedkar's ideology, a generation of Chunduru Dalits was reaping the benefits of education and employment with the help of Reservations and their denial to work as a serf under the Reddy landlords had become intolerable and could not be stomached by the Reddys. This culminated in to a horrible atrocity against Dalits in which dead bodies were thrown in water canals in the fields. This lead to the subsequent formation of Dalit Maha Sabha which carried forward unified Dalit movement in fighting for justice. Another Dalit student activist named Anil Kumar was killed in police firing who was at the forefront in leading the movement. The prolonged struggle had led to the setting up of a trial court in the Chunduru itself to retain the justice where it is lost. The Reddys convincingly manipulated and shifted to another court which had delivered a verdict dismissing the case and acquitted criminals by saying that there was not enough evidence to prove the atrocity. Both Karamchedu and Chunduru massacre proves that wherever there is Dalit assertion, there is an atrocity. On the other hand, it is stressing the importance of the relentless, unified and long protracted Dalit movement in fighting caste atrocities across country.

Indicating the height of Dalit assertion, Balagopal says, “The Dalits of Chundururu courageously and steadfastly set a new trend of agitation and protest by way of rejecting the hypocritical overtures of the ruling party, as well as the theatrics of the dissident congressmen and the opposition leaders. They firmly rejected not only the politicians, who made all attempts to project themselves as ‘saviors’ who would have done everything to protect the victims only if they had an inkling of what was impending or the ruling party’s dissidents or opposition leaders take the victims under their wing, with the promise of giving them the very heaven once they came to power tent back the netas too in a most humiliating fashion. Dalits, in contemporary India, bear the anguished burden of a long unbroken legacy of the deepest social degradation. Whereas they usually fall at the bottom of almost any parameter relating to economic well-being or quality of life, the distinct burden that only they bear among all underprivileged groups in India is the degradation of century’s old tradition of untouchability”.

Vempenta Massacre (1998)

The Vempenta massacre had taken place in the Vempenta village of the Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh which resulted in the death of nine Schedule Castes. Their houses were burnt and the bodies were thrown in to the flames of those who tried to escape. It was a brutal massacre headed by the dominant castes on the weaker sections as a response allegedly to the death of a dominant caste member by the Peoples War Party. The police force has arrived 10 in hours’ delay and the state had even taken the side of the dominant castes which didn’t allow the any civil society organization, fact finding committees or the victims who escaped to recognize the dead bodies of their community. The confessions of the victims revealed that the attackers still resided in the village thus coveted by the police and the state reported a human rights team. Several human rights organizations and NGOs has affirmed that the government sided the attackers by manipulating it as a clash between two extremist groups and in the name of countering Naxalism and it also said that "it will give outright support to whoever counters Naxalism."

The dispute in the village started between the people of Madigawada sided by the peoples’ war party and the other group headed by a notorious legislator of the ruling party then, Telugu Desam Party (TDP) over the control of a fertile endowment land of 250 acres. During the clash, an agent of the dominant caste and the Sarpanch, Bomma Sivaiah, was killed by the Peoples War to which

they went on in a rampage on the Madigawada setting more than 100 houses on fire and killing 9 people as retaliation. The people have to escape to the neighboring villages for the fear of their lives and at least 500 of them were in the run.

Three police cases were registered in connection to the incident that accused both the parties on the attackers and the victims in connection with their association with the peoples' war group. The People's War Group which is a banned extremist organization has explained that they have killed the agents of the dominant caste as they have no faith in the judiciary and they have carried their own justice. This irresponsible and flawed understanding of the caste struggle in the villages has sparked the massacre where the PW can't take it further to fight for justice leaving the Dalits to their fate. Such that several Dalit and human rights associations argued that the intervention of the peoples' war is nothing short of the faction politics of the dominant castes which only aimed at converting these vulnerable sections as their foot soldiers to further their cause. Thus, the Vempenta massacre had revealed the ugly side of the self-claimed progressive sections to deliver justice and the dominant caste hegemony to assert their dominance and hegemony.

Recent Atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

Koilkuntla Incident

A Dalit leader Birusanti Obanna was killed on 22 January 2004 by the Reddys in Koilkuntla of Kurnool District. Obanna was taking up the village Dalit issues and frequently questioned the domination of Reddys in several instances. (People's Union for Civil Liberties, January 2004).

Pottilanka Incident

On 21 June 2008 Dalits were attacked and socially boycotted from the Pottilanka village in Kadiyam Mandal of East Godavari District by Kapus for allegedly having an affair with Kapu woman. In the attack Palli Veerapandu was beaten to death few others succumbed to injuries. (Akepogu Jammanna & Pasala Sudhakar, 2008).

Kodavalapuri village incident

This incident had happened in the Kodavalapuri village in Kotavuratla mandal in Visakhapatnam district in 2008. The issues escalated during the village ritual of pulling the village goddess chariot, apparently the Dalits were denied entry in to the temple and perform rituals like pulling chariot. Another incident also took place on the same day the Upper Castes expressed objection and protested for serving the liquor using same glass that's been used for Dalits. These two incidents triggered Dalits expressed their dissent and complained against discrimination and untouchability being practiced by the upper castes. The complaint as result the upper castes attacked on the Dalits by dragging them from the homes and assaulted indiscriminately including women and children also the Dalits. (The Hindu, 24 August 2008)

Nelagonda village incident

On 8 September 2008 the upper castes did not allow Dalits to take procession from in the village during 'Vinayaka Chavithi' festival of Nelagonda village, Anantapur district. Dalits opposed the attitude of the upper castes for discrimination and untouchability in the name of caste. This has resulted when the Dalit children were prohibited to attend the school (*The Deccan Chronicle*, 9 September 2008).

Garagaparru village incident (2017)

Almost 1,200 Dalits were socially boycotted in Garagaparru village of the West Godavari district for more than a month. On the celebration of the 125th B.R. Ambedkar's birth anniversary, the Dalits were determined to install B.R. Ambedkar's statue in the village on April 23rd. Before the installation of statue, the Dalits set up a flex hoarding on the bank of the lake on 13th April. This has created anger among the upper caste (Raju) and expressed their dissent on the act of Dalits for setting up a flex. But the situation got worse after the statue was installed on April 23. "They didn't even let the sun rise over him – they shifted it overnight into the old panchayat building. This created resentment among Dalits and protested against the act of the upper castes, all the upper castes called for a meeting among them and announced the boycott of Dalits from the village. (Charan Teja, TNM July 10, 2017).

Pachikapalem incident (2017)

Pachikapalem is a village in Vedurukuppam Mandal near Tirupati. Each year, people from forty-seven villages join together and also celebrate Mahabharat festival in a grand manner (Nagaraju, 2017). The celebrations have already been going on within the last eighty-six years in this village. The drum beating, playing of musical instruments singing, dancing, enacting the scenes from Mahabharat is all performed by the Dalit people. All types of menial tasks also are allocated to them. Bakaasura Vadha, the killing of demon Bakaasura, a primary event of Mahabharat is also enacted as part of the festival and during the Bakaasura Vadha drama, Agnigunda Pravesam, the act of entering a ground filled with fire is also performed which is out of bounds for Dalit people. And offering Pongal on the occasion - a kind of prasad offered to the God is also forbidden for Dalit people. They are treated as untouchables as well as the prasad geared up by them can't be presented to God. On July 31, 2016, as part of the celebrations, people in large numbers gathered for the festivities, from 47 villages. Dalit youth also came by a cart. The cart was smashed as well as the Dalit youth attacked by the upper caste oppressors for daring to go in a cart and attend the festival. The sub-inspector of police who made an effort to intervene was chased away and his lathi broken to pieces. The agitated Dalits went to the police station looking for justice and for registering cases against oppressors. Police might exclusively pacify the Dalits but couldn't handle the upper caste goondas. The next day, nevertheless, cases were registered against eight arsonists. RDO, joint director of social welfare, as well as higher police officials, called for a peace meeting and then made an effort to settle the problem amicably. They guaranteed that Dalits would be allowed to enter in the holy fire as also the temple. Within minutes, the upper caste arsonists turned wild and challenged the Dalits. They warned that the poor Dalits should figure out how to live under their feet, and that in case they dare to assert for rights, they'll be consigned to flames (Nagaraju, 2017).

Nagaladinne (2018)

In another instance, 14 Dalit families had been socially boycotted in Nagaladinne village, Kurnool district in the earliest week of the year. When two Dalit men, Elisha and Pullanna, who made their living by digging pits in the village's graveyard, refused to do this due to falling in poor health on December 30, enraged higher caste men announced a social boycott of Dalits in

the village. They additionally allegedly levied sum of Rs.5, 000/- fine on villagers who interacted with any person from the Dalit community. In addition to this, a water supply pipeline to the colony, in which people of SC community reside, was broken by the dominant caste men. After a series of protests by Dalit leaders and groups, District police authorities interfered to settle the problem as well as cases that have been registered appropriately. Representatives of Dalit organizations maintain that the casteist forces have become much stronger after Telugu Desam Party came to power in the state (Newslick, 2018).

Peda Gottipadu (2018)

Peda Gottipadu incident had started with a trivial incident that happened on New Year's Eve in 2018 where two Dalit Mala youth of the village has taken to the road on the bike wishing New Year to everyone who skids at a place close by the Washermen (Rajaka) community due to wet roads. The dhobi women there took pity on the youth and have come to help them and cautioned them to be careful to which the youth apologized for the inconvenience caused. The Dalit youth was confronted by the nearby Kammas, dominant castes of the area, who passed on humiliating remarks that these Dalits formerly dependent on them for livelihood had been unable to be tamed and contained. The Kammas watching this gathered around including women and started to abuse them and in a while were surrounded by a good number of the Kammas who started attacking them with sticks and stones to which the youth being helpless ran for their life abandoning their bikes.

The youth reached their hamlets and narrated the incident to their elders to which they immediately reported to the local police station. The policemen surprisingly had reached the spot and facilitated a compromise between the Kammas and the Malas. The police had asked the Kammas to apologize to the Malas after hearing to both the versions as taking the caste name of the Dalit and abusing them is a non-bailable offense. The Kammas had apologized to the Malas accordingly but couldn't stomach apologizing to them as the reason for their caste dominance and hegemony. The police instead of taking action according to the law had tried to settle the dispute which set them the Kammas free and unchecked.

Apologizing the Malas had not come down very well by the Kammas who want to assert their hegemony on the Dalits formerly dependent on them drafted an evil plan and consolidated the

Kammas of the neighboring villages armed with sticks, rods and beer bottles on trucks and were waiting for their moment to attack the Dalits. The right time had arrived as two Malas Prakash and John reached a barber shop in the main center dominated by the Kammas. Then the outraged Kammas had attacked them according to their plan and brutally attacked those causing heavy injuries on their heads and broke their hands and legs and informed the Malas. A majority of the Malas reached the hospital and had admitted them in the government general hospital. Looking for the right moment to strike, the Kammas had reached the hamlet of the Malas and attacked on them with sticks and rods. The brutal mob threw beer bottles on to the terrified and escaping Dalits. Deeply humiliated by the reason of their apology and outraged by the guts of the Malas to dare complaint against them, the Kammas had not took any pity and continued the aggressive mob attack on the Malas. The entire atrocity had taken in front of the eyes of the police to which no action was not taken and an imposition of 144 section took place only after the henchmen and the agents of the dominant castes were free to flee.

The Andhra Pradesh state government has identified twelve districts as atrocity prone areas against Dalits (The Ministry of Social Empowerment and Justice Annual Report, 2008) and additionally supposes to initiate steps to avoid Human Rights Violation against Dalits. These identified districts are namely; Nellore, Mahabubnagar, Kurnool, Prakasam, Medak, East Godavari, Kadapa, Karimnagar, Chittoor, Guntur and Warangal. The State Commission for STs and SCs, headed by Justice Punnaiah, which started a two-day trip to the district on Friday, has gotten petitions from many organisations trying to bring to the notice attacks on Atrocities and Dalits against Dalit females. Aside from the practice of untouchability, the Dalit groups likewise drew the commission's interest on the two class structures prevailing in the outlying areas. (The Hindu, 2014).

Cases of Atrocities: Analysis in Telangana Region

The Dalits, in the area include vast majority of farming work that focus on the dominated caste, stayed landless even after the Telangana armed struggle (Srinivasulu, K., 2002:2). Considerably the lifetime statues of Dalits are landless agriculture labors. The existing evil exercise of untouchability still exists within the region. The majority of the Dalits work as bonded labor under Brahman communities, Velma, and the Reddy, even these days. Inside Telangana region over seventy five per cent of Dalits are landless agriculture laborers, eighty six per cent are

illiterates, and poverty prevalence is 65 per cent. Dalits urban population is extremely low due to the economic and cultural backwardness. For instance, in the entire year 1991, complete no. of Dalits (SC) is 5.51 per dollar of metropolitan population and in 2001 simply 4.84 a cent. This's the plight of the oppressed as well as suppressed Dalits of Telangana area (Chalam KS, 2004)

Table-4.3.2. District wise Atrocities 1999-2003 in Telangana (United AP)

Districts	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
Rangareddy	14	17	18	22
Hyderabad	1	13	13	2
Nizamabad	4	13	15	10
Khammam	4	13	14	9
Medak	15	25	20	7
Mahabubnagar	16	30	54	33
Nalgonda	8	12	12	8
Warangal	14	29	26	12
Karimnagar	5	10	25	14
Adilabad	6	9	8	6
Total	87	171	205	123

Source: Sakshi-Dalit Human Rights Watch, Report 2000-2003, Andhra Pradesh.

The above table shows that out of the ten districts of the Telangana region, just Warangal district contains the highest Dalits atrocity prone areas. Depending on the Sakshi Reports, eighty-one atrocities cases are authorized under the PCR/POA acts. Of 1999 to 2003, the majority of Dalits atrocities are committed by the higher castes. Illiteracy and Ignorance of the results of the legal provision in atrocities on Dalit found Warangal. The age-old practice of untouchability still prevails in this particular district and quite often you will find not documented atrocities cases because of fear of upper caste.

Table 4.3.3. Dalits atrocities cases during 1999 to 2003 in Rayalaseema

Districts	Year			
	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
Kurnool	11	29	39	25
Ananthapur	9	19	26	21
Cuddapa	14	35	34	12
Chittor	24	27	23	8
Total	58	110	122	66

Source: Sakshi-Dalit Human Rights Watch, Report 2000-2003, Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.3 shows that in comparison with other districts Kurnool district contains the highest number of Dalit atrocities depending on the reports. 104 cases are registered under POA /PCR acts during 1999-2003, nearly all almost all of the atrocity cases are filed on upper castes. Ignorance of the law, illiteracy, regional political dominance, caste influences have become the primary reasons for these sorts of atrocities. This places them into much more weak circumstances in Kurnool district, where the police won't file the cases because of the effect of higher castes.

Coastal Andhra Region

Table 4.3.4. Dalits atrocities cases during 1999 to 2003

Districts	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
Srikakulam	3	9	1	3
Vijayanagaram	7	10	8	4
Vishkapatnam	2	8	11	6
East godavari	6	23	17	10
West godavari	9	19	27	9
Krishna	22	33	24	10
Guntur	11	28	24	13
Prakasam	10	20	16	11
Nellore	11	21	19	13
Total	81	171	147	79

Source: Sakshi-Dalit Human Rights Watch, Report 2000-2003, Andhra Pradesh.

During the years 1999 to 2003, a total of eighty-two atrocities have been committed on Dalits in East Godavari district. In comparison with the total number of atrocities carried out in some other districts, the highest was from Krishna, followed by Guntur. West Godavari and Nellore are at equal amounts of sixty-four, followed by fifty-seven in Prakasam. Each successive year these many numbers of circumstances are authorized under PCR/POA acts. There seemed to be a rise in the number of situations in years 2000-01, along with 2001-02, as many as 171 as well as 147 respectively followed by a decline in total to a selection of seventy-nine.

Table: 4.3.5. Atrocity cases reported on SC/ST during 2005 to 2008 in A.P

S. No	Districts/Areas	2005		2006		2007		2008	
		SC	ST	SC	ST	SC	ST	SC	ST
1	Rangareddy	74	6	94	12	89	2	99	6
2	Medak	30	9	55	7	64	13	48	7
3	MBNR	42	9	66	7	61	9	61	2
4	Nalgonda	147	30	121	44	162	41	136	47
5	Nizamabad	95	24	126	32	167	50	209	64
6	Karimnagar	53	16	102	19	67	5	55	5
7	Adilabad	193	22	147	17	177	24	129	19
8	Khammam	67	17	85	46	80	41	55	23
9	VSP-U	53	34	92	45	74	55	53	44
10	VSP-R	29	7	35	4	67	2	55	4
11	Vizaynagaram	42	6	52	11	56	8	38	10
12	Srikakulam	29	4	37	8	28	1	36	3
13	East Godavari	34	5	79	7	94	10	60	8
14	West Godavari	126	10	166	15	159	17	166	14
15	Krishna	138	17	171	27	146	18	178	37
16	Vijayawada	87	11	79	19	75	10	91	4
17	Guntur	27	2	27	4	25	4	10	5
18	Nellore	98	23	161	38	199	36	141	37
19	Chittoor	154	24	183	39	161	58	147	43
20	Ananthapur	59	7	129	14	109	14	95	10
21	Kurnool	83	11	78	8	14	16	80	11
22	Kadapa	2	19	290	35	241	26	285	58
23	Prakasam	83	4	164	25	169	22	160	18
24	Warangal	78	7	111	13	102	13	93	11
25	SRP-S	76	22	110	56	13	52	78	51
26	SRP-G	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	SRP-V	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
28	Cyberabad	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
29	Hyderabad	103	10	157	16	134	20	130	28
Total		2203	356	2912	568	2914	573	2645	569
Grand total		2559		3480		3478		3229	

Sources: PCR Cell, CID Office, Hyderabad, 2008

Comparatively, the state of Andhra Pradesh is at 2nd position in the atrocities against SC/ST in India. During 2005 to 2008 the overall figures of SC/ST atrocities cases have been 11,898 in A.P., especially in the entire year 2005 overall cases were 2559, in 2006 the numbers of cases were 3480, in 2007 the documented cases had been 3478 and in 2008 the numbers of cases were 3229 in various parts of Andhra Pradesh.

Table: 4.3.6. Discrimination against scheduled caste in Andhra Pradesh during 2000-2001

S. No	District	Temple Entry Restricted	Two Glasses System	Dhobi/barber Restricted	Wells/Pumps Restricted	Total
1	Abilabad	NR	32	NR	NR	32
2	Anantapuram	222	190	NR	52	464
3	Chittoor	233	162	NR	139	534
4	Kadapa	24	22	17	NR	63
5	East Godavari	25	21	20	NR	66
6	Guntur	181	68	254	NR	503
7	Karimnagar	9	1	3	NR	13
8	Kammam	77	45	10	Nr	132
9	Krishna	6	3	-	NR	9
10	Kurnool	335	202	NR	247	784
11	Mahaboobnagar	836	590	NR	304	1730
12	Medak	80	63	NR	7	150
13	Nalgonda	187	121	NR	69	377
14	Nellore	50	29	NR	NR	79
15	Nizamabad	18	11	NR	NR	29
16	Prakasam	75	94	NR	169	338
17	Rangareddy	260	214	NR	307	781
18	Srikakulam	53	90	NR	NR	143
19	Visakhapatnam	40	103	NR	NR	143
20	Vizayanagaram	51	82	NR	NR	133
21	Warangal	51	21	NR	NR	72
22	West Godavari	16	14	NR	NR	30

NR-Not reported, the total relates to a category of PCR lakhs only.

Source: Justice Punnaiah Commission report, govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 2006.

During 2000-2001, approximately 6600 atrocities cases have been registered with Andhra

Pradesh. Inside Rayalaseema and Telangana, the practice of Untouchability is still prevalent for the reason of a large number of instances which were registered under the temple entry and as well as the 2 glasses method. Especially, Warangal and Kurnool districts tend to be more vulnerable. In this specific subject, the state of Andhra Pradesh was the best illustration for the pendency of SC/ST atrocities cases. In this specific problem, the Sakshi - Human Rights watch (A.P) had an extremely essential role to mobilize the entire Andhra Pradesh authorities and also Police Department. Below is the data obtained and presented by the Sakshi-Human Rights Watch from the DGP offices which were reported under the SC/ST (PoA) act.

Table 4.3.7. Crimes against SCs from 2012 to 2019 in Andhra Pradesh

S.No	Incident	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	TOTAL
1	Murder	54	53	36	65	67	75	76	86	512
2	Rape	104	114	199	243	90	274	231	335	1590
3	Kidnapping&Abduction	11	14	19	21	3	11	14	23	116
4	Dacoity	NA	3	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	5
5	Robbery	1	1	9	7	NA	NA	2	1	21
6	Arson	7	5	10	12	11	5	6	4	60
7	Hurt	626	659	34	14	10	603	451	492	2889
8	ProtectionofCivilRightsAct	9	6	9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	24
9	SC/ST(PreventionofAtrocities)Act	801	695	2165	2263	446	308	198	332	7208
10	Others	1444	1720	1631	1790	1708	693	858	798	16312
	Total	3057	3270	4114	4415	2335	1969	1836	2071	23,067

Source: National Crime Record Bureau,2019

The above table discerns the information about the various crimes committed against the Schedule Castes in Andhra Pradesh over a period of seven years. The table depicts the rise in no. of crimes committed against SCs, have been increasing year by year. It is evident from the above table that a 654.5% increase from 2012 to 2019, a significant rise. An important aspect glaringly visible is the crimes against dalit women. The Rape cases have been among most notable crimes, among others, in the previous table, the Andhra Pradesh continues to stand among top 5 states that have recorded maximum number of cases against SCs.

4.4. Analysis on violence and atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

The above incidents reveal that in post-independent India, Dalits have had to pay a heavy price for asserting their civil and constitutional rights. Most of the caste atrocities on Dalits centered basically around “the right of access to public wells, tanks, educational institutions, social dignity and equality (marriage processions along the streets, wearing neat clothes, chappals, etc.). Caste violence was also related to agrarian relations, i.e., access to grazing land, grants of government wastelands, demand for an increase in wages, etc. The life of Dalits was thought to be valueless and hence they were put to death on the mere suspicion of them. The Dalits accused were not even allowed to prove their innocence or exercise their legal/constitutional rights. The dominant upper castes brazenly took the law into their own hands and meted out punishments to Dalits. The extra-legal/ constitutional authority of the upper caste rich was demonstrated to force the Dalits to accept and respect their dominance in the villages”.

The political processes, particularly the electoral politics, treated the Scheduled Castes as a vote bank, right from the inception and more so in the seventies; for, this group was always considered homogeneous, and therefore, maneuverable. In Andhra Pradesh, in the early thirties, forties, and even fifties, the Communist Party held sway of the Dalits and enjoyed widespread support of these sections. The fact that Dalits remained dependent on the dominant sections and could be maneuvered is one of the failures of the freedom movement and also subsequent developments or welfare measures, which had brought some quantitative change, but had no qualitative impact on these relationships.

To sum up, Thus, the Dalits are increasingly challenging the hegemony and discrimination of the caste system and untouchability. In this challenge, the Dalits main weapons are education, adult franchise, political mobilization, employment opportunities through reservations. However, the Dalits assertion and unity is a threat to the hegemony of the dominant castes, these attempts of assertions attract strong reactions from the latter who then attack to disintegrate through acts of humiliation, social boycott, murder rapes, and demolition of the Dalitwadās. Irrespective of the form of the assertion, for dignity, for the hike in the wages or accessing education and other public resources, it always is perceived as a threat by the dominant castes and is met with extreme

measures to check the status quo.

Despite the constitutional safeguards, human rights violations, humiliations, assaults, and atrocities have become a social reality even today against Dalits. The gap between promise and performance of the welfare state and its apparatus is 'nakedly exposed', indicating that the state is not only withdrawing of itself from 'welfarism', but is becoming repressive. The agencies and mechanisms of the state have miserably failed to protect and enhance the lives of these oppressed sections. As a reason for their oppression, the dominant castes are asserting their hegemony consolidating and empowering their Socio-Economic and political dominance which manifests in violence against the oppressed sections, and still, a majority of them remain as broken people. There is therefore the need for organizing mobilization of the Dalits to remind the state of its 'constitutional obligations. Their argument on this is possible through the aggressive mobilization of Dalits from the top and below to articulate and re-articulate their democratic aspirations. Dalits in practical are not treated as equal citizens. They are always treated as unequal citizens and any intervention of the state to uplift the poor and restructure them has always met with no progress as their implementations are at a fault which was framed by the politics and state mechanisms manned predominantly from the dominant sections.

Chapter - 5

Upward Mobility of Other Backward Classes and Atrocities on Dalits

The previous chapter was about locating the question of violence in Andhra Pradesh state. It gave a historical account of the caste violence and maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities committed against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. The present chapter deals with the upward mobility of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. This chapter gives a historical account of understanding the rise of OBCs and some of the incidents of caste violence perpetrated by OBCs across the country. This historical account is very important to understand the changing nature of caste violence. This also lays out which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits and the major reasons for the act of violence

The term Other Backward Classes (OBC) is a loose coalition of socially, economically backward classes. There is a difference of opinions about who constitutes OBC, criteria for identification- whether the recognition should be based on caste or class- has been the bone of contention. The term backward classes were first used in the 1870s to provide affirmative action to empower the under-educated in the Madras administration. The communities enlisted under backward castes increased from 39 to 131 by 1920s excluding untouchables. Later the term Depressed Classes was commonly used for both untouchables and lower castes until the promulgation of Government of India Act, 1935, which segregated untouchables as Scheduled Castes and retaining the name backward Classes for lower and intermediary castes which continued in post-independence (Jeffrelot, 2018). Marc Galanter (1984) reflects on the origin of the term during the colonial government and the web of meanings woven around the term. The term did not specifically define or designate who constitute backward Classes. Occasionally it includes untouchables, it obscures whether non-Hindus are included. Constituent Assembly had debated about the definiteness of the term. K.M. Munshi included Scheduled Castes while defining backward classes. Nehru in his Objectives Resolution envisioned adequate safeguards for minorities, Depressed Classes, backward classes. Dr. Ambedkar noted that recognition of a community as a backward community is done by Local Government and backward in the opinion

of the Government. Galanter, further states that by the time of Independence, the term still carried ambiguity. However, a common understanding was established that non-untouchable castes above untouchables needed special treatment and below upper castes constituted Other Backward Classes.

The first amendment to the Indian Constitution was intended to provide Reservation policy to OBCs. The B.P. Mandal Commission Report of 1980 stated that the OBCs constitute 52% of the total Indian population, and the National Survey Organization in 2006 determined that the OBCs constitute 41% of the total nation's population. There is a considerable amount of discussion that went into the determination of the exact per cent of the OBCs in the total population of the nation. As per the survey reports, this section is estimated to be the largest population in the nation and some opine that these numbers may exceed the figures given by the reports of the National Survey Organization and the Mandal Commission Report. Some academics have divided Shudras into two groups such as lower Shudras and upper Shudras. After independence, these caste groups got benefited by the subsequent government reforms and legislations along with Dalits. In the Post-independent India, as a result of the economic reforms, these sections were empowered and were in a position to aspire and compete for political gains with the dominant castes that had exploited them in the past for several centuries. Eventually, to rise above the position, the OBCs had started to push back the people below them who are at the lower rungs of the Indian social hierarchy and in this case, the Dalits. The consequence is intense tension between these spatially close sections of the social hierarchy-OBCs and Dalits- than between the top and bottom sections and as a reason, the clashes are frequent between them.

According to the Home Ministry Annual Reports (1995), the incidents and atrocities related to caste increased from 25% to 30% in many states of India. A majority of incidents were taking place between Scheduled Caste and OBCs. There is adhere need to understand the position of OBCs to understand the problem of the study. With this background, this chapter tries to give a historical account and position of OBC's in the Hindu caste system. Also explains reasons for the upward mobility of OBCs and their atrocities on Dalits in India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

5.1. Position of OBCs/Shudras in Caste system

The Bramhana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are generated from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of Lord Bramha accordingly in a natural order, according to Vedas. The highest Varna is of the Bramhana assigned with the roles of priesthood, teaching and as a noble personality who sacrifices for the cause of the individual and others besides offering and accepting alms. “Teaching, studying, sacrificing for him, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brahmana”. The supreme birth of the Brahmins as a learned teacher and priest who will guide the world and punishes them are to be treated as a benefactor of every creation thus cannot be disrespected (Manusmriti, X-69-75).

It is also a mandatory according to the Chathurvarna system that the kings belonging to the Kshatriya Varna has to worship the Brahmins after they woke up as they are the learned in different areas of knowledge. The Kshatriya Varna has to serve and worship the elder and the Brahmins as they are the learned in Vedas and are thus, pure and will be honored by the gods and rakshasas too. The duties proclaimed to the Kshatriyas according to the Chathurvarna system is that he has to serve and protect people besides offering sacrifices and to study Veda without limiting himself to sensual pleasures. The Vaisyas are to rear cattle, cultivate land, offer sacrifices, and lend money, trade besides having access to study Vedas.

Caste is the historical specificity of Indian society. It has ordained the social relations of hierarchy, domination and power in Indian society. But it has never been static and has proved to be dynamic and ever changing adapting itself to the changing Socio-Economic contexts and influencing the social configuration of domination and power. If caste has been the foundation of domination and power, then it has also acted as the basis of protest and resistance against domination. The understanding of this dialectic of caste domination subalternity resistance is crucial to the project of annihilation of caste and a project of social change which does not consider this as crucial and does not attempt it in practice would be inadequate and incomplete. This necessitates us to narratives changes that caste system has undergone and these registers of change would help us to understand whether we are on the path of caste annihilation and if yes where are we in terms of direction and spatiality (K.Srinivasulu, 2002).

The dominant explanation of caste emphasizes its rituality. In this view, caste accords a ritual status to an individual on the purity-pollution hierarchy. Ironically, the castes which are

productive like the agrarian, artisanal and service castes lie low in the ritual social hierarchy and the castes which are into intellectual and ritual practices rank above them. Further, the most important laboring castes are treated as untouchables. In fact, productive labor instead of being treated with respect is scaled along the descending touchable-untouchable ladder with the Dalits pushed to the lowest rank. What is undermined in this view is the place of caste in the material production process. The specificity of caste, as Dr. Ambedkar insightfully emphasized, is such that it not only marks the division of labour but also signifies a division of labourers. This division contributes to the duality of caste: it makes caste a site of cooperation and unity as production requires interrelation of different skills and also of separation and fragmentation as the participating castes are ordered in a hierarchical relation in the social ritual paradigm. This makes caste a unique site of identity and difference, unity and separateness and cooperation and conflict (ibid).

Shudras are toiling and productive forces situated at the bottom rung of the Varna system. The duties of the Sudras allotted by the Chaturvarna system are to serve the Brahmins for the sake of heaven and have to accept this as an excellent opportunity for them to be called as a servant of the Brahman. Any occupation apart from serving the Brahmins will bear no fruit to the Shudras. Considering the abilities and the needs of the Shudras, the Brahmins will offer them suitable maintenance. The Shudras will be offered the remains of the food and the old clothes by the Brahmins and are not to be entitled to any kind of property. It also proclaims that a Shudra cannot commit an offense and are treated to be out of the Aryan law which bestows no laws or rights to them rather than to serve the Brahmins. The Shudras are not entitled to keep any kind of property, is out of the law and its safeguards and rights and are prohibited to study or recite the sacred texts ‘Vedas’ recited by the virtuous men and failing to comply to these rules results in the denial of being censured, (exaltation) in this world and the next.

“There are slaves of seven kinds, (viz.) he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment.” (VIII-415, p 56). The Shudras are not entitled to own property or wealth of any kind though he is capable since it gives pain to the Sudras. Since the slave (shudra) has no right to property, his owner (Brahman) can seize his belongings if any confidently. If a Brahman cannot accommodate a Shudra, and if he

seeks a livelihood, can be allowed to serve the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. The Shudras duty is to serve the above three castes to which the priority is too given to serve the Brahmana caste as they are the virtuous people reciting and studying the sacred Vedas.

5.2. Constitutional safeguards for OBC's in the India Republic

The kings like Sahu Maharaj (Bombay Province), Nalwadi Krishnaraja (Mysore Province) and Wodeyar (Madras Province) implemented reservation to the marginalized and the weaker sections, a major contribution to uplift them and to the Indian society. Dr. B R Ambedkar is the champion of marginalized who further led the struggle for social justice to uplift them, to lead life with self-respect by improving the living conditions of the Dalits, Tribes and women who are vulnerable to exploitation and are historically oppressed from centuries. The reservation policy is thus implemented by his efforts for their Socio-Economic and political upliftment.

Indian Constitution and Social Justice

The Preamble of the Indian Constitution emphatically declares that the Justice: social, political and economic as the noble objective (Cunningham Clark D. and Menon N.R. Madhava., 1999: 121).With the advent of the British rule, a little consideration into the emancipation of the historically oppressed sections has taken place which was taken forward by Dr. B R Ambdedkar who took immense interest to uplift the oppressed sections. Since 1950, from the constitution coming into force which declared India into a Sovereign, Socialistic, Secular, Democratic, Republic ensuring the Socio-Economic and political enrichment of all its citizens as enshrined in the preamble.

The only special provision granted by the constitution to the other backward classes (OBC) comes under “Article 340, Part XVI of the Constitution. In relation to the article, the directive principles of the state policy, a commission to investigate in to the conditions of the backwardness of these communities has been drafted.

In consonance with the provision of Directive Principles of State Policy, under Article 340 of the Constitution, provision has been made for the appointment of Commission to investigate the conditions of Backward classes which states that the president may by order appoint a

Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally Backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the union or any state to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants should be made, and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

The provision under Article 340 is supplemented by Article 15(4) which state that nothing in this Article (Article 15 relates to prohibition of discrimination on ground of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth) or Article 29(2) (Article 29 relates to protection and interest of minorities) shall prevent the state from any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally Backward classes of citizens or for the SC's and ST's.

A perusal of the reports submitted by the various commissions clearly indicates lack of consensus among the members of the commissions as to the criteria to be applied for the identification of socially and Educationally Backward Classes. It is necessary to review briefly the reports of the commissions for a proper understanding of the criterion to be followed for the identification of the consumers of the fruits of the protective discrimination”.

5.3. Rise of OBC consciousness and politics

For a better understanding of the social dynamics and polity, it is important to have a glimpse into the factors that culminated in the rise of OBC consciousness and consolidated them politically. For many political analysts, the socio-political rapid mobilization and resurgence of the OBCs started in the early 1990's with the announcement of the implementation of Mandal Commission report that provided 27% reservation for the OBCs in public employment by the VP Singh government. But for decades of politics, peasant castes and leaders from peasant castes with Socialist ideals of equality, redistribution of land and anti-caste ideology had built solid foundations for OBC politics. The rise of OBCs can be attributed to the secularly guided by the rising consciousness of lower castes (Frankel & Rao, 1990).

Even today we are left conjecturing whether it was the messianic zeal of VP Singh or political expediency to tame his deputy Devi Lal, a tall leader of the farmers and OBCs. As expected, protests broke out all over the nation and overnight VP Singh made his transition from a hero to

a villain in the eyes of the media and the upper castes. The intense upper caste, middle class and media reactions against reservation resulted in solidarity among the members of the OBC communities which were regarded till then as too heterogeneous to come together electorally. The OBC backlash that followed changed the contours of the Indian polity forever.

The OBC consolidation did not take place in a day but it has a long history behind it. A significant event of the 1930s was the formation of the Bihar Socialist Party in 1934 at Patna in which Narendra Dev was made the President while the iconic socialist leader JP Narayan became the General Secretary. Soon at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress in the same year, an all India Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed under the stewardship of Narendra Dev. CSP remained very much a part of the Congress and with its leftist proclivities, it started advocating for an equitable social order and land reforms. Soon there were skirmishes between the socialists and the more conservative sections of the Congress. It was hardly a homogeneous group comprising the likes of JP Narayan, Narendra Dev, Ashok Mehta, Rammanohar Lohia and Masani. The collective efforts of these leaders culminated in the consolidation of OBCs and their politics. As the socialists championed the cause of workers and peasants and put their weight behind policies like common ownership of national resources and land reforms, it was all but natural that they would have problems with the landlords, princes and the capitalists who constituted a considerable faction within the then Congress. The differences widened and it was hardly surprising that at the Nasik session of the Congress in 1948, the socialists walked out of Congress. The CSP transformed into the Socialist Party after worsening its relations with congress (Jeffrelot, 2018), Karpoori Thakur organized the Socialist Party in almost all the districts of Bihar. He thus played a pivotal role in the assertion of OBCs through his SSP at the cost of Congress (ibid).

Apart from the formation of the Socialist Party, another related event was the simultaneous development of Kisan politics in several parts of rural Bihar under the leadership of Shahajanand Swarwati fought against the Zamindari oppression and occupation of the lands and to consolidate peasants and to address the grievances. The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was established in 1929 to take up the cause of the farmers which later onwards, morphed into the All India Kisan Sabha in 1936 at the Lucknow session of the Congress. CSP under the leadership of Narendra Dev took the struggle of farmers against Zamindaris criticizing the urban and elite

inclination of the congress disassociating itself with middle classes and masses (Jeffrelot, 2018). It was imperative for the Congress to form this Sabha as it was losing touch with the rural pulse of the country on account of being too preoccupied with the urban issues under a predominantly urban leadership.

Several important leaders like Karyanand Sharma, Namboodripad, Lohia and JP Narayan were highly sympathetic towards the Kisan cause. The release of the Kisan Manifesto in 1936 calling for drastic measures like the abolition of Zamindari system, doing away with rural debts and protection of the rights of the actual tillers of land was simply not palatable to the Congress. The Kisan leaders repeatedly came into conflict with the Congress governments in Bihar and the United Provinces over issues related to marginal farmers. Ultimately, the Kisan Sabha severed its ties with the Congress in 1949. It is crystal clear that though the Socialist Party and the Kisan Sabha were originally parts of the Congress, they drifted apart from their parent party over inherent contradictions. The Kisan politics juxtaposed with socialist politics prepared the blueprint of OBC politics in the country, particularly in the northern hinterlands.

The socialists fought the 1952 General elections against the Congress but they were not able to make significant inroads into the electorate. The defeat of the socialists accentuated the internal bickering within the party as some of the leaders were not willing to buy the Lohia-ite logic of shifting the socialist discourse towards caste. Lohia strongly detested the political dominance of the upper caste elite and wanted more and more democratization of political power. Lohia and Kriplani joined hands together to form the Praja Socialist Party in 1952.

After a gap of three years, Lohia formed another Socialist Party. Parties continued to be formed and broken on ideological grounds and personality clashes between the leaders of the socialist movement. The socialists were dismayed at the cult worship of Nehru and were convinced that his lofty ideals of socialism were not in tune with the harsh social ground realities. Though the Congress governments at the Centre and the states had already embarked on land reforms with the Zamindari Abolition Act & other Acts related to Ceiling and Tenancy reforms, the socialists were not satisfied with them. The political will to implement the land reforms was not there because Congress drew sustenance from the upper castes and the landlord lobby.

The western educated upper caste elites and the rural feudal aristocracy were hands-in-glove and hence all attempts towards a meaningful land reforms programme could not reach a logical conclusion. Movements for a voluntary land donation like Bhoodan under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave do happen in which efforts were made to persuade the landed class to provide land to the landless. However, despite all the hindrances and lackluster implementation of land reforms, some degree of partial success was also achieved and it won't be an exaggeration to accept that the first decade of land reforms had certainly brought some changes, however small, in the agrarian relations in the rural hinterlands of the country, including Bihar and UP. Most of the benefits of land reforms were secured by the tenants (middle castes) leaving out the tillers (Dalits & MBCs) whose socioeconomic status did not change much. Whether it was Uttar Pradesh or Bihar, the traditional hold of the landowning upper castes began to decay as the capacity of the upper OBCs like Yadavs and Kurmis increased enhancing their confidence levels to such an extent that they began demanding more and more political rights. The backward caste ideologue Lohia stressed on the caste factor to remove the social inequalities and called for more democratization and even dispersal of power. The socialist strategy of demanding 60 % reservation for the OBCs in education, Administrative jobs and legislature through positive discrimination not only for SCs, STs, women but also for backward castes (Jeffrelot, 2018) further added fuel to the fire and led to the consolidation of the backward castes.

The rejection of the report of the First Backward Classes Commission headed by Kelkar dismayed the socialists who scoffed at Congress attempts to preserve the upper caste domination of Indian polity. Lohia was convinced that Nehru was not interested in addressing the caste factor which was responsible for the perpetuation of the vicious cycle of poverty and illiteracy. Nehru knew that unleashing the caste conundrum would pose problems for the nascent Indian democracy and jeopardize the supremacy of western educated upper caste elites in policymaking.

The history of OBC mobilization in the northern part of the country can be attributed to the pioneering efforts of Lohia, Charan Singh, Devi Lal and Karpoori Thakur who brought together the backwards and the farming communities. The towering Kisan leader Charan Singh was originally a leader of the Congress but in the wake of his disagreement with the socialist and collectivist land policies of Nehru, he broke away from his parent party. For him, ownership of

the land was very important for the farmer in remaining a cultivator. Though he was a Jat, he considered himself to be a leader of the farmers and backwards and strongly criticized the domination of the bureaucracy, academics and politics by the upper castes. The Bhartiya Kranti Dal (BKD) was founded by him in the late sixties. Though he claimed to be spearheading the cause of the backward castes, the fact was that his party basically catered to the concerns of those castes in rural areas that had been cultivators and herders for decades and had enjoyed a good standing in the traditional caste system.

Lohia and Charan Singh began to consolidate the forces of social justice, the deprived, the farmers and the workers so as to realize their ostensible dreams of a social order based on social equity and justice through their real intentions were the capture of power. It is another matter that in course of time, for sheer political reasons, the political order they envisaged turned into caste order. While talking about social justice, both the leaders were pitting the backwards against the forwards. The time was becoming ripe for a confrontation between the OBC leaders & the upper caste leaders for control over power “A decade after the independence of India, Bihar was also witnessing changes in the political sphere. In a phenomenon of contestation arising from lower-caste mobilisation, political leaders of disadvantaged lower castes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) began to demand more power (Frankel & Rao, 1989 cited in Nandan & Santhosh, 2019). Thus, from 1968 to 1971, leaders such as Satish Prasad Sinha, B.P. Mandal, Bhola Paswan Shastri and Daroga Rai from OBCs and Scheduled Castes (SCs) emerged as Chief Ministers of Bihar”. Further, it is argued that the Land distribution policy had given a new impetus to OBC mobilization and new political empowerment had been gained by the lower castes (ibid, 6).

The year 1967 proved to be a watershed in the direction of the polity and the empowerment of the backward castes. The growing assertion and consciousness among the leaders from downtrodden castes had culminated in the defeat of Congress. The Lohia strategy of consolidation of the entire opposition including socialists against the Congress produced rich dividends as for the first time since independence, 9 non-Congress governments were formed in the states. The Samyukt Socialist Party (SSP) of Lohia had started the horizontal mobilization of middle and lower castes by appealing to their identity and making them aware of their political rights. “The SSP filed a large number of MLA candidates from OBCs and non-elites and had won a fair no. of seats in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.” (Jeffrelot, 2018). “The elections of 1968-89

have seen the presence of small castes among SCs and middle peasant castes.” (Jeffrelot & Kumar, 2009).

The growing presence of backward castes among the legislatures at the cost of upper castes provided dividends for Backward Castes, now they started to exert more pressure to yield any decisions in favour of them. The arrival of Charan Singh, a Jat, on the political spectrum marked the rise of OBCs and the growing influence of OBCs is understood. Charan Singh became the chief minister of UP with the support of Lohia and Raj Narayan in 1967 and B.P. Mandal, an OBC, was made Chief Minister of Bihar by the Congress. Bihar also witnessed tumultuous political developments paving the way for Mahamaya Prasad Sinha to be sworn in as the CM of Bihar with the backing of the entire opposition including the communists, the Jana Sangh and the SSP, collectively known as the Samyukt Vidhayak Dal.

The powerful socialist OBC leader Karpoori Thakur could not become the CM due to upper caste hostility and had to remain content with the post of deputy CM. However, in 1970, he became the CM of Bihar. The period from 1967 to the emergency was a period of serious political turmoil as the struggle for power between the upper castes and the backwards got even worse. The extension of community development programmes, cooperative societies and the onset of the Green Revolution led to huge public investment in agriculture. Subsidies to boost agricultural production through high yielding variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, cheap irrigation and electricity facilities added to the prosperity of farming communities, particularly those belonging to the upper OBC and intermediate castes like Kurmis, Lodhs, Gujjars, Yadavs and Jats. In the early seventies, the intermediate castes were still rising; they acquired the attributes of a class, thanks to the Green Revolution. During 1970s, 27.65% who owned more than 10 acres of land were from middle caste farmers. The assertion of middle class farmers among the preponderance of Jats is attributed to the Kisan Politics of Charan Singh. This enabled Charan Singh to appoint 43% of ministers and secretaries from intermediary, lower and untouchable castes (Jeffrelot, 2018). Even within the Congress, power struggle commenced between the forward castes and the backwards. The period witnessed the ascendancy of backward caste leaders like Karpoori Thakur, DB Rai, Jagdeo Prasad, BP Shastri etc in Bihar while UP saw Charan Singh, Ram Naresh Yadav and others striding across the political spectrum. It was also marked by political

uncertainty as Bihar failed to have a durable CM. The state went through an extended period of political crisis as CMs changed in quick successions.

The Jayaprakash Narayan movement in 1974, better known as the Peoples' movement, brought together the socialists, the communists and the Jana Sangh on a common platform to take on the might of the Congress. The JP movement gave a fillip to the OBC aspirations though, from an ideological point of view, it did not encapsulate the movement. The first non-Congress government at the centre was formed in 1977 with Moraji Desai as the PM, and Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram as the deputy PMs. It is interesting to note that the said leaders had begun their political careers within the Congress party.

Dabroga Prasad Rai was made Chief Minister by the Congress and appointed Mungeri Lal Commission to study the Socio-Economic and educational aspects of OBCs (Jeffrelot, 2018). Later, Karpoori Thakur became the CM of Bihar and his appointment and acceptance of the report advocating reservation for the backwards in government jobs created a political storm in the state. He removed English from the school curriculum as he felt that English was the main factor responsible for the deprivation and the exclusion of the backwards from key bureaucratic and academic positions. His decision to create a new category of MBCs to give them political identity led to a further deepening of social democracy. As far as the Centre was concerned, the backward lobby of the ruling coalition created pressure on PM Desai to constitute the Second Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of BP Mandal, former CM of Bihar. The situation in Bihar remained fluid as the Dalit leader Ram Sunder Das was propped up by the upper castes to dethrone the Karpoori Thakur government from power.

The Janata Party government at the Centre also collapsed due to the inherent contradictions and vaunted ambitions of its leaders, between Upper and backward castes. In the ensuing elections that followed, the Congress government under Indira Gandhi made a strong comeback and formed the government at the Centre. In Bihar, Karpoori Thakur and his Lok Dal were completely vanquished, annoyed at the growing assertiveness of the socialist cum backward leaders in the Hindi belt of UP and Bihar, the Congress went back to its ploy of promoting the upper caste leadership as both the states saw a string of upper caste leaders as CMs from 1980 onwards till 1989-90 (Jeffrelot & Kumar, 2009). Congress adopted an ostrich-like approach to

the OBC aspirations and the Mandal Commission report that had identified more than 3500 castes under OBC list advocating 27 per cent jobs for them in public employment, kept on gathering dust for the next 10 years. For a while, it seemed that the hard-earned recognition and power of OBCs was on the wane with the collapse of the Janata Party, but then, who knew that the genie was out of the bottle?

The Mandal commission which was appointed to recommend the status of OBCs had been submitted its report and the VP Singh Government sought to implement its recommendations providing 27% of reservations to OBCs. The OBC empowerment had begun, the Mandal process was underway and the numerically preponderant OBCs were averse to being pushed over. The Mandal recommendations had led to intense debates in public forums and had led to increases in OBC consciousness. The Congress strategy of dilly-dallying with the political aspirations of the OBCs provided space to the caste parties to grow. It allowed leaders like Lalu, Mulayam, Sharad and Mayawati to consolidate their hold over their constituencies by directly appealing to their caste identities. Leaders became like tribal chieftains, only responsible for their caste tribes and having no qualms about the blatant unabashed use of caste card to secure their goals. Till the early years after independence to the mid-eighties, divide among political parties was mainly ideological. Charan Singh promoted OBC politics but he drew political strength as the leader of the farmers. Caste was, no doubt, a factor but the form of its manifestation was disguised and more subtle and then the inevitable happened.

Mandal Report saw the light of the day. Overnight, the political landscape of the nation changed. The upper castes, the media and the intellectuals were shocked. The upper caste dominated mainstream political parties were in a daze but not the so far in slumber mode, OBC communities. The likes of Lalu, Mulayam, Sharad and Nitish walked tall on the streets of the Hindi heartland. Both the states of Bihar and UP have been theatres of Mandal politics or say OBC politics. The fact that really catches our attention is that while OBC political leadership has had an uninterrupted supremacy over Dalits in Bihar for the past more than 25 years, it's not so much smooth sailing for the OBCs in the neighboring state of UP. The Samajwadi Party has always found BSP, a Dalit party to be a hard nut to crack. On the other hand, RJD or JDU never faced any formidable opposition from the Dalit leadership.

5.4. Various Commissions on Backward Classes in India

Kaka Kalelkar Commission, 1955

The president of India had appointed a commission in consensus with Article 340 (1) of the Indian constitution as Kaka Saheb Kalekar as its chairman in 1953.

The Commission looked in to several other aspects including:

The criterias to consider, if any sections of the society were backward socially and educationally, and to apply such considerations in India to list out such communities as socially and educationally backward. To probe in to the difficulties faced and factors for their underdevelopment and suggest remedies and steps to uplift their situation.

Kaka Kalekar submitted its report in 1955 and reported that there are other sections of people who are socially and educationally backward besides the SC and ST communities. Such that, the commission defined and understood the term as “socially and educationally backward classes as relating primarily to social hierarchy based on Caste and said that such an interpretation is not only correct but inevitable and no other interpretation is possible” (Basu D. D., 2002: 521).

The following criteria was formulated by the Kaka Kalekar commission to identify the socially and educationally backward communities, (1) Belonging to the lowest rungs of the Caste-Hindu social hierarchy (2) The major section of the community being unable to access to literacy and educational advancement (3) Under representation or no representation in the public services (4) Under representation in the industry, trade and commerce sectors.

The commission enlisted 2399 castes as backward by applying the criterion above for the whole nation in which classified as the ‘most backward’ are 837. Enlisting the socially and educationally sections, the commission has further made these recommendations, (1) Undertaking the population census enumeration caste wise (1961), (2) Belonging to the lowest rungs of the Caste-Hindu social hierarchy, (3) Enlisting all women in to the ‘Backward Class, (4) Providing 70% reservations in all education institutions to qualified students including technical and professional courses for the backward sections, (5) Providing reservation in the public sector and local bodies for the OBCs in the order: Class I: 25%, Class II: 33.3% Class, III & IV: 40%.

The commission is the first commission appointed to look in to the other backward classes, the factors for their backwardness and steps to be taken for their upliftment. However, the commission has several shortcomings in submitting an unanimous report. Minutes of dissent were recorded by five of its members who opposed the criterion of caste to be considered to mark their backwardness and the reservations provided to them based on caste. Kaka Kalekar himself opposed to the acceptance of caste basis to provide reservations for them. The report of the Kaka Kalekar commission on backwardness was produced in the parliament by the Union Government. According to the commission "It cannot be denied that the caste system is the greatest hindrance in the way of our progress towards an egalitarian society, and the recognition of the specified castes as backward may serve to maintain and even perpetuate the existing distinctions on the basis of caste. In view of the short comings in the report the Union Government considered it necessary that some positive and workable criteria should be devised for the specification of the socially and educationally Backward Classes, and to undertake further investigations so that deficiencies that have been noticed in the findings of the Commission are made good".

Ultimately, the Union government took a decision that the enlisting of the other backward communities to be withdrawn and the providing of reservations other than the SC and ST communities be drawn up in the public sector. Accordingly, the union governments Home affairs ministry addressed the state governments on August 14th, 1961 stating, "while the State Governments have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of the Government of India it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by caste", Regarding the preparation of lists of Backward Classes it was observed: "Even if the Central Government were to specify under Article 338 (3) certain groups of people as belonging to other Backward Classes , it will be still open to every State Government to draw up its own lists for the purposes of Articles 15 and 16. As therefore, the State Governments may adhere to their lists, any all-India list drawn up by the Central Government would have no practical utility".

Mandal Commission, 1980

The Janata Party government in the year 1979 had appointed the Mandal commission in consensus with article 340 (Appointment of a commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes in India every 10 years) under the leadership of the then PM Morarji Desai to "identify the socially or educationally backward." It was led by the member of the parliament in

their government, B.P.Mandal to examine in to the aspects of reservation policy in the academic seats and employment opportunities to remedy the factors causing backwardness in these communities and used 11 Socio-Economic and educational markers to establish backwardness. (Mandal Commission Report, Vol I, Chapter XIII, Recommendations, 1980: 23).

In 1980, following the recommendations of this commission, the downtrodden sections of the society viz., the Scheduled castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and the Other Backward Classes (OBC) were given exclusive access through reservation to seats in to the educational institutions and employment opportunities and that was enhanced from 27% to 50%. The Indian constitution had empowered its citizens, especially the downtrodden, to assert themselves politically through the right to vote. (Mandal Commission Report, Vol I, Chapter XIII, Recommendations, 1980: 23).

The Mandal commission to examine the aspects of determining who falls under the OBC category and not and to look in to the aspects of reservation policy in the academic seats and employment opportunities had used 11 Socio-Economic and educational markers to establish backwardness in other words determining the criteria to identify OBCs.

Committees Recommendations

The committee submitted its report on December 1980 and the recommendations are as follows. “It may appear the upliftment of Other Backward Classes is part of the larger national problem of the removal of mass poverty. This is only partially correct. The deprivation of OBCs is a very special case of the larger national issue: here the basic question is that of social and educational backwardness and poverty is only a direct consequence of these two crippling caste-based handicaps. As these handicaps are embedded in our social structure, their removal will require far reaching structural changes. No less important will be changes in the perception of the problems of OBCs by the ruling classes of the country” (Mandal Commission Report, Vol I, Chapter XIII: 57–60).

The Mandal commission’s recommendations announced by the V P Singhs government attracted the nation’s attention. It had been always in the light through the national media and a critical attention is drawn towards it criticizing gaps and flaws in the indicators, the commission adopted to determine the backwardness. The reviewers had opined the basis of any reservation is not

given on the basis of the class but on the caste and its underrepresented status according to the constitution. The Kaka Kalekar and the Mandal commission had evoked Article 340 of the Indian constitution twice in 1955 and 1980 but not much has been done to adopt policy measures to uplift the downtrodden even after 40 years after independence.

The reasons to this are multifold and complex. The important question that was asked is whether the reservations can be extended to communities based on the class, its backwardness or on the basis of caste guaranteed by the constitution. The Kaka Kalekars commissions report was put aside in the Nehru era and no action had been taken and the Mandal commission was appointed after 30 years from then. During this time, most of the states had constituted their individual commissions to identify backward classes. For instance, “Agisam Veerappa Commission Report of 1977 (Andhra Pradesh), Muralidhar Rao Commission Report of 1982 (Andhra Pradesh), Venkataswamy Commission Report of 1986 (Karnataka), Sathanathan Commission Report of 1969 (Tamil Nadu), Kumar Pillai Commission Report of 1964 (Kerala), Anantharaman Commission Report of 1970 (Andhra Pradesh), Camodaran Commission Report of 1967 (Kerala), Havanur Commission Report of 1972 (Karnataka), J.N. Wazir Commission Report of 1969 (Jammu & Kashmir), Chedi Lal Sethi Commission Report of 1977 (Uttar Pradesh), B.D. Dsshmukh Commission Report of 1964, (Maharashtra), Brish Bhan Committee Report of 1966 (Punjab), Mungeri Lal Commission Report of 1976 (Bihar), Gajendragadkar Commission Report of 1968 (Jammu & Kashmir), .R. Bakshi Commission Report of 1976 (Gujarat) and to the recent Chinnappa Reddy Commission Report of 1990 (Karnataka)”.

To recognize the backward sections recommended by the individual commissions of the state governments were put forward to the supreme courts. To take a decision on the same by the Supreme Court is not at all easy and is complicated as it too had inhibitions as to how to go forward as the constitution doesn't guarantee reservations on the class status though the larger opinion is that class too can be made eligible for provisions in special cases. The larger opinion still remained that the reservations can be implemented to these sections until the reservation quota wouldn't be more than fifty percent. “The Mandal Commission recognizes the policy of reservations as the modest initial step. In fact, it goes so far as to describe reservations in Job as mere palliatives”.

5.5. Different Commissions in Andhra Pradesh

K.N. Anantharaman Commission, 1970

K. N. Anantaraman headed this commission and is named after him which on June 1970 presented its report on the other backward communities (OBC) that identified four different categories in it. The commission's recommendations are in the academic context where it recommended reservation for these classes in the colleges such as private and professional and also employment in public sectors.(II Backward Class Commission, Vol.1, 1980: 6).

The government of the Andhra Pradesh action in compliance to these recommendations in the academic and employment context are, "The Backward Classes Commission of 1970 in Chapter-XII, of its Report made recommendations for reservation of posts, in favour of Backward Classes. The quantum of reservation made by the Commission was 30 per cent and the Government adopted a reduced percentage of 25 per cent while issuing G. O.Ms.No.1793, Education, dated 25rd September, 1970. This commission recommended age relaxation of 5 years for Backward Classes to enter Government Service. Other recommendations were: (a) Backward Class candidates who secure employment through selection on merit should not be counted against the reserved quota of recruitment. (b) The rule of reservation is applicable only to direct recruitment. These recommendations were accepted by the Government".

In 1970, the Andhra Pradesh Government had taken in to account the recommendations of the commission and with respect to education to reserve seats for the backward classes in educational institutions and issued a G.O. (G.O.Ms.No.1793, Education) on 23rd September, 1793. It also provided the guidelines that a candidate who secured a seat in the open category shall not be counted in the reserved quota provided to them. Initially, the government specified that the reservation doesn't cover the post graduate professional courses, later it was adopted to cover the PG professional courses as well by a G.O. (C.Ms.No.996, Social Welfare, 11th November, 1975.)

Muralidhar Rao Commission, 1982

A single member commission was appointed by the government of Andhra Pradesh in 1982 named Muralidhar Rao commission which is named after him. The main purpose of this commission is to

(1) “Review the recommendations made by the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Commission 1970 and the implementation thereof for the purpose of determining the need to continue the existing special provision in their favour under Art.15(4) and Art. 16 (4) of the Constitution of India and to review the existing list of Backward Classes in the light of social and education progress achieved by these classes.” (2) To gain insights in to the backwardness of the minority communities to categorize them under the backward classes.

The Muralidhar Rao Commission recommendations are as follows:

- (1). A total of nine Communities to be added to the Backward Classes list,
- (2) The quota of reservation allotted in the academics and employment opportunities to be increased from 25% to 44% and a subcategorization among different classes with the backward classes as 10% to A, 16% to B, 8% to C, 8% to D and 2% to E be implemented respectively.
- (3) The above recommendations have to be continued till the tenure of 25 years and any adaptations or modifications to it can be done only after undertaking a comprehensive review. (Muralidhar Rao commission report, 1982:10).

The Andhra Pradesh government had passed and implemented most of the recommendations of the Muralidhar commission to increase the reservation to the OBCs from 25% to 44%, for the SC's, from 14% to 15% and an increase of 4% to 6% to the STs which attracted protests across the Andhra Pradesh state against the enhancement of the reservation to these sections. The high court of Andhra Pradesh had struck down the enhancement of reservations of the OBCs but retained the enhancement of reservations to the scheduled castes and schedule tribes in the Andhra Pradesh state Vs Narayana Rao verdict. (Narayana Rao Vs State of Andhra Pradesh, A.I.R., 1987: 53)

5.6. Upward mobility of OBC's in in A.P

Prior to the formation of AP, the social reform movement was robust in coastal Andhra, however

it failed to alter the Socio-Economic and political structure, though Brahmins in all probability undercut their position within the traditional caste hierarchy. The non-brahmin movement in AP likewise as mobilizations by the Justice Party mostly helped the attainment of upward social mobility, education and jobs for better off non-brahmin communities such as Reddys and Kammas and doubtless did not percolate down (Ramaswamy, U, 1978: 290-300).

Reddys, Kammas, Rajus, and Brahmins among the upper caste groups have consolidated their economic and political power over the evolution of the state. Brahmins have preponderantly become professionals in urban areas whereas the others are into either professional activities or activities that involve capitalist accumulation in rural and urban areas. Capitalist class formation in AP has been mostly a delta and Rayalaseema-based upper caste phenomenon: Kammas (who are terribly extremely diversified) from Krishna delta, Rajus (IT, cement, fertilisers) from Godavari delta and Reddys (construction, hotels and contracts) from Penna delta and Rayalaseema, and Vysyas (for example, the GMR group, Bommidala and Majetiin Tobacco and Construction) from Guntur and Srikakulum (Damodaran, H, 2008: 13) This development has taken a large form since the Nineteen Eighties. Within the Telangana region, OBCs have acquired land in villages (mainly attributable to the Telangana armed struggle and also the Maoist movement), at the side of the continued possession to a precise extent by Reddys and Velamas, whereas within the other regions, the “upper” castes have preserved landownership.

The creation of Mandal administrative structures under the TDP rule led to the elite exodus from rural Telangana that intern created a powerful OBC base for TDP in the Telangana rural areas. This group was able to improve agricultural growth considerably, with the green revolution and tube well irrigation up to late Nineteen Nineties. (Vakulabharanam, V, 2004: 46). The second factor restructuring of Mandal administration, abolition of the village accountant (referred to as *karanam* or *patwari*) system dominated by the upper-caste communities led to a bigger role for elected officers at the village level. The OBCs perceived these changes as providing them with avenues for upward mobility. This attracted them to the TDP, however additionally, given their giant share within the population of Telangana, provided the sense that a unified AP could accommodate individuals from all the three regions. Urban elites from Telangana failed to keep up with the elites from other regions in terms of accumulation (Damodaran, H, 2008: 13), Political parties have thrived on vertical-caste alliances. The Congress had the broadest base till

1980 about, however, within the Eighties; the OBCs gravitated towards the TDP in massive numbers. Autonomous OBC/OBC-Dalit alliances have merely not emerged in AP in contrast to within the north (e.g., Bahujan Samaj Party) or in Tamil Nadu within the south (Vamsi and Sripad Motiram, 2014: 124). The OBC and Dalit caste groups have been co-opted into elite formations primarily through a “creamy-layer” kind of absorption. Overall, Socio-Economic change of an egalitarian nature has been countered, though the consciousness to necessitate such a change exists these days. This is often the crisis in caste terms within the sense that whereas greater equality has been achieved in terms of representations of caste within the public sphere, economic and political power has been concentrated in the hands of the upper castes and also a creamy layer of the OBCs and Dalits.

5.7. Impact of Green Revolution and Land distribution in Andhra Pradesh

With the advent of the green revolution technologies in India in the late nineteen sixties, it has brought about revolutionary changes and resolved the issues caused by droughts and agricultural stagnation and in the coastal Andhra, the delta parts were immensely benefited, further benefitting the other regions in time. Consequently, the production rate of agriculture grew and with equally increased rural inequality. So, to balance these contrasting influences, the then PM, Indira Gandhi and her government adapted to populist policies. As a result, most of the agricultural working class and peasants have supported the congress party. (Balagopal, K. 1985: 496-503).

The communities belonging to the Kamma, Reddy and Kapu communities have emerged as a dominant land holding peasant communities’ post-independence all over India according to the various surveys conducted in the villages. A survey conducted in the villages of Adilabad District (1960-61 to 1990-91) revealed that the Kapus were the land owning communities in comparison with the other communities. Their land grew from 12.220 acres to 22.22 acres in the duration of the study and the land owned by the SCs are very meagre that declined further to nothing and became entirely landless limiting themselves to just agricultural laborers. A study conducted in Guntur District (1960-61 to 1966-67) reported that there was a shift of land gain of about of 65% by the cultivating communities of Kammas thus emerging to be dominant from the Bramhins and Vaishyas, the non-cultivating communities. Dalits remained as agricultural laborers without land

during the period of the study. An average percent of 71.3% of land is owned and being cultivated by the 65.5% of the non-Dalit communities where as 32.2% Dalits operated only an average land of 27% and a major proportion of the Dalits (75%) were landless agricultural laborers as reported by the survey. (Nageswara Rao,B. 1998: 42).

A village survey conducted in the Prakasam district (1989-90 to 1998-99) reported that there has been a land shift from the non-cultivating Komati (Vaishya) community to the cultivating communities of Kamma, Yadava and Chakali caste and 56.57% of dominant castes held 85.70% of the total land and 17% of the OBC communities held 14.29% of the land. On the other hand, the 26% Dalits were landless agricultural laborers who don't have claim to even a cent of land. (Krishna Rao, E, 2004: 8). Another survey from the Agharam (Krishna District) reported that 30% Dalits held 12% of the land in which 76% of them were landless agricultural laborers. (Nancharaiah, G. 1987:26). In another survey conducted in the Chittoor district reported that 23% of the Dalits didn't held to any land and were landless agricultural laborers. (Rajashekar,D. 1988: 39). Many studies have explored the existing facts in Land Distribution pattern to understand the subsequent studies the following review of literature indicates the trends and issues.

Post-Green Revolution and Emergence of Shudra Peasant castes in AP

The scholarly and activist attention to the question of caste in the last several decades has been largely on the Dalit castes. It is no exaggeration that the Dalit question has been the most daunting issue in the post-colonial period. The atrocities on the Dalits in different parts of India which is in a significant sense, a reflection of the breakdown of caste-feudal social relations due to the challenges from the lower castes and the efforts of the dominant landed castes to continue to persist with caste domination. Targeting the vulnerable Dalits is meant to teach a lesson not only to the Dalits but also to any other castes who dare think of challenging the social and economic dominance of the landed shudra castes.

To appreciate the emergent scenario, it would be instructive to note a significant shift in the political economy of India in the post-Green revolution and post-Emergency period. Two significant changes brought about by the Green revolution deserve to be noted. One is the rise of the peasant castes in terms of wealth due to the structural changes brought by the Green revolution technology and the easy access to the HYVs, fertilizers, irrigation, and to electricity

and modern machinery facilitated by the state through its subsidy regime. Second is the claim of these neo-rich shudra peasant castes to power at the state level. If the land reforms initiated by the Indian state in the early decades of independence in the form of abolition of zamindari and Jagirdari systems and implementation of tenancy and land reforms were instrumental in bringing about certain degree of evenness in the land ownership at the top, then the Green revolution provided the avenues for the modernization of the economic base of this class. Against this process, we need to appreciate the claim for political power at the state level and shifts in the party system brought about by this caste-class as the core social base. The rise of regional parties that challenged the dominance of the Congress in different state theatres is the evidence of the maturing of the Shudra peasant castes in the domain of politics (Srinivasulu.K. 2002).

This forms the context for the phenomenal violence on the Dalits. Dalits constituting the majority of the agrarian labour have also seen the impact of the above economic and political developments. The dialectic of development is such that however unwilling the dominant castes may be the benefits of the social and economic process cannot be monopolized by them exclusively. The impact of the developmental process on different sections of social spectrum could be seen albeit in an uneven and sometimes in a positive manner. It could be partly by design but mostly by default and as a spill-over of a larger process. If the expansion of education in India in the early decades of Independence was largely because of the state action, then the exposure to the process of modernization, urbanization, and familiarity with the ideas of equality, freedom and justice has become a reality even in the rural society. This obviously ignited the possibility of an alternative social arrangement which was hitherto unconceivable (ibid).

The material changes brought about by the modernization of the rural economy and its increasing linkages with the larger urban market economy and the conditions for the ideological transformation created by the institutional and formal and informal ideological processes forms the context for the imagination of the lower castes to aspire for a change that provides for liberty, equality and justice.

In other words, it is the life of contradictions that Dr. Ambedkar talked about in his last address to the constituent assembly which could be witnessed playing itself out. In a significant sense the struggles of the lower strata are in fact could be read as demands on the state to put it into practice promises made in the constitution. These legal constitutional struggles if allowed would do

significant structural damage to the dominant caste interests. Given the nature of the issues involved the state has not only become a party to but itself become the arena of conflicts.

The assertions of the lower castes and especially of the Dalits have become unpalatable for the predictable impact of these assertions on the very structure of dominance and power. This collective community assertion quite often is responded to by the dominant castes with organized collective violence on the Dalits as a community and often singularly on a specific Dalit caste. The point to be noted is that the violence on the 'erring' Dalits which was individual one earlier, in the post-Emergency period it has increasingly assumed collective nature reflecting the change in the nature of resistance and therefore of domination. If the dominance has always been caste based and now assumed a political and regime character, then the resistance which was confined to some heroic individuals now has increasingly assumed collective nature. This dynamic has opened up the possibilities with violent propensities with the state being actively drawn into the conflict.

The increasing occurrence of violence on the Dalits has understandably drawn the scholarly and activist attention to the Dalit question. What is lost sight of or camouflaged is the everydayness of dominance and resistance. Caste dominance and violence is not just an event but is a process and is not confined to the Dalits alone but encompasses the other Shudra castes and therefore has everydayness. The banishment and frequent attacks on Chakalis, Mangalis, for instance, is evidence of the larger canvass of caste oppression and discrimination (K. Srinivasulu, 2002)

Thus seen, caste assumes much larger picture that has the Dalit question at its core but encompasses much larger sections of society subjected to dominance and violence of course in varying degrees. The dominant castes know this complex reality as they have to deal with this in social and political electoral domains. But the subalterns lag behind in understanding this. It is also as Dr Ambedkar cautioned us due to the fact that caste is pre-eminently division of the laboring subaltern communities. The ruling castes have historically and contemporaneously shown alertness to this reality by dividing the subaltern on the very caste basis or even through policies and practical measures using their differences and contradictions. The question thus facing the subaltern castes is how to transform caste as the basis of unity against dominance and oppression. This subaltern caste unity is possible and could be attempted on the basis of: i) that there are similarities and commonalties between different subaltern castes; ii) that there are also

differences among them. It is necessary to recognize them, deliberate upon and address them to find the concrete basis on which we can build solidarity and alliances (ibid).

Table 5.7.1. List of incidents committed against Dalits by OBCs in different states in India

Incident	State	Date of Occurance	Nature of Incident
Kuppili	Andhra Pradesh	1981	Dalit person was standing in cooperative society elections the Turpu Kapu caste people have attacked the Dalits and socially boycotted them. Dalits have taken shelter in other villager fearing for their lives.
Korasavada	Andhra Pradesh	1987	Korasavada of Pathapatnam attacks on Dalits led by Padmashali caste people for the crime of casting their votes to the Congress party, the communities which were with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) have indulged in the attack on Dalit settlement and injured them gravely.
Piridi	Andhra Pradesh	1990	In Piridi of Bobbili mandal, the Koppula Velama caste men have attacked a Dalit man for attending late to beat the dappus for procession of village goddess festival. The Dalits were late to the procession as they were asked to clear the carcass of the animal. The Dalits questioned the highhanded behaviour of Kuppula Velamas has invited an attack on the Dalit colony. Indiscriminate attack on men, women was followed beside rampage of properties and houses.
Tholapi	Andhra Pradesh	25/07/2001	During the Janmabhumi programme in Tholapi village, the Dalits have complained about untouchability to the officials who have visited the village as part of the same programme. Though the status of the complaint was unknown, the Kalingas have mobilised other castes on learning the complaint, they have resorted an indiscriminate attack and burnt down the houses,huts. When Dalits fled the scene

			fearing for their lives they were chased and attacked, in the same attack injured Dalit man Ramaiah Chinthala had succumbed.
Kalvakolu	Andhra Pradesh	26/07/2001	Namala Balaswamy was thrown in to haystack and burnt alive by the BC caste people in the village of Mahabubnagar, for entering in to the temple.
Appajipalle	Andhra Pradesh	22/09/ 2001	A Dalit man named Galanna was killed by Boya caste people in the village of Mahabubnagar for consolidating Dalits against TDP.
Tholapi	Andhra Pradesh	16/07/ 2002	Dalit colony was attacked alleging the land issue, by the Kalinga caste people for more than 12 hours. In the attack almost 40 families of Dalits including men, women was followed beside rampage of properties and houses.
Pyapili	Andhra Pradesh	2/08/ 2003	The Dalits were attacked and killed by the Boya caste people along with Yadavas, Washermen in the Pyapili village. The atrocity was response of Dalits taking procession of Lord Ganesh through the village of the upper castes.
Brundavanam	Andhra Pradesh	2005	In Brundavanam of Santhabommali, in local body elections/MPTC elections as Dalits were belived to be the supporters of the Congress candidate, Turpu Kapus, Yadavs and Kalingas who were predominantly with the TDP have attacked the Dalits in Brundavanam village while the Kashipur villagers were not allowed the Dalits to vote in the elections.
Khairlanji	Maharashtra	29/09/ 2006	4 members of the family were killed by Kumbi Maratha caste Landlords. Surekha (40 years) and her daughter Priyanka (17 years) have been stripped, paraded naked, beaten, raped repeatedly and murdered by them by consolidating the whole village against them. Roshan (21) and Sudhir (19) were the sons of Surekha who were atrociously beaten to death before the villagers put him to death as they attempted to

			protect their mother and sister
Bussapur	Telangana	29/10/ 2017	Dalit Sarpanch family was socially boycotted from the village by the Guridi Kapu Sangamin Nizamabad district. Guridi Kapu Sangam called a meeting and imposed a social boycott against the family, warning that any family who talks to us or engages with the family will be fined Rs 5,000. While this order was specifically against only one family. It all started in October 2017, when Mamatha and her husband Srinivas went to renew land records, as per government orders. In the village, there are 11 acres of land used by the Dalits for grazing, that Srinivas says was bought by his grandfather several decades ago. However, when the time came for renewal, the Guridi Kapu Sangham allegedly put pressure on the Dalits to give the land to them.
Bhavkhedi	Madya Pradesh	27/09/ 2009	Two Dalit youth were murdered by the Yadav (OBC) community for the reason of their open defecation close to their house in the Bhavkhedi village, Shivpuri district
Pathapally	Telangana	4/05/2015	Dalits were attacked by Boya caste people and 45 Dalit families were socially boycotted from the village for entering in to the Temple. The village has been witnessing caste-based tensions for the last several years over the land dispute. Boya caste people wanted drag the lands of the Dalits. The Dalits resisited it and wanted to construct the houses in the said land.
Manthani Madukar	Telangana	13/03/ 2017	A Dalit man named Manthani Madhukar was brutally killed by the people belongs to Munnur Kapu caste. Woman belomngs to Kapu fell in love with madhukar Both were planning to get married after taking permission from her parents but they were fiercely against it. Her family was totally against the marriage as Madhukar belongs to Dalit community
Kandikatkuru	Telangana	12/06/ 2018	Father and son belongs to Dalit community were brutally hacked to death by men from the Mudiraj caste in a land dispute. The land originally belonged to the

			victims, but Mudiraj caste people with the influence they have transferred the lands on their name.
Aravalli	Gujarath	20/04/2019	The wedding procession of a Dalit man was attacked by Thakors of the OBC community, who 'objected' to the groom riding a horse, in Aravalli district.
Banaskantha	Gujarath	17/02/ 2020	Dalit bridegroom is an Army Jawan was attacked and disrupted the wedding procession, which is considered an upper caste privilege by the Thakor Kali community
Villupuram	Tamilnadu	15/02/ 2020	In a mob lynching a 24-year-old Dalit man was killed by Vanniyar caste people when he was defecating on the roadside
Jannaram	Telangana	17/05/2020	A Dalit man belongs to Dalit community was brutally attacked by Goud caste people and forced to drink urine for allegedly being in a relationship with a woman belongs to Goud community.
Ramojipet	Telangana	26/10/ 2020	The Ramojipet village has been witnessing caste-based tensions for the last five years over the installation of a statue of Dr BR Ambedkar. Dalit youth had laid the foundation stone for erecting the statue. However, the Village Sarpanch, who belongs to Mudhiraj caste, and several other dominant caste persons had opposed it saying the statue cannot be erected in the middle of the village. The men and women of belonging to the Mudiraj caste brutally attacked the Dalit colony located in Ramojipet of Illantakunta mandal. Like any other community in the village, people from the Dalit community also arranged for a disc jockey (DJ) and set up music systems on Sunday night for Dasara celebrations. However, the Sarpanch, who is from a dominant caste, and members of other dominant castes objected to it, saying it was causing them disturbance. The group also attacked the Upa-Sarpanch (Deputy Sarpanch) belongs to Dalit community. Many Dalits severely injured in the attack.

Source: Data collected from books, articles and different newspapers

5.8. The Conflict between OBCs and SCs

In Varna-Caste system, Shudras which lies in the lower rank stays close to the Savarnas in village and work as production forces and servants. One needs to understand three things main things to contradictions between Shudras and Atishudras for example 1. Savarna -Avarna differences 2. Village -Colony difference untouchability. In caste system Shudra castes are in lower rank while being in the Savarna segment while Ati Shudra caste are in Avarna segment. Not just being close to Savarnas but also because of living in close range of upper caste despite differences results in Upper caste cultural influence directly or indirectly (Chandraiah.G, 2016). For that reason Shudra castes gets brahminised and thrives to preserve the status quo. There are cultural differences between upper castes and Shudras, but there is no collective untouchability within BC castes, so villages' upper castes and Shudras will be culturally united against untouchables who are outside the village. All most all the attacks on Dalit farmers by BCs are the caste ideology that perpetuates. Either BCs will absorb /co-opt the hindu identity or village's upper caste people will mould them towards collapsing themselves into Hindu identity. At the same time we see untouchable castes such as Mala and Madiga which face humiliations and violence on daily basis will convert to other religions to surpass the obstacles. Upper castes are convincing the BC (Shudra) castes who are eager to appropriate Hindu identity to believe that it is their responsibility to save the Hindu religion and instigating them to attack on untouchables, with this there is huge contradiction is being created between Shudras and Dalits. By doing this upper caste landlords hold power on the Village.As this continuous process, we will see very less or no opposition towards village and social boycott of Dalits from BC castes in whichever level it lies in the upper caste/Savarna segment, which means when it comes to matters of social norms of untouchables who live outside the village, they all have same opinion. It doesn't mean that all the castes which are in Savarna segment are equal but the residents of village will have set of social conduct. In Shudra castes, BC minority castes and BC nomads which face ostracisation. Upper caste Hindutva forces not just digest Shudra identity but also constitutional BC identity formation because Shudra castes which are in Savarna segment live in village and play key role constructing the village. Upper castes will own the village which is dependent on Shudras and take control dominating decisive power in cultural, political affairs. To perpetuate this, they will encourage BCs as much as they can in all cultural affairs and continue the geographical and cultural distance between Uru (village) and Vaada (untouchable's ghetto).

Many reasons behind attacks on Dalits are coming to force. Political and social domination of upper castes in villages is still continued in villages, but certain agriculture dependent BC communities which have education by leaving behind their caste professions are coming to fore to show their political existence (Chandraiah.G, 2016). In this sequence, frustrated by inability to face the questions, opposition is causing they're expressing their intolerance in the forms of attacks. For the fact, BC list will get influenced by the vote bank politics of political parties, with this different land owning communities are demanding for BC identity. With such reasons in different states castes such as Gujars , Jats, kapus and Vakkaligas becoming BC and changing the conceptual and social , political meaning of the BC identity.

The emergence of dominant Shudra peasant castes into the leadership position in the regional regimes, we witness the rural tensions assuming the form of violence against the Dalits. If the direct involvement of the dominant Shudra peasant elite in these riots is one aspect there is also involvement of the subaltern BCs at the behest of the dominant castes. In the areas where a BC community is dominant, there we find the tensions and even violence on the Dalits by the latter. This factual situation is sought to be interpreted and theorized as ‘BCs as the enemies of the SCs’ in the same vein as the conflictual relationship between the Kammas or Reddys and Dalits. This tendency draws its inspiration from the UP and Bihar experiences where the backward class Yadavs have emerged as the dominant castes equipped to form power regimes at the state level. How far is it proper to characterize the conflicts involving the Dalits and BCs as a dominant trend in the given political economy context of AP and Telangana? Despite the limitations in the usage of the legal category of the BC, a majority of them are vulnerable and dispossessed. The social and economic position of a vast majority of the BCs is no different from that of the Dalits. Yet there has of late developed an analysis of the BCs being the enemies of the Dalits. Any significant analysis of this has to examine the material basis of the Dalit-BC conflict to understand the tenability of such a generalization.

To understand this, it would be instructive to examine the evolution of caste conflicts in a historical perspective. First kind refers those clashes which happen because of the individual nature of the differences, conflict of interests at the agricultural land site, work site, etc., they could be small or big in scope. Given the fact that caste implies access to social capital (implying

strength of material, symbolic, number related resources) people tend to widen the scope of the specific personal into a generalized caste issue. Therefore, this kind of situation needs to be cautiously dealt with in the larger political interest of caste annihilation project that can be possible only through collective social solidarity. Second kind consists of those which involve local domination-subordination relation between a dominant caste landowner and the lower caste labourer with the former expecting loyalty and subordination beyond the contractual obligations and injuring the self-respect and honor of the latter. The murderous attempts on the Dalits in many parts of the country involving refusal at the economic and non-economic personal compliance with the idea of dominance are a reality in rural milieu. Though it looks like an individual instance but reflects the larger pattern of dominance based on caste and land.

In this kind are to be included are those which are well organized attacks on the Dalits as a reaction to their assertion, especially political assertion against the wishes of the dominant caste and its power. The Karamchedu and a series of attacks on the Dalits that followed the coming to power of the TDP represent the political articulation of the Socio-Economic dominance and unwillingness to accept the assertion and autonomy of the lower castes and especially the Dalits. This is true of the ruling castes in different state theaters - Kammas, Reddys in AP, Vokkaligas in Karnataka, Marathas in Maharashtra, Jats in Haryana and UP, Rajputs, Bhumihars in Bihar, etc.

The crucial question is: can the so-called BCs in AP and Telangana be said to constitute the dominant castes anywhere in the proximity of power? Can the tensions they are involved in with the Dalits be magnified and theorized on a scale that is incongruous with the actual social and political reality? What dominant social and political interests and parties are involved in this scenario? Even assuming that some backward have emerged as dominant players in specific social-spatial locales can they be used as the basis of a larger political and greater spatial generalization?

The highest concentration of the scheduled castes will be found in the state of Andhra Pradesh comprising a percentage of 8% among the entire nations population with about 59 Scheduled Caste communities comprising around 16% of the state's population and in its districts not less than 14% and sometimes more than that. A percentage of two third of the SC population comprises approximately 68% are agricultural laborers and most of them are landless labor living below the poverty line. The situation of discrimination, oppression and violence directed by the

dominant castes were not changed even after seven decades of independent India.

Andhra Pradesh stands as one of the state that witness SC/ST atrocities. Before POA Act, 1989 the Karamchedu Killings happened, after POA Act, the Chundurur caste massacres occurred followed by the Vempentla caste killings. Therefore, these 14 districts are identified by the government of Andhra Pradesh which records highest number of atrocities against the SC and STs. According to the Punnaiah Commission reports, these are the twelve districts are Prakasam, Nellore, Vizianagar, Kurnool, Kadapa, Guntur, West Godavari, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Mahabubnagar, Khammam and Adilabad. Recently Warangal and East Godavari were also added as atrocity prone areas.

The atrocities are frequently happening against SC/ST in Andhra Pradesh. “The neo-rich class in the green revolution belt with its new economic power grew more caste conscious and repressive. This reinforced their pre-capitalist social values. At another level the overall changes did raise the consciousness of the oppressed, particularly the formerly untouchables. This hiatus heightened the caste identities at multiple social layers”. The major caste atrocities by the dominant castes on Dalits in Karamchedu, Chundurur and Vempentla at one level and also attack by the newly emerging backward castes in certain instances clearly shows this directing (Haragopal, G. 2002: 137).

When there is a fight between Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes the victims would invariably be Dalits. There is no historical precedent in this country where lower castes killed upper castes where there is a fight between them. Irrespective of the demographic imbalance, whenever there is a fight between castes, the castes lower on the ladder are the people who get killed. Importantly, Dalits whatever their population is, there is no historical record of them killing castes above them when they were attacked by the upper castes. A Dalit here or a Dalit there could have an upper caste person at individual level, but at the level of caste there is no such record (Kancha Ilaiah, 2012).

According to the study, Andhra Pradesh is also one of the most atrocity prone states. “The maximum number of crimes, greater than 400 is reported in district of Allahabad and Lucknow, in UP, and in Bharatpur in Rajasthan. A high incidence (in range of 200-400) is mainly reported

from mostly central districts of UP, central Rajasthan, northern Madhya Pradesh and parts of Andhra Pradesh. Of the 25 districts in this category, 22 are located in UP (10), MP (8) and Rajasthan (4) as such Karimnagar and Mahaboobnagar in AP are the only districts south of the Vindhyas with a high number of atrocities. It is confirmed by the district literacy profile of the top 50 rural districts in terms of incidences of atrocities. Of these, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh respectively account for 19, 13, 12, and three districts” (Chakraborty, D., Shyam Babu, D and Charavorty, M. 2006: 2479).

Basically the Dalits are socially unequal, economically exploited, politically voiceless and culturally untouchables, this is the basic reason of the discrimination against Dalits. If the Dalits is demanding any such kind of rights the upper caste communities is attacking the SC/ST in rural India. If the Dalits is demanding for increasing wages, land or political rights it leads to the atrocities.

The atrocities against Dalits still continue in rural and urban Andhra Pradesh. The state of Andhra Pradesh is geographically divided into four regions which have their individual Socio-Economic, political, geographical and economic factors though administratively are a single, independent entity. Nevertheless, the dominant coastal area of Andhra Pradesh is largely projected by the dominant literature as Andhra Pradesh. So, all the movements or incidents directly relates to the Coastal Andhra by academics, scholars and researchers. Andhra Pradesh is touted as a highly sophisticated and modernized state in India. Nevertheless, the conditions in the districts particularly in the four regions of the state are in bad shape and are not uniform (K.S. Chalam, D. Francis, and M.R. Mohan Rao. 2004: 30).

Dalits are physically strong Compared to upper castes. Owing to their physical labour in agriculture, industry and other sectors they are physically strong. But, as the caste system ordains that whatever the upper castes dictate is the law and morality for the lower castes, Dalits despite slogging off to the point of exhaustion to feed themselves, did never expect fair remuneration for their labour nor hoped to follow the suit of exploitation as the castes above them follow. Nor do they rebel. The result is discrimination, lampooning, attacks and what not. “Upper castes killing and lower castes being killed is not solely dependent on physical strength. Naturally, Dalits have more physical strength. If we take village as a unit, the population of Dalits will be less compared

to the combined population of other castes. But, if we take caste as a unit, the population of Dalits in a village will be more than the population of Brahmins or Vyshyas in that village. Their population will be more than that of Rajus if we take Godavari villages and more than that of Kammas and Reddys in many villages. Even then upper castes never get killed at the hands of Dalits. But, Dalits get killed. What lie behind this is the social power and the spiritual power that created this social power. These two powers work continuously in every village (Kancha Ilaiah, 2012)

The instances of Other Backward Castes (OBCs) attacking the Dalits still continues despite the OBCs enjoying reservations and demanding the privileges on par with the SCs. Dalits who attained pivotal positions in politics have also not been spared. An attempt was made to assault Mayawati on June 2, 1995 by the OBC followers of Mulayam Singh Yadav. Panic-stricken Mayawati made frantic calls to the then Prime-Minister P.V.Narasimaha Rao, Vajpayee and Advani to rescue her from the state guest house where she locked herself up to save her life. The then Governor Motilala Vora had to send his personal security to the rescue of Mayawati. We can observe some incidents against Dalits by OBCs (Kalyani Shankar, 2013: 95-96).

The inception of the Indian constitution in the independent India provided special safeguards to the oppressed sections, particularly the scheduled castes and women and promises equality, social justice and human dignity to uplift them and to claim equality in the society. Discrimination and oppression perpetuated on the lines of caste, religion and gender are prohibited to achieve equality to these sections.

We have been seeing many attacks on Dalits in India but very few are mentioned for the understanding of our study. These incidents and studies give an ample understanding the nature of violence perpetrated towards the Dalits as a reason for caste. These incidents give us insights in understanding the large picture of the nature of caste violence. Most of the violence happening as a reason of caste is perpetrated against the Dalits across the nation. These cases put forward the gaps in the functioning of the Judiciary, Legislature, Executive and the Media, the four pillars of the Indian democracy that abets in the cases of violence and atrocity instigated by the dominant castes on the Dalits irrespective of the constitutional safeguards provided to them to raise the standard of living of these oppressed communities thus forming equal societies. This caste

violence has proved for the Dalits fatal for their upliftment in all the Socio-Economic, political and cultural spheres.

To Sum Up, Caste has not been a rigid system completely to the four Varnas in the Chaturvarna of the Hindu society. The ritual supremacy and the learned status of the Brahmins have not been necessarily translated into economic and political power. The other rungs below to them under land holdings, political dominance, and migration to other places for capital interests had helped them to climb up in the social hierarchy. Added to the above factors, the constitutional safeguards and the reservation had benefitted these Sudras i.e., the backward castes. These Other backward classes (OBCs) are in the middle rungs whose occupational status is not connected to being an outcaste as that of below them, the Untouchables or Dalits but due to their social and economic oppression considered as OBCs by the executive system of the government in administrative categorization.

The post Green Revolution the caste awareness has raised as the accumulation of wealth lead to the empowerment of these communities that made them economically strong and helped these caste groups thus taking a shift to a capitalistic trajectory. These rural agrarian communities have now taken a shift to climb on the social hierarchy. This improved raise in status has also put them in a paradoxical situation. The rigid administrative structure of the Congress party has restricted them to achieve political and economic stability through their status was raised considerably through the advent of sophisticated and modern technologies in agricultural practices. Secondly, their withdrawal from the full expansion of the commercial practices of agriculture and restricting them to the traditional practices in some aspects also limited them. Consequently, with their refusal of traditional practices and increase in wages, we are witnessing bonded labor. Political co-option and other financial networking of Backward Castes from different political parties helped to move upward and maintained their economic and political power across India. This helped OBCs to control the resources and main the dominance and hegemony that being practiced by upper castes initially, the same domination and hegemony carrying forward by the OBCs.

Chapter- VI

The Laxmipeta Massacre

The previous chapter discusses about the upward mobility of OBCs and their atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh, further offered historical account of some of the incidents and caste violence perpetrated by OBCs across the country. Caste, Land and Political Power that inflicted against Dalits in Laxmipeta can be understood in the context of its sociological, geographical, political and economic landscape, in order to learn about the massacre. This study analyses Dalit assertion for self-respect and dignity of life, as it is the root cause for the massacres. It gives detailed information about Laxmipeta massacre and aftermath, a debate about the Dalit movements and social activism followed by the interventions made by the state.

6.1. Historical Background of North-Andhra

North-Andhra popularly known as the northern circars during British colonial rule comprises Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. The total land of then Vizagapatam (which broadly comprises all these Districts) and Ganjam districts conferred on Zamindaries with permanent settlement Act. Precisely the land owning communities were Kshatriyas, Brahmins, Velama Doras and Hill Zamindars (Scheduled Tribes) in the year 1802. The lands were permanently occupied by those communities till 1948, during this period, this area has seen tremendous revolts for lands and the land was muddled with so much of bloodshed. (Vidyasagar 2012).

During the Zamindari rule, this land has seen so many recorded and unrecorded peasant struggles for the betterment of life and for the abolition of Zamindari system. Blood of the peasants spilled on this soil, the heroic battles against Mandasa and Bobbili Zamindaris have been recorded and “Rytu Rakshan Yatra” was directed against Zamindaris. Even after the abolition of Zamindari and Inamdari by “The abolition of Inamdari and Zamindari, Act 1948” the peasant castes sought to fight vigorously for the rights on the lands. People belong to Turpu Kapu and koppulavelama were either injured or killed in this struggle. The finest examples for this were the prolonged

Alamanda peasant struggle wherein one peasant of Koppulavelama caste was murdered by Kshatriya Inamdaris. The Inamdaris and Zamindaris unleashed so much of social oppression on the peasant castes (ibid).

Polinativelama and Turpu Kapu castes could get their lands because of this Act, and the progressive peasant movements and the prolonged legal battles by the “vocal sections” such as of Kalinga, Koppulavelama. Almost by the end of 1950-60’s, the land owning castes such as Brahman, Kshatriya, Velamadoras and Tribal Hill zamindaris lost their land to the “vocal sections” of four peasant castes. The political power was transferred to these castes by 1970’s and the above said four castes i.e., Kalinga, Koppulavelama, Polinativelama and Turpu Kapu are categorized under Backward Castes (BC) list by the state of Andhra Pradesh. Apart from these four Vocal Sections, there are other castes also listed under this Backward Castes (BC) list and their main livelihood is from agriculture as labourers. However, these castes could not get their share either over the Rights on the land or in politics.

6.2. Dalits in Srikakulam District

The Andhra Pradesh state government has recognized 61 castes under Scheduled Castes and the major castes, such as Mala, Madiga, Relli and Pydi residing in Srikakulam district. According to the 2011 Census, Srikakulam district has a population of 33, 97,448 of which male were 17, 14,764 and female were 16, 82,684 respectively. Srikakulam has total population that belongs to Scheduled Castes 7, 87,861 out of which male and female were 3, 97,242 and 3, 90,619 respectively. The SC male and female ratio is 983:1000 and 19.59 percent SCs population of the total population (Census of India, 2011)

6.3. Land holding patterns in Srikakulam

Dalits holding 26116.57 acres of land out of it, the marginal and small land holdings are 26475. The percentage of small and marginal land holdings stood at 97.95 as per 2005 agricultural census. The percentage of marginal holdings from among the Dalit holdings has shot up from 97.95 to 99.25 as per 2010-11 agricultural census. The fact is that in a span of five years, from 2005-10, land of 3879 acres has been alienated from Dalits speaks for itself that Dalits have been more impoverished of 26116.57 acres of land (Vidyasagar, 2012).

Unfortunately, the disputes on the land were not resolved properly and hence the working class particularly Dalits are the major sufferers in the Indian scenario. The government of Andhra Pradesh had declared in a pious voice that “No scheme of welfare for the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes can be considered adequate in the present Socio-Economic situation, unless it is based on a definite programme of distribution of Government lands and the redistribution of the surplus lands taken over under the Land Legislation’s”. The land ceiling Act 1961 and land reforms Act 1972 have not provided any substantial land to the landless Dalits in the state nor in the District. Unfortunately, in the entire Srikakulam district, only 239 hectares of land was declared as surplus land under 1961 land ceiling Act. As per the handbook of statistics of Srikakulam district 2010, so far in this district only 13080 hectares were assigned to Dalits, almost all these assigned lands were either alienated or uncultivable. Even in some villages, the four (Vocal Sections) peasant castes obstructed the Dalits from cultivating these lands (ibid).

Interestingly the government of Andhra Pradesh declared in a hapless voice “History tells us that since ages, inequitable distribution of land has been the root cause of all the social maladies. But the remedial measures taken to root out this scourge have not succeeded to the expected level” (Vidyasagar 2012). Further in the same speech the Government proclaimed that “even though, earlier Governments have taken up the distribution of land to the poor, assignees were not financially sound enough to cultivate the lands, which resulted in alienation of this land from them” unfortunately the proclamation of the Government had been proved so in this district also. The situations of Dalits in Srikakulam district are predominantly agrarian labor and they lead their life in a state of starvation. The Acts and Rules have not provided them a piece of land even after the abolition of Zamindaris. However, the four peasant castes with their formidable “caste masses support” ushered the attacks on Dalits after the late 60’s and 70’s (ibid).

6.4. Attacks on Dalits by OBC’s in Srikakulam District

Punnaiah Commission (2004) has recognized this district as the highest atrocity prone district against the Dalits in the state. The class, which took control of the land on one hand and feudal practices on the other, has practiced caste discrimination and social dominance on Shudra peasantry communities. By exhibiting the Brahminical nature, the Shudra communities which

garnered rights on land and Brahminical ideology have increased attacks following the 1970s. The atrocities against Dalits for the last 50 years this district seeing incidents of drastic untouchability, attacks and sexual assaults were sustained together.

The surplus which came following 1978 to the district's agriculture sector has become a weapon to Shudra peasant castes. There was a two glasses system in the hotels of the villages. With emergence of usage of the plastic glasses this practice declined. There were social and economic boycotts when the laborers sought an increase in wages. Till today no barber comes to the streets of Dalits, no washerman goes to collect their clothes (Neither a barber nor a washerman goes to the Dalits street) If they do so, they won't be able to survive in their profession in the village. Yet there are clashes over entry into temples. Usually, the peasantry communities will have community rights on the collective resources of the villages whenever Dalits raise their voice to claim that, there will be continued attacks on Dalits.

There are a few incidents illustrated following the atrocities against Dalits committed by OBC's in Srikakulam district

Kuppili (1981)

In 1981, Kuppili of Echerla, for a Dalit standing in cooperative society elections Reddika caste people have attacked the Dalits and socially boycotted them. Dalits have taken shelter in other villager fearing for their lives.

Korasavada (1987)

In 1986-87 in Korasavada of Pathapatnam attacks on Dalits were led by Padmashali caste people for the crime of casting their votes to the Congress party, the communities which were with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) have indulged in the attack on Dalit settlement and injured them gravely. It has to be noted that, here also it was this caste (Padmashali) got the benefit of the surplus which came through land ownership.

Piridi (1990)

In Piridi of Bobbili mandal, which is hailed for its progress in education, in the first end of 1990's itself, there were attacks on Dalits. Madigas who used to engage in picking the dead corpses of

animals were late to attend a village goddess festival to beat the traditional dappus. As the programme was delayed, Koppula Velama caste men have attacked a Dalit man for attending late to beat the dappus for procession. The man was late to the procession as he was busy in picking the dead body, questioning the highhanded behavior of Kuppula Velamas has invited an attack on the Dalit colony. Indiscriminate attack on men, women was followed beside rampage of properties and houses.

Tholapi (2001)

In 2001 Janmabhumi programmes were conducted across the state. In Tholapi village, Dalits have complained about untouchability to the officials who have visited the village as part of the same programme. Though the status of the complaint was unknown, the Kalingas have mobilised other castes on learning the complaint, they have resorted an indiscriminate attack and burnt down the houses and huts on 25 July, 2001. When Dalits fled the scene fearing for their lives they were chased and attacked, in the same attack injured Dalit man Ramaiah Chinthala had succumbed.

Brundavanam (2005)

In Brundavanam of Santhabommali there was no polling booth until 2004 -05, the polling booth was in nearby Kashipur. In local body elections/MPTC elections as Dalits were belived to be the supporters of the Congress candidate, Turpu Kapus, Yadavs and Kalingas who were predominantly with the TDP have attacked the Dalits in Brundavanam village while the Kashipur villagers not allowed the Dalits to vote in the elections. Dalits have fled to the safety from the attacks only 10% Dalits were able to vote then. This case is still under trail in the court.

Guruvidi

In Kapushankam of the Gurividi on rumors of attack on the Sarpanch who is a Turpu Kapu of the village the entire Dalit colony was attacked without any verification/confirmation of the incident. At least 12 members were injured, though the case ran for a year in the end it was compromised leaving no scope of justice to the victims (Vidyasagar, 2013).

6.5. Land Acquisition and Related incidents in North Andhra

Laxmipeta is neither a first link nor a last link in the chain of massacres on Dalits in India for that fact in Srikakulam district. Disputes in the land have propelled so many carnages across India. Normally, the clashes occurred between direct landlords and the landless poor. However, here in the instant case the state is the de-jure owner. However, the peasants who got rightful or unfair compensation are also feeling that they are de facto owners of the land. In this case, Dalits are so genuine and they have not even asked for the entire portion of the land where the state is a de jure owner. Even then, the peasants meticulously perpetuated carnage and the Dalits were the victims.

Thotapalli reservoir:

“Thotapalli Barrage is a major Irrigation Project across Nagavali river proposed at 500M upstream of the existing Regulator near Thotapalli in Vizianagaram District to stabilize 64,000 Acres and also to provide irrigation facilities to new ayacut of 1, 20,000 Acres by excavating a new right main canal of 107 KM length, covering 287 villages pertaining to 10 Mandal's in Srikakulam District and 12 Mandal's in Vizianagaram District. Though the place of reservoir is situated in the present Vizianagaram district, previously it was part of the combined district. In the foundation ceremony held on 6.11.2003, The Hon'ble Chief Minister had announced that the project would be completed within 5 years period. As per government statistics administrative approval was accorded for Rs.450.23 Crores vide G.O.Ms.No.114 Dt.31.7.03”. The land required is 10097 acres, the requisition is 6876 acres and so far the acquired wet land is 2839.9 acres and dry land is 3471.15 acres (Vidyasagar, 2012). Under the reservoir, 17 villages including two tribal hamlets were completely submerged along with lands and households. Five villages are submerged but their lands are intact. It is told by Naviri villagers that four villages are unnecessarily added to the list only for the sake of compensation and their lands and households are not covered under the reservoir.

During the survey, some landless people told that lands in the villages under this reservoir are still being cultivated by the peasant castes Koppulavelama and Turpu Kapus. An interesting thing is in the early 90's so many people belong to Kamma and Reddy castes migrated to these villages

and purchased big chunks of land for throwaway prices. In one example, at Addapuseela village, a person by name Prahlada Reddy purchased 100 acres of land. It is not submerged. He got compensation of nearly Rupees one crore and the same is being cultivated by him with high-scaled mechanization and some portion of the land has been given for Sharecropping. In the village Naviri even peasants let-out their lands for tenancy and collecting share from the crops. Dalits are doing the cultivation in 200 acres and they are paying share to the de facto owners.

Peddagedda Reservoir:

“Peddagedda Reservoir is a medium Irrigation project proposed near Kesali in Pachipenta Mandal of Vizianagaram District to stabilise 4,500 Acres under the existing Karrivalasa Anicut and create new of 7,500 Acres in 33 villages of Pachipenta, Salur and Ramabhadrapuram Mandals to an extent of 902 Acres of land (including 95 acres of Forestland) has acquired”. The left party CPI (M) fought vigorously for a reasonable compensation and succeeded to some extent. Most of the lands in Kesali panchayat once belonged to adivasis. Kesali panchayat has five adivasi hamlets and Mannedoras, Mookadora and Kondadoras are the major tribes in these villages. Way back, traders of Kesali panchayat occupied these lands of the tribals by remitting nominal price. The land alienated in this way is near and above 100 acres. Now they got the compensation and tribals are silent spectators of all this process. Under this reservoir, also 30 acres of land was left unutilized in the reservoir and land is available for cultivation. The tribes of kodikallavalasa desired to cultivate this land. Two adivasi students are trying to organise the adivasis in this issue. The de facto Pachipenta Turpu Kapus are not agreeing to this at any time this might become another Laxmipeta.

Vamshadhara Phase II:

The Vamshadhara Project Stage-II envisages construction of Barrage at Neradi Village and diversion of water through Flood Flow Canal into proposed reservoir at Hiramandalam to irrigate an ayacut of 43,414 Ha (1, 07,280 Acres). This reservoir is two-way controversial. The villagers of Hiramandalam Mandal on the one hand and the Government of Orissa state on the other. THE ANNUAL REPORT CWC 2008-09 stated the actual position as “During February 2006, Government of Orissa made a request under Section-3 of the Interstate River Water Disputes

Act, 1956 to constitute a Water Dispute Tribunal to adjudicate the water dispute in respect of Inter-state River Vamshadhara and its valley between the state of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. It was also agreed that the aspect of shifting of river course due to construction of side weir at Katragada shall be studied by CWC/CWPRC”

During the survey, it is noted that six panchayats includes nine adivasi hamlets will be submerged under this reservoir. The villages are Padali, Tulagam, Duggipuram, Chinnakollivalasa, Garlapadu and Pedasankili. As it is observed almost the government completed the compensation process for lands in all these villages and in Tulagam, Duggipuram villages the compensation has not been paid for houses. The peasants told that the Government has given Rupees 1,29,800 per an acre for wet land and Rupees 80,000 per an acre for Dry land. Whereas the actual rate of the land is Rupees 3, 50,000 and 1, 40,000 respectively. Interestingly the peasants of Duggipuram told that no compensation has been paid for the recorded poramboku (government lands in the official parlance) lands which are under the possession of landless people belong to all social groups, particularly Dalits are the major portion of this section .The peasants say that, as it is under the inter-state dispute, it will not be completed in near future. As of now majority of lands in Padali, Duggipuram, Pedasankili are available for cultivation. In Padali the Dalits are cultivating tanks since those belong to government (for that fact all the lands now belong to Government) the peasants are obstructing their cultivation saying that their fields could not get water. The issue led to law and order problem and police forces imposed section 144 in this village in the month of April 2012.

6.6. Socio-Economic Profile of Laxmipeta

“Laxmipeta is a Village in Vangara Mandal in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh State. It is located 58 kilometres towards North from District headquarters Srikakulam. 6 KM from Vangara. Kottisa, Seetrapuram, Kopparavalasa, Vangara, are the nearby Villages to Laxmipeta. Laxmipeta is surrounded by Veeraghattam Mandal towards North, Balijipeta Mandal towards west and Palakonda Mandal towards East and Garugubilli Mandal towards North. Rajam, Parvathipuram, Bobbili, Amadalavalasa are the nearby Cities to Laxmipeta. Laxmipeta is on the border of the Srikakulam District and Vizianagaram District. Vizianagaram District Balijipeta is west towards this place. Vangara Mandal is in fact dominated by the Turpu Kapus.

The Turpu Kapus are extremely traditional and conservative in their social outlook. The people in this belt practice untouchability even today. Dalits are not allowed to enter the houses of the Upper Castes. The Turpu Kapus maintain strong kinship relations which has strengthened Clan loyalties among the community. The Dalits add up sizable number”.

“Laxmipeta is a resettled village of the outskirts of Madduvalasa irrigation project. The whole first village of Laxmipeta got submerged in the project and was relocated to the present place of its. The village comprise of different caste communities but two communities are numerically large in number. One community is ‘*Turpu Kapu*’. However listed as a backward class, they are a dominating caste in the north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. Another main community is ‘*Mala*’, a scheduled caste who have been landless agricultural labourers. The Turpu Kapus of Laxmipeta owned land as well as houses, and hence got complete compensation for the property of theirs. Additionally, they got government jobs. The Malas did not possess any land, hence got no compensation. They owned only little huts or maybe houses and got a token amount towards compensation for the houses of theirs. Not an individual job was given to them”.

The following are the details of households belonging to different caste groups before and after the submergence

Table 6.6.1. Laxmipeta village (Caste wise)

Caste	Before submergence	After submergence
Dalit	60	60
Turpu Kapu	180	124
Barber	5	2
Washermen	10	4
Brahmin	10	2
Goolla	5	3
Weaver	20	5
Total	270	200

Source: Data collected from Panchayat office Laxmipeta

The village Laxmipeta consists of 200 houses out of which 124 belongs to Turpu Kapu and the other 16 belongs other BC communities, 60 houses belongs to Mala Community. All the Turpu Kapu people were having agricultural land and the Dalits used to work as labourers and agricultural coolies. Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu is the leader for Turpu Kapu community. In the

year 2001, Dalits relocated their houses to nearby locality of 2 KM distance from their old village (submerged in the Madduvalasa project). After one year i.e. in the year 2002, Turpu Kapus have migrated to the newly settled Laxmipeta village and categorically showed their casteist nature and forced Dalits to maintain distance from the Turpu Kapus because they are inferior and not supposed to set up their houses besides the Turpu Kapu families. However, Dalits resisted, did not agree to the demand of Turpu Kapus and continued to stay in the same locality.

6.6.2. Before and after Madduvalasa reservoir

During the year 1977, the government of Andhra Pradesh started acquiring land to an extent of 6542 acres of Patta land, 1310 acres of Poramboke land², in total 7852 acres from 21 villages of Vangara Mandal including Laxmipeta for construction of Madduvalasa Reservoir project. The Madduvalasa is a medium irrigation project has been constructed on the Vegavathi and Suvarnamukhi Rivers subsidiaries of the Nagavali River at Madduvalasa village and Vangara Mandal, Srikakulam District to provide water to the farmers of 24,700 acres of land. The project intended to irrigate an ayacut of 24,700 acres benefitting 104 villages covering six Mandals, viz, 1.Vangara 2.Regidi Amadalavalasa 3.Santhakaviti 4.Ganguvari Sigadam, 5.Rajam and 6. Ponduru. In Vangara Mandal seven villages viz, Laxmipeta, Kottisa, Koppara, Devakiwada, Narendrapuram, Gudivada and Mugguru have submerged under Madduvalasa reservoir project.

Before submergence the Laxmipeta village had 350 acres of wet land and 150 acres of dry land. Out of this except for 13 acres of land, the remaining land is owned by Turpu Kapus. Dalits have no land where as washer men and barber families have a little land. Four Brahmin families have 10 acres land. The wet lands of this village have irrigation facility from Thotapalli right canal and Chakarapalli open head canal. In the year 1976, the government had declared that all the lands and the villages were needed for the construction of the Madduvalasa reservoir.

6.6.3. Rehabilitation and Resettlement

“In the year 2002 the Reservoir completed, the Laxmipeta is actually a resettled village and house sites were provided by the government, the two communities constructed the houses of theirs

²“Poramboke lands means the lands which is not assessed to revenue records and it is outside the revenue accounts”.

adjacent to one another. They had been obligated to stay side-by-side, with just a little road dividing the houses of theirs, in spite of the prevalence of the process of untouchability. Following the conclusion of the irrigation project, approximately 250 acres of land acquired by the government remained surplus. It had been of no use to the venture. Since there was no possibility of the submergence of it's despite tank capacity that is full of the reservoir, the villagers of Laxmipeta started cultivating this land, which, before acquisition, belonged to them. Legally it was no longer the land of theirs. Turpu Kapus started cultivating approximately 190 out of the 250 acres. The Dalits joined them and started cultivating the remaining sixty acres. These sixty acres had been left by the Turpu Kapus. Out of the sixty acres, forty acres belonged to cultivators from the owners and Devakivada village, after receiving compensation, settled a long way away. The rest of the twenty acres belonged to Turpu Kapus of Laxmipeta, but these owners also, after receiving compensation, left the village and settled elsewhere. The sixty acres had been so left fallow, with no erstwhile claimants. The Turpu Kapus additionally have some objection to Dalits cultivating this land along with them”.

Nearly 54 families belong to Turpu Kapus have migrated to other places as they have got compensation and employment by the state government. Since no Dalits have any land, in their possession, they could not get any compensation and they remained with empty hands. The sole livelihood of agrarian labour also fell in trouble. No caste has its share in the employment except Turpu Kapus. The proclaimed reservation for Dalit could not give even a Group D post for them. During the land acquisition, the government promised jobs for the people. The government gave 10 jobs in Madduvalasa reservoir as work inspectors but unfortunately, no Dalit had a share in it. All the 10 jobs went in favour of Turpu Kapu.

In 2002, they left the old village and shifted to new village. Joint collector allocated this land to the Dalits in 2002. As compensation, the government has provided to the Dalits, plots for construction of new houses along with 17000 rupees for each family and Malas did not get any jobs. There is drinking water facility was arranged in the village”³.

³ Interview with Chitri Gangulu on 13 December 2017

6.6.4. Who are the owners of the land?

Legally speaking the peasants or Turpu Kapus has no rights on these lands since they have got compensation and jobs for those lands, though the land belongs to the government. However, the Turpu Kapus felt that though they have got the compensation they are the owners of the land since the lands are not utilized for the intended purpose. The Turpu Kapus claimed that the unsubmerged land is the only livelihood for them. As per law the unutilized land belongs to the Government but since there is no support mechanism by the government it should have been allotted to the Dalits and other landless castes in the Village by the government. In fact it appears that the migrants are also not claiming the rightful ownership on the land. Only the social hegemony of the peasant castes, on instigation by their political leaders, would quarrel with the Dalits.⁴

6.6.5. Dalit Woman Sarpanch and Exercise of Power

There is a provision by the state government wherever the Village Sarpanch elects unanimously five lakh rupees will be granted for development of such village as an incentive. However the Sarpanch sanction funds for the infrastructure development of the village such as Drinking water, construction of roads, drainage systems etc., Turpu Kapus opposed the proposal of Sarpanch and used to create too many problems to get the contracts. Apparently there were instances where the Turpu Kapus shouted at the Sarpanch saying that as a Mala she could not call a meeting of the panchayat⁵. According to the rules, the village Sarpanch is empowered to call monthly meetings. This hatred grew day by day. In one such instance, some Turpu Kapu women standing in a shop commented that the Malas have to be taught a lesson and thrown out of the village. The Village Sarpanch Simhalamma who was passing by overheard this and questioned the Turpu Kapu women about the comment. The Turpu Kapu women beat her up so badly that she was admitted in a hospital. Incidents like this one resulted in three cases being filed in the local police station, but there was no action initiated by the Police.⁶ There are some issues escalated in the village

⁴ ibid

⁵ Interview with Chitri Simhalamma on 13 December 2017

⁶ ibid

regarding the contracts related works the Turpu Kapus never allowed the Sarpanch to exercise her duties and was humiliated many times.⁷

6.7. Background of the Incident

The Malas who are cultivating 60 acres of un-submerged land and Turpu Kapus raised objections to leave the said land from their possession on the pretext that the said lands were already acquired by the Government and compensation was paid to Turpu Kapus as such that lands belong to Government and the Turpu Kapus including the accused do not have any right over the said land and they have been continuously in possession and cultivating the said land. This may lead to ill feelings and strained relations between two communities. In this context both the parties filed criminal cases against each other.

On 22-08-2011, Burada Sundara Rao belongs to Mala community gave a complaint against G.Appala Naidu, Avu Thirupathi Rao Potnuru Annam Naidu, Koduru Papinaidu Bowrouthu Krishnamurthy belongs to Turpu Kapu caste at Vangara Police Station against vide Cr. No.20/2011 u/s 323 r/w 34 IPC, Sec. 3 (i) (x) of SC/ST (POA) Act, 1989. On the same day Potnuru Annain Naidu, Turpu Kapu by caste gave a complaint against Gangula Ganapathi Rao and 10 others belongs to SC community at Vangara Police Station vide Cr. No. 21/2011 u/s 448, 323 r/w 34 IPC.⁸

On 11-04-2012, in another incident, Chitri Sridevi belongs to Mala community was beaten mercilessly while she is engaged in some work in fields a group of Turpu Kapus physically attacked with sticks and intimidated Sridevi alleging cattle's destroyed the fields. She was admitted in the hospital. Based on the complaint of Chitri Sridevi a case was registered against Avu Thirupathi Rao, Gantyada Venkataramana, Gantyada Appala Naidu and Konisa Chinnama Naidu under belongs to Turpu Kapus vide Cr. No.16/2012 under 323, 324 R/w 34 of IPC and Sec. 3 (i)(x)(xi) of SC, ST (POA) Act, 1989 and the, accused were arrested and sent for remand and the investigation is pending.⁹

In view of the continues disputes, the Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) of Palakonda initiated proceedings U/s 107 Cr.P.C. and 145 Cr.P.C. prevented both the parties from entering into the

⁷ibid

⁸ Interview with Gangulu on 14 December 2017

⁹ibid

said un-submerged lands. Both Turpu Kapus and Malas are not authorized to cultivate the land there was likelihood of breach of Law and Order, since the land belongs to government that the un-submerged lands were acquired and compensation was paid to the land owners and as such nobody has any right over the said lands. Further, The Dalits started giving representations to the District Administration with a request to allow the Malas to cultivate 60 acres of un-submerged land out of 250 acres which are under their cultivation for almost 10 years. Their request was to take in to consideration of the fact that Dalits have not got any form of compensation for their lose and there is no livelihood after resettlement except small huts¹⁰.

All the above events caused the Turpu Kapus of Laxmipeta developed enmity with the Malas. This further deteriorated the situation in the village and the Turpu Kapus determined to take revenge against the Malas. In view of series of criminal cases reporting and prevailing tense situation in Laxmipeta village, a Police picket was operational in the village to control the Law and Order situation. On 09-06- 2012 due to bye-elections at Narasannapeta Assembly Constituency the police picket at Laxmipeta was sent to Election Bando-Bust duty at Narasannapeta.¹¹

Taking the advantage of the situation on 11-06-2012 the Turpu Kapus who were waiting for opportunity to take revenge against Malas, under the leadership of Avu Srinivasa Rao, Avu Tirupathi Rao, Venkata Rao, Gantyada Appala Naidu, Gedela Krishnamurthy and others gathered at the house of Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu who was the Ex.Mandal.Praja Parishad (MPP) of Vangara Mandal conspired to do away with the lives of Malas and hatched a plan to execute the same¹²

The Massacre

In pursuance of the conspiracy among the Turpu Kapus and at the instigation of Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu, on 12-06-2012 at about 7.30 A.M. a mob of Turpu Kapus of Laxmipeta along with Turpu Kapus of other neighbor villages formed into an unlawful assembly, armed with sticks, spears, country made bombs, knives, axes, stones and chili powder with an intent to kill them, came into the Mala street, shouting loudly "MALA LANJAKODUKULANI

¹⁰ Interview with Chitri Simhalamma on 13 December 2017

¹¹Interview with Muthamma on 16 December 2017

¹²Interview with Gangulu on 14 December 2017

CHAMPANDIRA ” attacked them. Noticing the said gathering by Nivarthi Simhalamma and Nivarthi Ganga and Gangulu informed the situation to the Sub Inspector of Police, Vangara Police Station over telephone and requested to send the Police to prevent the any untoward incident.¹³

The Sub Inspector of Police of Vangara PS who was on Bando-Bust duty at Saravakota Mandal in connection with bye-election to Narasannapeta Assembly after receiving the phone information instructed the station Police Constable Ch. Rama Rao to go to Laxmipeta and the force will be sent for necessary preventive action. Accordingly the Police constable Rama Rao immediately went to Laxmipeta noticed that the Turpu Kapus armed with deadly weapons gathered in a huge mob present at burial ground gravel road and at the same time Avu Srinivasa Rao and Avu Thirupathi Rao hurled bombs towards the house of Bonela Ravi. Immediately Police Constable Rama Rao left Laxmipeta to go to Vangara PS and informed the situation at Laxmipeta to the higher officials and requested to send the police force immediately to control the situation as there was imminent danger to the lives and property of Dalits at Laxmipeta.¹⁴ On receipt of the information, Sub Divisional Police Officer (SDPO) Palakonda instructed the Sub-Inspector of Police, Palakonda to visit Laxmipeta village along with the available force. Accordingly, the S.I. of Police, .Palakonda with the available force rushed to Laxmipeta and noticed five dead bodies and some of the injured.

Deceased

1. Burada Sundararao S/o Satyam. Age: 40 years
2. Nivarthi Venkati, S/o. Muthyalu (Late) Age: 60 years
3. Chitri Appadu, S/o. Appayya Age: 35 years
4. Nivarthi Sangamesu, S/o. Dalayya (Late) Age: 40 years
5. Bodduri Papayya, S/o. Atchodu (Late) Age: 70 years

Injured

1. Nivarthi Simhachalam S/o. Guraiah (Late)

¹³Interview with Muthamma on 16 December 2017

¹⁴ Interview with Rama Rao (Police constable) on 18 December 2017

2. Lobinti Pydaiah S/o. Polayya (Late)
3. Bodduru Nagabushana Rao s/o. Bogheswara Rao
4. Chitri Yellaiah S/o. Laxmaiah (Late)
5. Kalamanta Simhachalam S/o. Kurmaiah
6. Bodduri Gavaiaiah S/o. Muthyalu
7. Kalamata gadaiah S/o. Mutyalu (Late)
8. Kalamata Sangamma w/o. Gangaiah (Late)
9. Bonela Ravi S/o. Sundara rao (Late)
10. Kalamati Ganesh S/o. Nadaiah
11. Bodduru Bogesh S/o. Dalaiah (Late)
12. Bongada Shivudu S/o. Veeraiah
13. Nivarthi Dalappadu S/o. Appaiah
14. Nivarthi Gangaiah S/o. Dalaiah
15. Nivarthi Narsaiah S/o. Dalaih (Late)
16. Nivarthi Rama Rao S/o. Dalaiah (Late)
17. Kalamti Gaddaiah S/o. Appaiah (Late)
18. Kalamata Gangaih S/o. Venkaiah
19. Kalamati Prakash S/o. Gangaiah
20. Burada Kasulu W/o. Sundara Rao.

6.8. Fact finding report of Crime Investigation Department (CID)

Based on the complaint given by the victims, the S.I. of Police, Vangara Police station registered a case in Cr. No.24/2012 u/s 147, 148, 302, 307, 326, 324, 323, 120-B, 109 r/w 149 IPC, 3 & 5 E.S. Act, 1908, Sec.3 (i) (x) and Section 3 (ii) (v) of SCs/STs (POA) Act, .1989 and the same

was informed to the higher officials. As per the proceedings of the Superintendent of Police (SP) Srikakulam, the investigation was taken up by the SDPO Palakonda.

All the accused noted supra are belongs to Turpu Kapu (BC-D) community and A1 to A44 and A46 to A80 are hails from Laxmipeta village of Vangara Mandal of Srikakulam District. A45 (Botsa Vasudeva Rao Naidu) is the resident of Vangara Village and Mandal of Srikakulam District and he is a local politician and Ex M.P.P of Vangara Mandal also he an Agriculturist and leading a group of Turpu Kapu community in and around the Vangara Mandal. A1 to 44 and A46to A80 are all staunch supporters of A 45 and they used to act on the guidance of A45 in the local political disputes. (CID report, 2012).

The investigation disclosed that all the accused under the leadership of Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu are very high handed and dominant in the village by virtue of their caste and financial position and political background. Whereas, the deceased and injured and other victims belong to SC Mala Caste who are weak financially, socially and suppressed section of people in the village.

Investigation established that A-45 is the leader of Kapu caste people and supporter of the Kapus of Laxmipeta village since the problem arose and when the victims him seeking justice by oral representation, he openly told that the SCs cannot be given even single cent of land and further told that Unless four to five SC people are killed, the issue between SCs and BCs of Laxmipeta will not be solved.

The investigation disclosed that the accused were having lands in and around Laxmipeta village of Vangara Mandal and living by cultivation whereas the victims herein are living as agricultural coolies. During the year 1979, the Government of A.P. had acquired the lands to an extent of 9108 acres for the construction of Madduvalasa Reservoir Project. An extent of 421.53, acres of land of Laxmipeta Village belongs to accused and others was acquired and out of which an extent of 152.38 acres remained' as un submerged land. The un-submerged land was occupied by the accused and others and also SC people and cultivating the same un-authorisedly. Some of the accused leased out orally the said occupied land to SCs. Accordingly, the SC people are in possession and cultivating the lands and paying the paddy towards lease consideration. While the things stood, about one-and-half years back the accused developed an idea to take back the leased lands from the SC people including the deceased and injured and give the same to Turpu Kapus on lease. The accused under the guidance and leadership of A-45 (Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu)

demanding the deceased and the victims and other SC people to vacate the leased land in order to hand over the same to their caste people. The SC people opposed the same and claimed that the land does not belong to the accused since it was already acquired by the Irrigation Department and the compensation paid to the accused. The SC people also gave a representation to the District Administrations to confirm their cultivation rights. The disputes lead to hostility and enmity and went up to the extent of filing criminal cases against each other and creating disturbance to the Law and order in the 'village. On the information by the Police, the R.D.O., Palakonda initiated proceedings u/s 107 Cr.P.C. and 145 Cr.P.C. in the year 2011 by preventing both the parties from entering in to the unsubmerged lands. The police also arranged police picket in Laxmipeta village to prevent untoward incidents. Since then, the accused developed enmity against the SC people and waiting for an opportunity to wreck vengeance.

On 12-06-2012, in pursuance of the conspiracy and under the instigation of A-45 all the accused i.e. A-1 to A-44 and A-46 to A-80 gathered at burial ground road near A2's house, armed with deadly weapons and formed into unlawful assembly with a common intention and divided into small groups and attacked SC people and hurled country made bombs by A- I and A-2 and created a panic situation. Then the accused abused the SC people on caste discrimination as "MALA LANJAKODUKULANI CHAMPANDIRAA" then they formed into groups and attacked the houses of the SC people and also beat them indiscriminately and caused injuries to the 20 SC people and deaths of five SC people and also-damaged their properties and thereby committed the offences. (CID Report 2012).

6.9. Profile of Respondents of the study

Before going to discuss about the brief profile of the village, construction of Madduvalasa reservoir and aftermath incidents lead to the violence at Laxmipeta, the following are the respondents profile of the field study.

Table 6.9.1. Types of Respondents

Type of Respondent	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Mala	60	44.4	44.4	44.4
Turpu Kapu	30	22.2	22.2	66.7
Others in the village	15	11.1	11.1	77.8
Activists and academicians	25	18.5	18.5	96.3
Bureaucrats	5	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study conducted in the village between 12 December 2017 to 10 January 2018 and 20 November 2019 to 12 December 2019.

The above table explains the varied types of respondents of the study. Total numbers of respondents are 135 altogether, namely victims are 44.4 percent, Accused are 22.2 percent, others in the village are 11.1 percent, activists and academicians are 18.5 percent and bureaucrats are 3.7 percent. Highest percentage of the respondents is namely; victims with 44.4 percent, accused are with 22.2 percent and activists and academicians with 18.5 percent in descending order. Lowest percentages of respondents are bureaucrats with 5 percent and others in the village are 11.1 percent in ascending order.

Table 6.9.2. Age of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
15-25	19	14.1	14.1	14.1
26-35	33	24.4	24.4	38.5
36- 45	31	23.0	23.0	61.5
46- 55	24	17.8	17.8	79.3
56- 65	22	16.3	16.3	95.6
> 65	6	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the age profile of respondents of the study. Total number of respondents are 135 altogether, 14.1 percent of respondents are in between 15 -25 age group, 24.4 percent of respondents are in between 26-35 age group, 23 percent of respondents are in between 36-45 age group, 17.8 percent of respondents are in between 46 -55 age group, 16.3 percent of respondents are in between 56 -65 age group, 4.4 percent of respondents are above 65 years age group. 36-45 age group people are high among respondents in the study next highest percentage of age group is between 26- 35. Least percentage of age groups is above 65 years.

Table 6.9.3. Gender of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	101	74.8	74.8	74.8
Female	34	25.2	25.2	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the gender profile of respondents of the study. Total numbers of respondents are 135 altogether, male respondents are 74.8 percent and female respondents are 25.2 percent. Male respondents are higher than female respondents.

Table 6.9.4. Religion of Respondents

Religion	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hindu	134	99.3	99.3	99.3
Muslim	1	.7	.7	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the religious profile of respondents of the study. Total numbers of respondents are 135 altogether, Hindu respondents are 99.3 percent and Muslims respondents are 0.7 percent. Most of the respondents are Hindus but only one respondent from Muslim.

Table 6.9.5. Category of Respondents

Category	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
SC	80	59.3	59.3	59.3
ST	3	2.2	2.2	61.5
BC	48	35.6	35.6	97.0
Others	4	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the Caste profile of respondents of the study. Total number of respondents are 135 altogether, 59.3 percent of respondents are from SC category, 2.2 percent of respondents are from ST category, 35.6 percent of respondents are from BC category, 3 percent of respondents are from Others category. SC category respondents are high among all other category respondents and in next position BC's with 35.5 percent. Least number of respondents are ST's and others in ascending order accordingly.

Table 6.9.6. Education of Respondents

Education	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Illiterate	51	37.8	37.8	37.8
Primary	8	5.9	5.9	43.7
Upper Primary	14	10.4	10.4	54.1
Secondary	14	10.4	10.4	64.4
Inter to Degree	20	14.8	14.8	79.3
PG and Above	28	20.7	20.7	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the education profile of respondents of the study. Total numbers of respondents are 135 altogether, 37.8 percent of respondents are illiterates, 5.9 percent of respondents are primary level educated persons, and 10.4 percent of respondents are studied up to upper primary and secondary altogether 20.8 percent of them. 14.8 percent of respondents are between inter and degree. 20.7 percent of respondents are between PG and above. Illiterate

people are high among other respondents in the study next highest percentage is PG and above with 20.7 percent. Primary level educated people are least percentage among all the respondents.

Table 6.9.7. Occupation of Respondents

Occupation	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
agriculture laborer	59	43.7	43.7	43.7
Daily wage labourer	11	8.1	8.1	51.9
Farmer	17	12.6	12.6	64.4
Employee	3	2.2	2.2	66.7
self-employee	7	5.2	5.2	71.9
Business	6	4.4	4.4	76.3
Student	23	17.0	17.0	93.3
Other	9	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	135	100.0	100.0	

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the occupational profile of respondents. Total numbers of respondents are 135 altogether, 43.7 percent of respondents are agriculture laborer, 8.1 percent of respondents are daily wage labourer, 12.6 percent of respondents are farmers, 2.2 percent of respondents are employees, 5.2 percent of respondents are self- employees, 4.4 percent of respondents are doing business, 17 percent of respondents are students, and 6.7 percent of respondents are others. Agriculture labourer category respondents are high among other occupations and employees are in least percentage.

Table 6.9.8. Response on Madduvalasa project

Age		Project is good for your livelihood			Total
		YES	NO	DK	
15-25	Count	16	2	0	18
	% within	16.3%	40.0%	.0%	17.1%
26-35	Count	17	3	2	22
	% within	17.3%	60.0%	100.0%	21.0%
36- 45	Count	23	0	0	23
	% within	23.5%	.0%	.0%	21.9%
46- 55	Count	18	0	0	18
	% within	18.4%	.0%	.0%	17.1%
56- 65	Count	19	0	0	19
	% within	19.4%	.0%	.0%	18.1%
> 65	Count	5	0	0	5
	% within	5.1%	.0%	.0%	4.8%
Total	Count	98	5	2	105
	% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table describes that age wise reflections on Construction of Madduvalasa project is good for your livelihood. 93.4 percent of respondents from all age groups accepted that construction of Madduvalasa project is good for their livelihood. 4.4 percent of respondents from all age groups didn't accept that it is not good for their livelihood and 1.8 percent of respondents are expressed that they don't know about it. Overall, majority of the people are expected that construction of the Madduvalasa project could give a better livelihood options to them.

Table 6.9.9. Gender wise reflections on project

Gender		project is good for your livelihood			Total
		YES	NO	DK	
Male	Count	74	0	2	76
	% within	75.5%	.0%	100.0%	72.4%
Female	Count	24	5	0	29
	% within	24.5%	100.0%	.0%	27.6%
Total	Count	98	5	2	105
	% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table analyses that gender wise reflections on Madduvalasa project is good for your livelihood. 93.4 percent of respondents agreed that construction of Madduvalasa project is good for their livelihood irrespective of their gender. 4.4 percent of respondents from all age groups didn't agree that it is not good for their livelihood and 1.8 percent of respondents are expressed that they don't know about it. Overall, male respondents with 75.5 percent are expected that construction of the Madduvalasa project could give a better livelihood options with compare to female respondents with 24.5 percent.

Table 6.9.10. Caste wise reflections on project

Category		Good for your livelihood			Total
		YES	NO	DK	
SC	Count	58	5	2	65
	% within	59.2%	100.0%	100.0%	61.9%
BC	Count	40	0	0	40
	% within	40.8%	.0%	.0%	38.1%
Total	Count	98	5	2	105
	% within	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that caste wise reflections on Maddavalasa project are good for your livelihood. Overall, SC category respondents with 59.2 percent are believed that construction of

the Madduvalasa project will give better livelihood options with compare to BC respondents with 24.5 percent.

Table 6.9.11. How did Project affect your life

Category		Project affect your life			Total
		Befits, Specify	Loss, Specify	Any other	
SC	Count	0	60	5	65
	% within	.0%	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
BC	Count	30	10	0	40
	% within	75.0%	25.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	30	70	5	105
	% within	28.6%	66.7%	4.8%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that caste wise reflections on how did Madduvalasa project affect your life. Most of the SC category people expressed that they lost everything through the construction of the project but contrary to the SC's, BC category people expressed that they benefited from the construction of the project. Overall, 28.6 percent of respondents expressed that they benefited from the construction of the project irrespective of their caste and 66.7 percent of respondents opined that they are at a loss by the construction of the project.

In the year 2002 the Reservoir completed almost 54 families belonging to Turpu Kapus who have migrated to other places as they got compensation and employment by the state government. Since no Dalits have any land, in their possession, they could not get any compensation and they remained with empty hands. The sole livelihood of the agrarian labour also fell in trouble. Naturally, no caste has its share in the employment except Turpu Kapus. The proclaimed reservation for Dalits could not provide even a Group D post for them. During the land acquisition, the government promised jobs for the people. The government gave 10 jobs in Madduvalasa reservoir as work inspectors but unfortunately, no Dalit had a share in it. All the 10 jobs went in favour of Turpu Kapu.

Table 6.9.12. Compensation was provided by the government

Category		Compensation						Total
		Job	Money	Job & Money	House site	Job, money & House site	Money & House site	
SC	Count	5	0	0	60	0	0	65
	% within	7.70%	0.00%	0.00%	92.30%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	4	6	6	4	10	10	40
	% within	10.00%	15.00%	15.00%	10.00%	25.00%	25.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	9	6	6	64	10	10	105
	% within	8.60%	5.70%	5.70%	61.00%	9.50%	9.50%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table shows compensation was provided by the government. Within the SC category, most of them got house site only with 92.3 percent and only 7.7 percent of people got job. Within the BC category, 25 percent of respondents got job, house sit and money, another 25 percent of people got money and house site, 15 percent of respondents got job and money, and another 15 percent of people got only money and 10 percent of people got job and house sites respectively. Overall BC category respondents are more satisfied with compare to SC's compensation was provided by the government. Overall 61 percent of the respondents got house sites, next 9.5 percent of respondents got job, money and house site and 9.5 percent people got money and house site that too they are from BC category.

Since no Dalits have any land, in their possession, they could not get any compensation and they remained with empty hands. The sole livelihood of agrarian labour also fell in trouble. No caste has its share in the employment except Turpu Kapus. The proclaimed reservation for Dalit could not give even a Group D post for them. During the land acquisition, the government promised jobs for the people. The government gave 10 jobs in Madduvalasa reservoir as work inspectors but unfortunately, no Dalit had a share in it. All the 10 jobs went in the favour of Turpu Kapu.

Table 6.9.13. Government has provided fair compensation to you

Category		Fair compensation			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
SC	Count	2	57	6	65
	% within	3.1%	87.7%	9.2%	100.0%
BC	Count	40	0	0	40
	% within	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	42	57	6	105
	% within	40.0%	54.3%	5.7%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains caste wise reflections on government have provided fair compensation to you. Overall BC category respondents are 100 percent satisfied whereas SC's are only 3.1 percent and 87.7 percent of them are not satisfied with the compensation was provided by the government. Overall 54.3 percent of the respondents not satisfied and 40 percent satisfied with the compensation was provided by the government and 5.7 percent expressed that they don't know about it. In 2002, they left the old village and shifted to new village. Joint collector allocated house sites to both Turpu Kapus and Dalits in 2002. As a compensation plots for construction of new houses along with 17000 rupees for each family and Malas did not get any jobs, whereas Turpu Kapus have got jobs and money.

Table 6.9.14. Representation to higher authorities for compensation

Education		Represent to the higher authorities			Total
		Yes	No	DK/ N.A	
Illiterate	Count	33	2	16	51
	% within	64.7%	3.9%	31.4%	100.0%
Primary	Count	2	1	5	8
	% within	25.0%	12.5%	62.5%	100.0%
Upper Primary	Count	7	0	7	14
	% within	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Secondary	Count	11	0	3	14
	% within	78.6%	.0%	21.4%	100.0%
Inter to Degree	Count	7	1	5	13
	% within	53.8%	7.7%	38.5%	100.0%
PG and Above	Count	0	1	4	5
	% within	.0%	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	Count	60	5	40	105
	% within	57.1%	4.8%	38.1%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table describes the education wise reflections. Overall 54.3 percent of the respondents were not satisfied with the compensation provided by the government and whereas only 40 percent satisfied with government. So after some point of time, people gave representations to the higher officials as table shows; 57.1 percent of respondents agreed that they gave representations to higher officials whereas 4.8 expressed that they didn't give any representations to higher officials but one interesting point is 38.1 percent expressed that they don't know or not appropriate. One interesting point to note is that from illiterate to degree people agreed that they gave representations whereas PG and above respondents said that they didn't give any representation to the higher officials. Malas of the Laxmipeta submitted several representations to the government officials to provide them livelihood options.

Table 6.9.15. Response of Government officials

Category		officials respond to your request				Total
		Considered representation	Denied representation	Considered request on moral ground	D.K / N.A	
SC	Count	5	3	52	5	65
	% within	7.7%	4.6%	80.0%	7.7%	100.0%
BC	Count	0	0	0	40	40
	% within	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	3	52	45	105
	% within	4.8%	2.9%	49.5%	42.9%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that caste wise reflections on government officials response on their request. Overall 54.3 percent of the respondents agreed that government officials considered their representation and request on moral ground whereas 2.9 expressed that government officials are denied their representation and remaining 42.9 percent said that they don't know or not appropriate. One interesting point to note is that only SC's gave representation whereas BC's did not give representation to officials. In 2002, they left the old village and shifted to new village. Joint collector allocated this land to the Dalits in 2002. As compensation, the government has provided to the Dalits, plots for construction of new houses along with 17000 rupees for each family and Malas did not get any jobs. Drinking water facility was arranged in the village.

Table 6.9.16. Village profile before Madduvalasa reservoir

Category		Village before reservoir project		Total
		United Village	Divided based on castes	
SC	Count	10	55	65
	% within	15.4%	84.6%	100.0%
BC	Count	5	35	40
	% within	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	15	90	105
	% within	14.3%	85.7%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains caste wise reflections on village before Madduvalasa reservoir project. Overall irrespective of their caste background 85.7 percent of the respondents expressed that the

village was divided based on the caste before Madduvalasa reservoir project. Only 14.3 percent said that it was united. Like any other village Laxmipeta is divided into two parts: The Dalitwada and the Upper caste locality.

Table 6.9.17. Have you had a Dalit ghetto before the Madduvalasa

Category		Dalit ghetto before project		Total
		Yes	No	
SC	Count	55	10	65
	% within	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
BC	Count	35	5	40
	% within	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	90	15	105
	% within	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains caste wise reflections on village had Dalit ghetto before Madduvalasa reservoir project. Overall irrespective of their caste background 85.7 percent of the respondents said that the village had Dalit ghetto before Madduvalasa reservoir project. There was clear demarcation between castes. Dalits used to live in ghettos which historically separated them from the mainstream village.

Table 6.9.18. Dalit ghetto locations change after the rehabilitation and resettlement

Category		Dalit ghetto after the rehabilitation		Total
		Yes	No	
SC	Count	55	10	65
	% within	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
BC	Count	35	5	40
	% within	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	90	15	105
	% within	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains caste wise reflections on village Dalit ghetto locations change after the rehabilitation and resettlement. Irrespective of their caste background, an overall 85.7 percent of the respondents said that the village Dalit ghetto locations changed after the rehabilitation and resettlement. The housing sites were allocated to villagers of the Laxmipeta near to the old village

soon after the completion of the project. In the year 2002, Malas have shifted and constructed their huts in the newly allocated site. Later, the Turpu Kapus shifted their houses to the allocated place but Turpu Kapus had objection to live adjacent to the Mala colony and threatened them to shift to other place as the Dalits cannot live on the side of the Turpu Kapus.

Table 6.9.19. What determines the social status of a person?

Type of Respondent	Determines the social status of a person				Total
	Caste	Land	Education	Employment	
Victims	52	7	1	0	60
	86.7%	11.7%	1.7%	.0%	100.0%
Accused	9	11	7	3	30
	30.0%	36.7%	23.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Others in the village	9	6	0	0	15
	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
activists and academicians	25	0	0	0	25
	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Bureaucrats	5	0	0	0	5
	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	100	24	8	3	135
	74.1%	17.8%	5.9%	2.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains different type of respondents' reflections on what determines social status of a person. Total respondents irrespective of their type expressed that caste with 74.1 percent plays a predominant role on determining the social status of a person. Next to caste, land with 17.8 percent, education with 5.9 percent and employment with 2.2 percent said the determines social status of a person in the descending order. 86.7 percent of the victims said that caste is the main reason to determine the status of a person in the society. Accused says that land pays a prime role in determining the social status of a person followed by caste and education. Activist, academicians and bureaucrats 100 percent agreed that caste plays a vital role in determining the social status of a person.

Table 6.9.20. Caste reflections on determines the social status of a person

Category		determines the social status of a person				Total
		Caste	Land	Education	Employment	
SC	Count	67	12	1	0	80
	% within	83.8%	15.0%	1.2%	.0%	100.0%
ST	Count	3	0	0	0	3
	% within	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	26	12	7	3	48
	% within	54.2%	25.0%	14.6%	6.2%	100.0%
Others	Count	4	0	0	0	4
	% within	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	100	24	8	3	135
	% within	74.1%	17.8%	5.9%	2.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains caste reflections on what determines the social status of a person. Total respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that overall caste with 74.1 percent plays a predominant role on determining the social status of a person. Next to caste, land with 17.8 percent, education with 5.9 percent and employment with 2.2 percent acquired position of determines of social status of a person in the descending order. 83.8 percent of the SC's said that caste is the main reason to determine social status of a person in the society. ST and others are 100 percent agreed that caste plays a vital role in determining the social status of a person. Majority of the BC's said that caste and land plays a predominant role in determining the social status of a person followed by education and employment.

Table 6.9.21. Gender reflections on Do you ever face any kind of discrimination

Gender		Ever face any kind of discrimination			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Male	Count	68	26	7	101
	% within	67.3%	25.7%	6.9%	100.0%
Female	Count	14	12	8	34
	% within	41.2%	35.3%	23.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	82	38	15	135
	% within	60.7%	28.1%	11.1%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table shows that gender reflections on do you ever face any kind of discrimination. Total respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that they have been facing discrimination in various aspects of their life and discrimination forms are changing from person to person and position to position. Only 28.1 percent said that they didn't face discrimination and 11.1 percent expressed that they don't know about it. One interesting point is that males are more discriminated than females.

Table 6.9.22. Caste reflections on Do you ever face any kind of discrimination

Category		Face any kind of discrimination			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
SC	Count	70	0	10	80
	% within	87.5%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
ST	Count	3	0	0	3
	% within	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	9	34	5	48
	% within	18.8%	70.8%	10.4%	100.0%
Others	Count	0	4	0	4
	% within	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	82	38	15	135
	% within	60.7%	28.1%	11.1%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table shows that caste reflections on do you ever face any kind of discrimination. 60.7 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that they have been facing discrimination in various aspects of their life and discrimination forms are changing from person to person and position to position. Only 28.1 percent said that they didn't face discrimination and 11.1 percent expressed that they don't know about it. Generally, others did not face any kind of discrimination as their hierarchical position in the caste ladder. Very less percent of BC's expressed that they also faced discrimination. It is evident that the untouchability is being practiced in day to day life. SC and ST caste groups faced discrimination with comparison to other caste groups in the Indian society.

Table 6.9.23. What is the reason for the discrimination that you faced?

Occupation		Reason for the discrimination that you faced				Total
		Caste	Religion	Illiteracy	N.A	
Agriculture laborer	Count	43	7	3	6	59
	% within	72.9%	11.9%	5.1%	10.2%	100.0%
Daily wage laborer	Count	9	0	2	0	11
	% within	81.8%	.0%	18.2%	.0%	100.0%
Farmer	Count	4	3	0	10	17
	% within	23.5%	17.6%	.0%	58.8%	100.0%
Employee	Count	3	0	0	0	3
	% within	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Self-employee	Count	3	0	0	4	7
	% within	42.9%	.0%	.0%	57.1%	100.0%
Business	Count	0	0	0	6	6
	% within	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Student	Count	16	3	0	4	23
	% within	69.6%	13.0%	.0%	17.4%	100.0%
Other	Count	8	1	0	0	9
	% within	88.9%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	86	14	5	30	135
	% within	63.7%	10.4%	3.7%	22.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that different occupational respondents expressed reasons for the discrimination they faced. 63.7 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that they have been facing discrimination in various aspects of their life and discrimination forms are changing from person to person and position to position. Only 28.1 percent said that they didn't face discrimination and 11.1 percent expressed that they don't know about it. Generally, others did not face any kind of discrimination as their hierarchical position in the caste ladder. Apparently, the discrimination on the basis of caste is prevailed in the village.

Table 6.9.24. Have you experienced untouchability

Type of Respondent		Experienced untouchability		Total
		Yes	No	
Victims	Count	55	5	60
	% within	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
Accused	Count	0	30	30
	% within	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Others in the village	Count	5	10	15
	% within	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
activists and academicians	Count	14	11	25
	% within	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	5	5
	% within	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	61	135
	% within	54.8%	45.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that type of respondents' reflections on experiencing untouchability in their day to day life. 54.8 percent of respondents expressed that they have been facing discrimination. Only 45.2 percent said that they didn't face discrimination. 91.1 percent of victims expressed that they faced discrimination in their life. It is evident that the untouchability is being practiced in day to day life.

Table 6.9.25. Gender reflections on have you experienced untouchability

Gender		Experienced untouchability		Total
		Yes	No	
Male	Count	58	43	101
	% within	57.4%	42.6%	100.0%
Female	Count	16	18	34
	% within	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	61	135
	% within	54.8%	45.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table describes that gender reflections on experienced untouchability. 54.8 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that they experienced untouchability in their

daily life. 45.2 percent said that they didn't face untouchability. Male experienced more untouchability than female respondents. Malas are subjected to untouchability in everyday life and not allowed to enter in to the houses of upper castes and their entry in to the temples is prohibited and different treatment even in the school also.

Table 6.9.26. Category reflections on have you experienced untouchability

Category		Experienced untouchability		Total
		Yes	No	
SC	Count	69	11	80
	% within	86.2%	13.8%	100.0%
ST	Count	0	3	3
	% within	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	5	43	48
	% within	10.4%	89.6%	100.0%
Others	Count	0	4	4
	% within	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	61	135
	% within	54.8%	45.2%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table shows that caste reflections on experienced untouchability. 54.8 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that they experienced untouchability. 45.2 percent said that they didn't face untouchability. Generally other caste groups did not face any kind of untouchability as their high position in the caste ladder and ST's did not experience untouchability as a reason for they are not part in the caste hierarchy. Very less percent of BC's expressed that they also faced untouchability. SC's are most vulnerable and untouchable groups in the caste ladder, so they experienced untouchability as part and parcel of the caste identity.

Table 6.9.27. Nature of the caste-based discrimination in your experience

Type of Respondent		Nature of the caste-based discrimination				Total
		Calling by caste name	Humiliation at Public Places	All the above	N.A	
Victims	Count	0	2	53	5	60
	% within	.0%	3.3%	88.3%	8.3%	100.0%
Accused	Count	0	5	0	25	30
	% within	.0%	16.7%	.0%	83.3%	100.0%
Others in the village	Count	2	3	0	10	15
	% within	13.3%	20.0%	.0%	66.7%	100.0%
activists and academicians	Count	0	0	25	0	25
	% within	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	0	5	0	5
	% within	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	10	83	40	135
	% within	1.5%	7.4%	61.5%	29.6%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the nature of the caste-based discrimination. 61.5 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that they experienced discrimination through calling by caste names, humiliation at public places, physical attacks, sexual attacks and damage to property. 7.4 percent said that they faced humiliation at public places, 1.5 percent said that they discriminated by calling caste names and 29.6 percent expressed that it is not appropriate to them.

Table 6.9.28. Education reflections on the nature of the caste-based discrimination

Education		Nature of the caste-based discrimination				Total
		Calling by caste name	Humiliation at Public Places	All the above	N.A	
Illiterate	Count	1	3	31	16	51
	% within	2.0%	5.9%	60.8%	31.4%	100.0%
Primary	Count	0	1	2	5	8
	% within	.0%	12.5%	25.0%	62.5%	100.0%
Upper Primary	Count	0	5	2	7	14
	% within	.0%	35.7%	14.3%	50.0%	100.0%
Secondary	Count	0	0	11	3	14
	% within	.0%	.0%	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%
Inter to Degree	Count	1	0	14	5	20
	% within	5.0%	.0%	70.0%	25.0%	100.0%
PG and Above	Count	0	1	23	4	28
	% within	.0%	3.6%	82.1%	14.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	10	83	40	135
	% within	1.5%	7.4%	61.5%	29.6%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the nature of the caste-based discrimination. 61.5 percent of respondents irrespective of their education expressed that they experienced discrimination through called by caste names, humiliation at public places, physical attacks, sexual attacks and damage to property. 7.4 percent said that they faced humiliation at public places, 1.5 percent said that they discriminated by calling caste names and 29.6 percent expressed that it is not appropriate to them. It can be identified that when the level of education is goes up the level of understanding nature of discrimination is also increasing so there is a correlation between level of education and understanding of nature of discrimination, humiliation and untouchability is prevailing in the village in all walks of life.

Table 6.9.29. Does any of the Dalits ever become a Sarpanch to your village

Category		Dalits ever become a Sarpanch	Total
		Yes	
SC	Count	65	65
	% within	100.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	40	40
	% within	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	105	105
	% within	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that does any of Dalit ever become a Sarpanch to your village. 100 percent of the respondents irrespective of their caste agreed that Dalit became Sarpanch. In the year 2006, the Sarpanch of the Village Panchayat post was reserved for SC Women. Chitri Simhalamma belonging to the SC mala Community was elected unanimously.

Table 6.9.30. Any noticeable changes after Dalit elected as a Sarpanch

Category		Any noticeable changes			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
SC	Count	55	10	0	65
	% within	84.6%	15.4%	.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	5	33	2	40
	% within	12.5%	82.5%	5.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	60	43	2	105
	% within	57.1%	41.0%	1.9%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that any noticeable changes after Dalit elected as a Sarpanch. Overall 57.1 percent of the respondents expressed that there are some noticeable changes in the village and 41 percent said that there are no noticeable changes in the village. Within the SCs, 84.6 percent expressed that there are noticeable changes in contrast to this within BCs, 82.5 percent expressed that there are no noticeable changes. However, the Sarpanch sanction funds for the infrastructure development of the Dalits such as construction of roads, footpaths and drainage systems.

Table 6.9.31. Governance under Dalit Sarpanch

Category		Governance under Dalit Sarpanch		Total
		Effective	Ineffective	
SC	Count	65	0	65
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	5	35	40
	% within	12.50%	87.50%	100.00%
Total	Count	70	35	105
	% within	66.70%	33.30%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that governance under Dalit Sarpanch. Overall 66.7 percent of the respondents expressed that effective governance under Dalit Sarpanch and 33.3 percent said that ineffective governance under Dalit Sarpanch. Within the SCs, 100 percent expressed that effective governance under Dalit Sarpanch in contrast to this within BCs 87.5 percent expressed that ineffective governance under Dalit Sarpanch.

Table 6.9.32. Dalit Sarpanch enjoy autonomy to carry out the process of governance

Education		Dalit sarpanch enjoy autonomy to carry out the process of governance			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Illiterate	Count	12	35	4	51
	% within	23.50%	68.60%	7.80%	100.00%
Primary	Count	5	3	0	8
	% within	62.50%	37.50%	0.00%	100.00%
Upper Primary	Count	10	4	0	14
	% within	71.40%	28.60%	0.00%	100.00%
Secondary	Count	1	12	1	14
	% within	7.10%	85.70%	7.10%	100.00%
Inter to Degree	Count	4	9	0	13
	% within	30.80%	69.20%	0.00%	100.00%
PG and Above	Count	4	1	0	5
	% within	80.00%	20.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	36	64	5	105
	% within	34.30%	61.00%	4.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that Dalit Sarpanch enjoy the autonomy to carry out the process of governance. Overall 61 percent of the respondents expressed that Dalit Sarpanch didn't enjoy the autonomy to carry out the process of governance and 33.3 percent said that the Dalit Sarpanch enjoy the autonomy to carry out the process of governance. When education level goes up, the level of acceptance is also increasing.

Table 6.9.33. Hindrances faced by Dalit Sarpanch

Category		Hindrances faced by Dalit Sarpanch					Total
		Caste	Gender	Education	Non-cooperation	Unaware of rules and regulations	
SC	Count	41	13	5	6	0	65
	% within	63.10%	20.00%	7.70%	9.20%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	13	12	3	5	7	40
	% within	32.50%	30.00%	7.50%	12.50%	17.50%	100.00%
Total	Count	54	25	8	11	7	105
	% within	51.40%	23.80%	7.60%	10.50%	6.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the hindrances faced by Dalit Sarpanch. Overall 51 percent of the respondents expressed that casteist mind set is the prime factor to the hindrance faced by the Dalit Sarpanch, followed by gender with 23 percent and non-cooperation with 10.5 percent. The Turpu Kapus told the woman Sarpanch, after the elections she doesn't have to come to the Panchayat office because then Vice-President of the village Avu Venkat Rao will take care of everything. The Vice President belongs to the Turpu Kapu community. This has continued for almost one year that she was not invited for the meetings, Vice President used to look after the affairs of Panchayat, whenever signatures required, she was forced to sign on the papers. After one year Chitri Simhalamma (Panchayat President) resisted and told them that she would continue to do the job that was assigned to her. The Kapus did not like this. Also they used to ask her to sign blank cheques as the Panchayat President and when she questioned this and also asked for the accounts of expenditure, it was also not liked by the Turpu Kapus.¹⁵

¹⁵Interview with Chitri Simhalamma on 13 December 2017

Table 6.9.34 Response of different castes about physical fights

Category	Dalits and non-Dalits in Laxmipeta go for physical fights			Total
	Frequently	Rarely	Never	
SC	31	30	4	65
	47.70%	46.20%	6.20%	100.00%
BC	12	28	0	40
	30.00%	70.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	43	58	4	105
	41.00%	55.20%	3.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that Dalits and non-Dalits in Laxmipeta go for physical fights. All together 96.2 percent of respondents expressed that Dalits and non-Dalits go for physical fights. Within the SCs 47.7 percent said that they frequently go for physical fights in contrast to this within the BCs 70 percent said that rarely they go for physical fights. Dalits used to go to work in the nearby towns/ villages in the morning itself. Hence, the attack started in the morning. The peasant caste people hurled the country made bombs and attacked with traditional arms. They have made indiscriminate attacks on selected Dalit persons and they have not shown any mercy on Dalits. Though the Dalit women were asking for pardon, the caste people had made unbridled attacks on all the Dalits. In this attack, they murdered four Dalit males almost on the spot and one male succumbed to injuries in King George hospital in Visakhapatnam. As of now, dozens of Dalits are taking treatment in Rajeev Gandhi Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS) Srikakulam.

Table 6.9.35. Response on beginning of the quarrel

Category		who initiates the quarrel		Total
		SC	BC	
SC	Count	6	59	65
	% within	9.20%	90.80%	100.00%
BC	Count	36	4	40
	% within	90.00%	10.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	42	63	105
	% within	40.00%	60.00%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that who initiates the quarrel first. Overall 60 percent of the respondents said that BCs initiated the quarrel and 40 percent expressed that SCs initiated the quarrel. Both blame the vice-versa.

Table 6.9.36. Reasons for quarrel and which would lead to physical fights

Category		Reasons for quarrel and which would lead to physical fights					Total
		caste based discrimination	women assault	obstructing from the use of public resources	Land	all of the above	
SC	Count	6	19	7	3	30	65
	% within	9.20%	29.20%	10.80%	4.60%	46.20%	100.00%
BC	Count	3	3	0	34	0	40
	% within	7.50%	7.50%	0.00%	85.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	9	22	7	37	30	105
	% within	8.60%	21.00%	6.70%	35.20%	28.60%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the reasons for quarrel which lead to physical fight. Overall 35.2 percent said that land is the main reason for the physical fight and 28.6 percent of the people expressed that above all such as caste based discrimination, women assault, obstructing from the use of public places and land. 21 percent said that women assault and 8.6 percent caste based discrimination. Within SC, 46.2 percent said that all the above and 29 percent expressed that women assault, 10.8 percent expressed that obstructing from public places and 9.2 percent said that caste based discrimination. Within BC, 85 percent expressed that land is the main reason. 7.5 percent expressed that Caste and women assault caused respectively.

Table 6.9.37. Reasons for the outbreak of violence in Laxmipeta

Category		Reasons for the outbreak of violence in Laxmipeta						Total
		Caste	Practice of untouchability	Land	Political power	Assertion of Self-respect	all of the above	
SC	Count	8	6	20	0	4	27	65
	% within	12.30%	9.20%	30.80%	0.00%	6.20%	41.50%	100.00%
BC	Count	2	0	35	3	0	0	40
	% within	5.00%	0.00%	87.50%	7.50%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	10	6	55	3	4	27	105
	% within	9.50%	5.70%	52.40%	2.90%	3.80%	25.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the reasons for the outbreak of violence in Laxmipeta. Overall 52.4 percent said that the land is the main reason for the outbreak of violence in Laxmipeta and 25.7 percent of the people expressed that above all such as caste, practice of untouchability, land, political power and assertion of self-respect. 9.2 percent said that caste and 5.7 percent said practice of untouchability. Within SC, 41.5 percent said that all the above and 30.8 percent expressed that land, 12 percent expressed that caste and 9.2 percent said that practice of untouchability. Within BC, 87.5 percent expressed that land is the main reason. 7.5 percent expressed that political power and 5 percent said that caste.

Table 6.9.38. Basic livelihood options for Dalits

Category		Basic livelihood options for Dalits						Total
		Agriculture	Agriculture laborers	Traditional occupations	Construction labour	Unorganized sector	above of all	
SC	Count	0	30	0	12	4	34	80
	% within	0.00%	37.50%	0.00%	15.00%	5.00%	42.50%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
	% within	0.00%	33.30%	0.00%	33.30%	0.00%	33.30%	100.00%
BC	Count	4	22	3	15	3	1	48
	% within	8.30%	45.80%	6.20%	31.20%	6.20%	2.10%	100.00%
Others	Count	1	1	0	1	1	0	4
	% within	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	5	54	3	29	8	36	135
	% within	3.70%	40.00%	2.20%	21.50%	5.90%	26.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that different caste people expressed that basic livelihood options available for Dalits. 40 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that agriculture labour is the prime livelihood option for the Dalits. Next basic livelihood option is construction labour with 21.5 percent but 26.7 percent told that above all occupations are available to them. Within SC's, 42.5 percent of the people expressed that above all occupations are available to them. 37.5 percent of people said that agriculture labour is the most available livelihood option to them. Next construction labour and unorganized sector jobs are available to them. It can be identified that all most all caste people expressed that agriculture is the best and available option to them since ages.

Table 6.9.39. Education reflections on basic livelihood options for Dalits

Education		Basic livelihood options for Dalits						Total
		Agriculture	Agriculture laborers	Traditional occupations	Construction labour	Unorganized sector	above of all	
Illiterate	Count	0	16	2	8	2	23	51
	% within	0.00%	31.40%	3.90%	15.70%	3.90%	45.10%	100.00%
Primary	Count	1	3	0	2	0	2	8
	% within	12.50%	37.50%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%	100.00%
Upper Primary	Count	0	8	0	4	0	2	14
	% within	0.00%	57.10%	0.00%	28.60%	0.00%	14.30%	100.00%
Secondary	Count	2	3	1	4	0	4	14
	% within	14.30%	21.40%	7.10%	28.60%	0.00%	28.60%	100.00%
Inter to Degree	Count	1	8	0	4	3	4	20
	% within	5.00%	40.00%	0.00%	20.00%	15.00%	20.00%	100.00%
PG and Above	Count	1	16	0	7	3	1	28
	% within	3.60%	57.10%	0.00%	25.00%	10.70%	3.60%	100.00%
Total	Count	5	54	3	29	8	36	135
	% within	3.70%	40.00%	2.20%	21.50%	5.90%	26.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the basic livelihood options available for Dalits. 40 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that agriculture labour is the prime livelihood option for the Dalits. Next basic livelihood option is construction labour with 21.5 percent but 26.7 percent told that above all occupations are available to them. Overall it can be identified that when education level goes up, the level of understanding on agriculture labour is the basic option for Dalits.

Table 6.9.40. Occupation reflections on basic livelihood options for Dalits

Occupation		Basic livelihood options for Dalits						Total
		Agriculture	Agriculture laborers	Traditional occupations	Construction labour	Unorganized sector	above of all	
agriculture laborer	Count	2	20	1	5	3	28	59
	% within	3.40%	33.90%	1.70%	8.50%	5.10%	47.50%	100.00%
Daily wage labourer	Count	1	3	1	3	0	3	11
	% within	9.10%	27.30%	9.10%	27.30%	0.00%	27.30%	100.00%
farmer	Count	0	9	0	8	0	0	17
	% within	0.00%	52.90%	0.00%	47.10%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
employee	Count	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.30%	66.70%	0.00%	100.00%
self-employee	Count	0	5	0	2	0	0	7
	% within	0.00%	71.40%	0.00%	28.60%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
business	Count	0	5	0	1	0	0	6
	% within	0.00%	83.30%	0.00%	16.70%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
student	Count	1	10	0	7	1	4	23
	% within	4.30%	43.50%	0.00%	30.40%	4.30%	17.40%	100.00%
Other	Count	1	2	1	2	2	1	9
	% within	11.10%	22.20%	11.10%	22.20%	22.20%	11.10%	100.00%
Total	Count	5	54	3	29	8	36	135
	% within	3.70%	40.00%	2.20%	21.50%	5.90%	26.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the basic livelihood options available for Dalits. 40 percent of the respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that agriculture labour is the prime livelihood option for the Dalits. Next basic livelihood option is construction labour with 21.5 percent but 26.7 percent told that above all occupations are available to them. Within agriculture labourer, 33.9 percent of the people expressed that agriculture labour is basic livelihood option to them and 47.5 percent of people expressed that above all occupations are available to them. It can be identified that all most all occupational people expressed that tradition occupations are the least basic option for the Dalits. Some of the Dalits going to nearby towns to do construction works.

Table 6.9.41. Weapons used in the violence

Age		Weapons used in the violence						Total
		Spears	Axes	Sticks	Bombs	All of the above	D.K	
15-25	Count	4	0	7	0	8	0	19
	% within	21.10%	0.00%	36.80%	0.00%	42.10%	0.00%	100.00%
26-35	Count	6	4	1	6	16	0	33
	% within	18.20%	12.10%	3.00%	18.20%	48.50%	0.00%	100.00%
36- 45	Count	3	3	1	5	18	1	31
	% within	9.70%	9.70%	3.20%	16.10%	58.10%	3.20%	100.00%
46- 55	Count	0	1	5	1	17	0	24
	% within	0.00%	4.20%	20.80%	4.20%	70.80%	0.00%	100.00%
56- 65	Count	0	0	5	0	17	0	22
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	22.70%	0.00%	77.30%	0.00%	100.00%
> 65	Count	0	0	2	0	4	0	6
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	33.30%	0.00%	66.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	13	8	21	12	80	1	135
	% within	9.60%	5.90%	15.60%	8.90%	59.30%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the weapons used in the violence. Overall 59.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their age expressed that the above weapons are used in the violence such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs and so on. Next to the above all option, sticks with 15. 6 percent, spears with 9.6 percent, bombs with 8.9 percent, axes with 5.9 percent. It can be identified that majority of all aged people expressed that all weapons used in the violence such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs.

Table 6.9.42. Gender reflections on weapons used in the violence

Gender		Weapons used in the violence						Total
		Spears	Axes	Sticks	Bombs	All of the above	D.K	
Male	Count	1	6	14	10	70	0	101
	% within	1.00%	5.90%	13.90%	9.90%	69.30%	0.00%	100.00%
Female	Count	12	2	7	2	10	1	34
	% within	35.30%	5.90%	20.60%	5.90%	29.40%	2.90%	100.00%
Total	Count	13	8	21	12	80	1	135
	% within	9.60%	5.90%	15.60%	8.90%	59.30%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the weapons used in the violence. Overall 59.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their age expressed that above all weapons used in the violence such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs and so on. Next to the above all option, sticks with 15.6 percent, spears with 9.6 percent, bombs with 8.9 percent, axes with 5.9 percent. It can be identified that some of the female respondents were eye witnesses in the attacks they clearly expressed than male respondents how the attack was initiated and the weapons such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs used in the violence.

Table 6.9.43. Caste reflections on weapons used in the violence

Category		Weapons used in the violence						Total
		Spears	Axes	Sticks	Bombs	All of the above	D.K	
SC	Count	6	3	3	5	63	0	80
	% within	7.50%	3.80%	3.80%	6.20%	78.80%	0.00%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	7	5	18	7	10	1	48
	% within	14.60%	10.40%	37.50%	14.60%	20.80%	2.10%	100.00%
Others	Count	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	13	8	21	12	80	1	135
	% within	9.60%	5.90%	15.60%	8.90%	59.30%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the weapons used in the violence. Within the SC's, 78.8 percent of people expressed that above all weapons are used in the violence. Almost all other caste people and STs said that above all weapons used in the violence. Within the BC's, only 20.8 percent said that above all weapons used and majority of them said that only sticks are used in the violence. Overall 59.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their age expressed that above all weapons used in the violence such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs and so on. Next to the above all option, sticks with 15.6 percent, spears with 9.6 percent, bombs with 8.9 percent, axes with 5.9 percent. It can be identified that some of the female respondents were eye witnesses in the attacks they clearly expressed than male respondents how the attack was initiated and the weapons such as spears, axes, sticks, bombs used in the violence.

Table 6.9.44. which form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims

Type of Respondent		Form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims						Total
		Beat to death	Head injuries	breaking bones	Stabbing	demolishing properties	all of the above	
Victims	Count	6	7	9	1	0	37	60
	% within	10.00%	11.70%	15.00%	1.70%	0.00%	61.70%	100.00%
Accused	Count	0	12	6	5	7	0	30
	% within	0.00%	40.00%	20.00%	16.70%	23.30%	0.00%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	2	2	1	2	1	7	15
	% within	13.30%	13.30%	6.70%	13.30%	6.70%	46.70%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	0	0	0	0	0	25	25
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	8	21	16	8	8	74	135
	% within	5.90%	15.60%	11.90%	5.90%	5.90%	54.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that which form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims. Within the Victims's, 61.7 percent of people expressed that above all such as beat to death, head injuries, breaking bone, stabbing, demolishing properties. Further 15 percent expressed that accused inflicted to break bones, head injuries is 11.7 percent; beaten upto death is 10 percent. Within the accused, 40 percent expressed that they inflicted head injuries on the victims. Further, demolishing property is 23.3 percent, breaking bones with 20 percent and stabbing with 16.7 percent. Within the activist, academicians and bureaucrats, 100 percent expressed that above all injuries inflicted on the victims. Overall 54.8 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that above all. Next to the above all option, with head injuries 15. 6 percent, breaking bones 11.9 percent, stabbing and demolishing property with 5.9 percent respectively and beat to death with 5.9 percent.

Table 6.9.45. which form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims?

Category		Form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims						Total
		Beat to death	Head injuries	breaking bones	Stabbing	demolishing properties	all of the above	
SC	Count	6	9	9	1	0	55	80
	% within	7.5%	11.2%	11.2%	1.2%	.0%	68.8%	100.0%
ST	Count	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
	% within	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
BC	Count	2	12	7	7	8	12	48
	% within	4.2%	25.0%	14.6%	14.6%	16.7%	25.0%	100.0%
Others	Count	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
	% within	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	8	21	16	8	8	74	135
	% within	5.9%	15.6%	11.9%	5.9%	5.9%	54.8%	100.0%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that which form of injuries does the accused inflict on the victims. Within the SCs, 68.8 percent of people expressed that above all such as beat to death, head injuries, breaking bone, stabbing, demolishing properties. Further, 11.2 percent expressed that accused inflicted to break bones and head injuries respectively. 7.5 percent said that beat unto the death. Within the BC, 25 percent expressed that they inflicted head injuries on the victims and also said that above all. Further, demolishing property is 16.7 percent, breaking bones and stabbing with 14.6 percent. Within the others and ST, 100 percent expressed above all. Overall 54.8 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that above all. Next to the above all option, head injuries with 15.6 percent, breaking bones 11.9 percent, stabbing and demolishing property with 5.9 percent respectively and beat to death with 5.9 percent.

Table 6.9.46. Who are the players involved in the violence?

Age		Who are the players involved in the violence			Total
		Men	Women	All of the above	
15-25	Count	6	2	11	19
	% within	31.60%	10.50%	57.90%	100.00%
26-35	Count	5	3	25	33
	% within	15.20%	9.10%	75.80%	100.00%
36- 45	Count	9	0	22	31
	% within	29.00%	0.00%	71.00%	100.00%
46- 55	Count	7	0	17	24
	% within	29.20%	0.00%	70.80%	100.00%
56- 65	Count	7	0	15	22
	% within	31.80%	0.00%	68.20%	100.00%
> 65	Count	2	0	4	6
	% within	33.30%	0.00%	66.70%	100.00%
Total	Count	36	5	94	135
	% within	26.70%	3.70%	69.60%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that who are the players involved in the violence. Overall 69.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their age expressed that all of the above means, men, women and children. All of the above option, men with 26.7 percent, women with 3.7 percent. It is interesting to share that the children and women initiated the squabble.

Table 6.9.47. Category reflections on who are the players involved in the violence?

Category		Who are the players involved in the violence			Total
		Men	Women	All of the above	
SC	Count	5	5	70	80
	% within	6.20%	6.20%	87.50%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	0	3	3
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	31	0	17	48
	% within	64.60%	0.00%	35.40%	100.00%
Others	Count	0	0	4	4
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	36	5	94	135
	% within	26.70%	3.70%	69.60%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that who are the players involved in the violence. Within the SCs, 87.5 percent of people expressed that above all such as men, women and children. Further 6.2 percent expressed that men and women respectively. Within the BC, 64.6 percent expressed that men only and 35.4 percent said that above all involved in the attack. Within the others and ST, 100 percent expressed that all people involved in it. Overall 69.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that all of the above, it indicates that men, women and children. All of the above option, men with 26.7 percent, women with 3.7 percent. It is interesting to share that the children and women initiated the squabble.

Table 6.9.48. Who are the victims in this violence?

Type of Respondent		Who are the victims in this violence		Total
		SC	BC	
Victims	Count	60	0	60
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	25	5	30
	% within	83.30%	16.70%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	15	0	15
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	25	0	25
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	5	0	5
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	130	5	135
	% within	96.30%	3.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that who the victims in the violence are. Overall 96.3 percent of the respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that SCs are victims in the incident and only 3.7 percent expressed that BCs are also victims in the attack. Interesting to note that except BCs, all other caste groups 100 percent agreed that only SCs are victims in the attack.

Table 6.9.49. Who had approached police station firstly

Type of Respondent		Who had approached police station firstly	Total
		SC	
Victims	Count	60	60
	% within	100.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	30	30
	% within	100.00%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	15	15
	% within	100.00%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	25	25
	% within	100.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	5	5
	% within	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	135	135
	% within t	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that who had approached police station firstly. Overall 100 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that SCs approached the police station firstly.

Table 6.9.50. Does the police respond immediately

Type of Respondent		Do the police respond immediately		Total
		Yes	No	
Victims	Count	0	60	60
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	25	5	30
	% within	83.30%	16.70%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	4	11	15
	% within	26.70%	73.30%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	0	25	25
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	5	5
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	29	106	135
	% within	21.50%	78.50%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that do the police respond immediately. Overall 78.5 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that police didn't respond immediately after

giving complaint to them and only 21.5 percent expressed that police responded immediately. This 21.5 percent respondent belongs to BC only, remaining all other caste groups expressed that not responded properly.

Table 6.9.51. Any civil society organisations/caste organization condemned the violence

Gender		Any civil society organisations/caste organization condemned the violence			Total
		Yes	No	DK / N.A	
Male	Count	100	0	1	101
	% within	99.00%	0.00%	1.00%	100.00%
Female	Count	30	4	0	34
	% within	88.20%	11.80%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	130	4	1	135
	% within	96.30%	3.00%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that gender reflections on any civil society organisations/caste organization condemned the violence. Overall 96.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations condemned the violence and only 3 percent expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations didn't condemned the violence. Male respondents agreed more than female respondents that civil society organisations/caste organizations condemned the violence.

Table 6.9.52. Education reflections on civil society/caste organizations condemned the violence

Education		Any civil society organisations/caste organization condemned the violence			Total
		Yes	No	DK / N.A	
Illiterate	Count	50	0	1	51
	% within	98.00%	0.00%	2.00%	100.00%
Primary	Count	8	0	0	8
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Upper Primary	Count	10	4	0	14
	% within	71.40%	28.60%	0.00%	100.00%
Secondary	Count	14	0	0	14
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Inter to Degree	Count	20	0	0	20
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
PG and Above	Count	28	0	0	28
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	130	4	1	135
	% within	96.30%	3.00%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that education reflections on any civil society organisations/caste organization condemned the violence. Overall 96.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations condemned the violence and only 3 percent expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations didn't condemn the violence. When education level goes up the level of acceptance is also high with regards to civil society organisations/caste organizations condemned the violence. There is a correlation between education and civil society organisations/caste organizations condemned the violence.

Table 6.9.53. How did they take part in the movement post violence?

Type of Respondent		How did they take part in the movement post violence					Total
		Active Participation in the movement	Economic and moral support	Articulation and representation to the Government	fighting for the justice legally	all of the above	
Victims	Count	8	6	6	40	0	60
	% within	13.30%	10.00%	10.00%	66.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	5	16	9	0	0	30
	% within	16.70%	53.30%	30.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	2	5	3	3	2	15
	% within	13.30%	33.30%	20.00%	20.00%	13.30%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	0	0	0	0	25	25
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	15	27	18	43	32	135
	% within	11.10%	20.00%	13.30%	31.90%	23.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that civil society organisations/caste organizations response in the post violence. Overall 23.7 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations actively participated, economically and morally supported, articulated and represented the issues to the government and fighting for the justice legally. 31.3 percent said that fighting for the justice legally, 20 percent expressed that economically and morally supported. 13.3 percent expressed that articulated and represented to government and only 11.1 percent perceived that actively participated in the movement. Within the victims, 66.7 percent said that fighting for justice legally contrast to this accused expressed that economically and morally supported. Remaining all other groups expressed that all kind of support given by the civil society organisations/caste organizations in the post violence to the victim.

Table 6.9.54. Take part in the movement post violence

Do you follow day to day politics		How did they take part in the movement post violence					Total
		Active Participation in the movement	Economic and moral support	Articulation and representation to the Government	fighting for the justice legally	all of the above	
Yes	Count	15	10	12	15	31	83
	% within	18.10%	12.00%	14.50%	18.10%	37.30%	100.00%
No	Count	0	17	6	28	1	52
	% within	0.00%	32.70%	11.50%	53.80%	1.90%	100.00%
Total	Count	15	27	18	43	32	135
	% within	11.10%	20.00%	13.30%	31.90%	23.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that civil society organisations/caste organizations response in the post violence. Overall 23.7 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations actively participated, economically and morally supported, articulated and represented the issues to the government and fighting for the justice legally. 31.3 percent said that fighting for the justice legally, 20 percent expressed that economically and morally supported. 13.3 percent expressed that articulated and represented to government and only 11.1 percent perceived that actively participated in the movement. Within those who follow day to day politics, 37.3 percent said that civil society organisations/caste organizations actively participated, economically and morally supported, articulated and represented the issues to the government and fighting for the justice legally and contrast to those who don't follow day to day politics 53.8 percent expressed that civil society organisations/caste organizations are not fighting for the justice legally and they are involving with their selfish motives.

Table 6.9.55. Gender reflections on political parties condemned the violence

Gender		Did political parties condemn the violence		Total
		Yes	No	
Male	Count	98	3	101
	% within	97.00%	3.00%	100.00%
Female	Count	29	5	34
	% within	85.30%	14.70%	100.00%
Total	Count	127	8	135
	% within	94.10%	5.90%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that gender reflections on political parties condemned the violence. Overall 94.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that political parties condemned the violence and only 5.9 percent expressed that political parties didn't condemn the violence. Male respondents agreed that political parties condemned the violence than female respondents.

Table 6.9.56. Caste reflections on political parties condemned the violence

Category		Did political parties condemn the violence		Total
		Yes	No	
SC	Count	72	8	80
	% within	90.00%	10.00%	100.00%
ST	Count	3	0	3
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	48	0	48
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Others	Count	4	0	4
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	127	8	135
	% within	94.10%	5.90%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that caste reflections on political parties condemned the violence. Overall 94.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that political parties condemned the violence and only 5.9 percent expressed that political parties didn't condemn the violence. Except SC remaining caste groups, 100 percent accepted that political parties condemned the violence but only 10 percent of SCs not accepted that political parties condemn it.

Table 6.9.57. Occupation reflections on political parties condemned the violence

Occupation		Did political parties condemn the violence		Total
		Yes	No	
agriculture laborer	Count	54	5	59
	% within	91.50%	8.50%	100.00%
Daily wage labourer	Count	8	3	11
	% within	72.70%	27.30%	100.00%
farmer	Count	17	0	17
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Employee	Count	3	0	3
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
self-employee	Count	7	0	7
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Business	Count	6	0	6
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Student	Count	23	0	23
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Other	Count	9	0	9
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	127	8	135
	% within	94.10%	5.90%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that different occupational respondent's reflections on political parties condemned the violence. Overall 94.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their occupation expressed that political parties condemned the violence and only 5.9 percent expressed that political parties didn't condemn the violence. Except agriculture labourer with 91 percent and daily wage labour with 72.7 percent remaining all occupational respondents 100 percent accepted that political parties condemned the violence.

Table 6.9.58. Category reflections on parties

Category		Parties are taking the responsibility in delivering justice			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
SC	Count	9	71	0	80
	% within	11.20%	88.80%	0.00%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	3	0	3
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	35	11	2	48
	% within	72.90%	22.90%	4.20%	100.00%
Others	Count	0	4	0	4
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	44	89	2	135
	% within	32.60%	65.90%	1.50%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice. Overall 65.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that political parties not taking responsibility in delivering the justice to the victims and 32.6 percent said that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice. Only 1.5 percent expressed that they don't know. Within SCs, 88.8 percent said that political parties not taking responsibility in delivering the justice to the victims and contrast to this only 11.2 percent expressed that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice. 100 percent STs and other caste groups expressed that political parties are not taking responsibility in delivering the justice to the victims. Majority of the BCs said that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice.

Table 6.9.59. Parties are taking the responsibility in delivering the justice

Do you follow day to day politics		parties are taking the responsibility in delivering the justice			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Yes	Count	21	60	2	83
	% within	25.30%	72.30%	2.40%	100.00%
No	Count	23	29	0	52
	% within	44.20%	55.80%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	44	89	2	135
	% within	32.60%	65.90%	1.50%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice. Overall 65.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that political parties not taking responsibility in delivering the justice to the victims and 32.6 percent said that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice. Only 1.5 percent expressed that they don't know. Within those who follow day to day politics, 72.3 percent said that political parties not taking responsibility in delivering the justice to the victims and contrast to those who don't follow day to day politics 44.2 percent expressed that political parties taking responsibility in delivering the justice.

Table 6.9.60. What measures does the government take up to serve justice to the victims

Type of Respondent		What measures does the government take up to serve justice to the victims					Total
		Proper investigation	setting up of special court	police picketing	compensation	all of the above	
Victims	Count	5	8	12	35	0	60
	% within	8.30%	13.30%	20.00%	58.30%	0.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	5	7	6	12	0	30
	% within	16.70%	23.30%	20.00%	40.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	2	7	3	3	0	15
	% within	13.30%	46.70%	20.00%	20.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	1	1	1	3	19	25
	% within	4.00%	4.00%	4.00%	12.00%	76.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	0	0	0	5	5
	% within	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	13	23	22	53	24	135
	% within	9.60%	17.00%	16.30%	39.30%	17.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the measures do the government take up to serve justice to the victims. Overall 39.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that government gave compensation to the victims to serve justice. 17.8 percent of the respondents irrespective of their identity said that all of the above which means proper investigation, setting up of special courts, police picketing and compensation to the victims to deliver justice. 17 percent expressed that setting of special courts, 16.3 percent said that organizing police picketing in the village and 9.6 percent agreed that government initiated the proper investigation. Within the victims, 58.3

percent expressed that only compensation was given by the government and 13.3 percent said that government established special courts to deliver justice to the victims. Only 8.3 percent said that government initiated proper investigation. Within the accused, 40 percent of them accepted that compensation was given to the victims. 23.3 percent agreed that setting up of special courts to do immediate justice to the victims and also organized police picketing and investigation properly. Most of the Activists, academicians and bureaucrats suggested proper investigation, setting up of special courts, police picketing and compensation to the victims to deliver justice.

Table 6.9.61. Views on Government measures to serve justice the victims

Do you follow day to day politics		What measures does the government take up to serve justice to the victims					Total
		Proper investigation	setting up of special court	police picketing	compensation	all of the above	
Yes	Count	13	7	10	29	24	83
	% within	15.70%	8.40%	12.00%	34.90%	28.90%	100.00%
No	Count	0	16	12	24	0	52
	% within	0.00%	30.80%	23.10%	46.20%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	13	23	22	53	24	135
	% within	9.60%	17.00%	16.30%	39.30%	17.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that what measures does the government take up to serve justice to the victims. Within those who follow day to day politics, 34.9 percent expressed that only compensation was given by the government. 15.7 percent said that government initiated proper investigation, 8.4 percent said that government setting of special courts. Within those who don't follow day to day politics, 46.2 percent of them accepted that compensation was given to the victims. 30.8 percent agreed that setting up of special courts to do immediate justice to the victims, 23.1 percent said that organized police picketing. Overall 39.3 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that government gave compensation to the victims to serve justice. 17.8 percent of the respondents irrespective of their identity said that all of the above which means proper investigation, setting up of special courts, police picketing and compensation to the victims to deliver justice. 17 percent expressed that setting of special courts,

16.3 percent said that organizing police picketing in the village and 9.6 percent agreed that government initiated the proper investigation.

Table 6.9.62. Judiciary has responded immediately

Category		Judiciary has responded immediately			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
SC	Count	9	71	0	80
	% within	11.20%	88.80%	0.00%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	3	0	3
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	32	15	1	48
	% within	66.70%	31.20%	2.10%	100.00%
Others	Count	0	4	0	4
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	41	93	1	135
	% within	30.40%	68.90%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that caste wise reflections on judiciary have responded immediately. Overall 68.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that judiciary didn't respond immediately and 30.4 percent said that judiciary has responded immediately. Only 0.7 percent expressed that they don't know. Within SCs, 88.8 percent said that judiciary has responded immediately to do justice to the victims and contrast to this, only 11.2 percent expressed that judiciary has responded immediately. 100 percent STs and other caste groups expressed that judiciary didn't respond immediately to deliver justice to the victims. Majority of the BCs said that judiciary has responded immediately in delivering the justice.

Table 6.9.63. Occupational views on Judiciary has responded immediately

Occupation		Judiciary has responded immediately			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Agriculture laborer	Count	13	46	0	59
	% within	22.00%	78.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Daily wage labourer	Count	3	7	1	11
	% within	27.30%	63.60%	9.10%	100.00%
Farmer	Count	11	6	0	17
	% within	64.70%	35.30%	0.00%	100.00%
Employee	Count	0	3	0	3
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
self-employee	Count	4	3	0	7
	% within	57.10%	42.90%	0.00%	100.00%
Business	Count	6	0	0	6
	% within	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Student	Count	4	19	0	23
	% within	17.40%	82.60%	0.00%	100.00%
Other	Count	0	9	0	9
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	41	93	1	135
	% within	30.40%	68.90%	0.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that occupation wise reflections on judiciary have responded immediately. Within agriculture labourer, 78 percent said judiciary didn't respond immediately to do justice to the victims and contrast to this only 22 percent expressed that judiciary has responded immediately. Most of the farmers, self-employed, and business men expressed that judiciary has responded immediately and to contrast to that, majority of the students, employed, others expressed that judiciary didn't respond immediately to deliver the justice to the victims. Overall 68.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their caste expressed that judiciary didn't respond immediately and 30.4 percent said that judiciary has responded immediately. Only 0.7 percent expressed that they don't know.

Table 6.9.64. Judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim

Type of Respondent		Judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Victims	Count	5	55	0	60
	% within	8.30%	91.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	25	5	0	30
	% within	83.30%	16.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	0	10	5	15
	% within	0.00%	66.70%	33.30%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	0	25	0	25
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	5	0	5
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	30	100	5	135
	% within	22.20%	74.10%	3.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Overall 74.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and 22.2 percent said that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Only 3.7 percent expressed that they don't know. Within victims, 91.7 percent said judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and contrast to this only 8.3 percent expressed that judicial interventions delivered justice to the victim. Within the accused, 83.3 percent expressed that judicial intervention delivered justice to the victim and in contrast to this, only 16.7 percent said that judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victims. 100 percent activist, academicians and bureaucrats responded that judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim.

Table 6.9.65. Gender wise reflection on judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim

Gender		Judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Male	Count	20	79	2	101
	% within	19.80%	78.20%	2.00%	100.00%
Female	Count	10	21	3	34
	% within	29.40%	61.80%	8.80%	100.00%
Total	Count	30	100	5	135
	% within	22.20%	74.10%	3.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Within male, 78.2 percent said judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and contrast to this only 19.8 percent expressed that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Within the female, 29.4 percent expressed that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim and contrast to this, 61.8 percent said judicial interventions didn't deliver justice to the victims. Overall 74.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and 22.2 percent said that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Only 3.7 percent expressed that they don't know.

Table 6.9.66. Judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim

Affiliated to any Civil Society Organization		Judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim			Total
		Yes	No	DK	
Yes	Count	10	32	2	44
	% within	22.70%	72.70%	4.50%	100.00%
No	Count	20	68	3	91
	% within	22.00%	74.70%	3.30%	100.00%
Total	Count	30	100	5	135
	% within	22.20%	74.10%	3.70%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that judicial interventions delivered justice to the victim. Overall 74.1 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and 22.2 percent said that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Only 3.7 percent expressed that they don't know. Within the persons

affiliated to any civil society organisation, 72.7 percent said judicial interventions didn't deliver the justice to the victim and contrast to this only 22.7 percent expressed that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim. Within the persons who didn't affiliate to any civil society organisation, 22 percent expressed that judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim and contrast to this 74.7 percent said judicial interventions didn't deliver justice to the victims.

Table 6.9.67. Are you satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt?

Type of Respondent		Satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt			Total
		Yes	No	Can't Say	
Victims	Count	5	55	0	60
	% within	8.30%	91.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Accused	Count	19	0	11	30
	% within	63.30%	0.00%	36.70%	100.00%
Others in the village	Count	0	8	7	15
	% within	0.00%	53.30%	46.70%	100.00%
Activists and academicians	Count	0	25	0	25
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Bureaucrats	Count	0	5	0	5
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	24	93	18	135
	% within	17.80%	68.90%	13.30%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains satisfaction level with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Overall 68.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and 17.8 percent said that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Only 13.3 percent expressed that they don't know. Within victims, 91.7 percent said that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and contrast to this only 8.3 percent expressed that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Within the accused, 63.3 percent expressed that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and contrast to this 36.7 percent said that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. 100 percent activist, academicians and bureaucrats responded that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt.

Table 6.9. 68. Educational satisfaction level with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt

Education		satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt			Total
		Yes	No	Can't Say	
Illiterate	Count	12	35	4	51
	% within	23.50%	68.60%	7.80%	100.00%
Primary	Count	4	2	2	8
	% within	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	100.00%
Upper Primary	Count	2	2	10	14
	% within	14.30%	14.30%	71.40%	100.00%
Secondary	Count	0	14	0	14
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Inter to Degree	Count	2	16	2	20
	% within	10.00%	80.00%	10.00%	100.00%
PG and Above	Count	4	24	0	28
	% within	14.30%	85.70%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	24	93	18	135
	% within	17.80%	68.90%	13.30%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains the satisfaction level with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Within illiterates, 68.6 percent said that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and contrast to this 23.5 percent expressed that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Within the primary level, 50 percent expressed that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and contrast to this, 25 percent said that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and 25 percent said that they don't know. Interestingly 71 percent of the upper primary level respondents said that they can't say and 85 percent of the respondents from secondary to PG level expressed that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Overall 68.9 percent of respondents irrespective of their identity expressed that they didn't satisfy with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt and 17.8 percent said that they satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt. Only 13.3 percent expressed that they don't know.

Table 6.9.69. Is media giving proper coverage to atrocities?

Gender		media is giving proper coverage to atrocities			Total
		Yes	No	Can't Say	
Male	Count	23	76	2	101
	% within	22.80%	75.20%	2.00%	100.00%
Female	Count	1	15	18	34
	% within	2.90%	44.10%	52.90%	100.00%
Total	Count	24	91	20	135
	% within	17.80%	67.40%	14.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Within male, 75.2 percent said media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities and contrast to this 22.8 percent expressed that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Within the female, 2.4 percent expressed that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities and contrast to this 44.1 percent said media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities. Overall 67.4 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities and 17.8 percent said that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Only 14.8 percent expressed that they don't know.

Table 6.9.70. Caste wise reflections on media is giving proper coverage to atrocities

Category		Media is giving proper coverage to atrocities			Total
		Yes	No	Can't Say	
SC	Count	2	72	6	80
	% within	2.50%	90.00%	7.50%	100.00%
ST	Count	0	3	0	3
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
BC	Count	22	12	14	48
	% within	45.80%	25.00%	29.20%	100.00%
Others	Count	0	4	0	4
	% within	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	24	91	20	135
	% within	17.80%	67.40%	14.80%	100.00%

Source: Data collected from Field study

The above table explains that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Overall 67.4 percent of respondents irrespective of their gender expressed that media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities and 17.8 percent said that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Only 14.8 percent expressed that they don't know. Within SC, 90 percent said media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities and contrast to this 2.5 percent expressed that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities. Within BC, 45.8 percent expressed that media is giving proper coverage to atrocities and contrast to this 25 percent said media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities. STs and others 100 percent expressed that media is not giving proper coverage to atrocities.

Aftermath of the Massacre and Response of the Dalit Organisations

Following the massacre, the families of the victims and other Malas fled to the Rajam regional hospital about 30 kms away from Laxmipeta. Manda Krishna Madiga along with MRPS local activists reached the regional hospital, Rajam condemned the act of violence and console the victims. Consequently, state wide protests by the Dalit organisations across the state escalated the issue and got its attention in the media. The then Chief Minister Kiran Kumar Reddy and other political party leaders were gheraoed by enraged Dalits and demanded for the justice to the victims. The chief Minister and other officials met the victims and announced the compensation and ex gratia to the victim's families. The Dalits have demanded for the arrest of all the culprits including Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu who is the close relative of the then cabinet minister Botsa Satyanarayana. They decided not to accept any kind of assistance offered by the government till their demands were met. When the chief minister announced compensation, the victims shouted "we want self-respect, dignity of life and protection not money or jobs".¹⁶

After a few days, the Dalits resolved to return to Laxmipeta village to carry out the protest in the village itself with the support of different Dalit organisations. The Dalits determined to bury the dead bodies who were killed in the carnage in the Laxmipeta village. Thousands of Dalits across the state joined in the struggle at the Rajam hospital and then brought the dead bodies in a procession to the Laxmipeta village gave slogans like "Dalit lives matters", "long live Dalit unity" and "condemn the upper caste arrogance". The procession which was led by MRPS joined

¹⁶ Interview with Chitri Gangulu on 15 December 2017

by the organisations like Mala Mahanadu, Dalit Mahasabha and other Dalit organisations across the state reflecting Dalit unity. All the bodies of the dead were buried in the village. Later the movement escalated and continued for long. Dalits from different districts visited Laxmipeta large in number extended solidarity for ongoing protest and began to help the victims in all respects. Victims of the kramchedu and chundururu massacre visited the Laxmipeta victims and extended their support providing lorry bags of rice and financial support in order to persist the struggle for the self-respect.¹⁷ We got support from the victims of Karamchedu and Chundururu villages where they have provided us the basic needs such as food, clothes, and blankets. The victims got financial help from the Karamchedu and Chundururu victims as they had experienced the same kind of pain and consequences and attacks.¹⁸

The victims of the massacre and their supporters decided the program to take forward the movement, make a representation to state human rights commission on 27th July and organize a protest rally under the banner 'Chalo Srikakulam' on 2nd July and Chalo Hyderabad on 17th July. After this incident, all the victims and other Dalit associations protested against the attack in Rajam Hospital. Manda Krishna Madiga (KNPS) also attended the protest. The national leaders from Delhi were also present at the protest for three days. Finally, the then, Joint Collector Pola Bhaskar promised that the government would make Laxmipeta village as "Aadharsha Gramam" (a Model Village), provide employment and also solve the land issues by providing them government land.¹⁹

Rehabilitation of the Dalits after the Massacre

Incidents like Karamchedu and Chundururu massacres started new beginning for the mobilization of Dalits across the state who are for centuries oppressed who need to organize themselves explicitly to overcome their structural disorganization. There are various reasons for this higher consciousness among the Dalits. The agitations of the Dalits started getting some redressal of their problems. These agitations gradually carried the form of mass movements. The formation of Dalit Mahasabha significantly more change. The demands of the movement.

¹⁷Interview with Munnangi Nagaraju belongs to victim's family in Karamchedu Massacre, on 29 December 2017.

¹⁸Interview with Tirupathi Rao on 20 November 2019

¹⁹Interview with Duddu Prabhakar Rao, KNPS 25 November 2019

1. CBI inquiry must be ordered to thoroughly investigate the circumstances that led to the brutal massacre.
2. The state government should support every victim's family with 10 lakh rupees. One person from each victim's family should be accommodated with a government job. All the Dalit children in the village should be admitted to AP residential schools.
3. 250 acres of assigned land should be handed over to the Dalits.
4. Action should be taken against the culprits responsible for this attack under provisions of the SC/ST (PoA) Act, 1989.
5. Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu as A1 and all accused should be held responsible for the attack should be arrested immediate effect.
6. Resignation of Botsa Satyanarayana for Cabinet Ministry.
7. A special court should be established in Laxmipeta village and ensure the justice is delivered within six months.

Section 21 (1) and 2 (iii) of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, says that it is the responsibility of the state to provide a viable means of livelihood to the victims which are necessary to lead a socially respectful life. The government attitude towards the rehabilitation of the Dalits has been that of patronage rather than transformative measures. Though the government announced the relief measures like ex gratia, distribution of lands, and employment for the victim's families. The government had announced five lakh rupees ex gratia to each family; however, they had given only 3.75 lakh rupees to each family.²⁰ Though few jobs like watchmen, cooks, and helpers were given in government hostels and offices, the basic problem of the land fundamental for the Dalit question was not solved. The relief measures that the government has taken up are completely inadequate for a decent livelihood. But the inadequate measures indicate the absence of political will and commitment to the welfare of Dalits.

In the brutal attack my father was grievously injured and after few months he died. Though the government identified 19 people who were grievously injured and eligible for the job but the government failed to keep up its promise in providing jobs to victims. I have submitted several

²⁰ Interview with Yellaiah on 1 December 2019

representations to the collector along with other victim's family members to fulfil the promise but no positive response yet from the government. ²¹

Judicial Process

One of the important demands of the Laxmipeta Dalits pertains to the setting up a special court for speedy trial. In cases such as these, a quick investigation and speedy trial is essential. However, the government announced the special fast-track court in the Laxmipeta village for quick investigation and speedy trial. The special court became a device in the hands of the government to pacify the public and to protect the culprits. Besides, the ineffectiveness of the special court, the proceedings still going on, after nine years of the incident it is also evident from the fact that trial is yet to begin and no action was taken against the culprits. This unpunctual judicial process eroded the faith of Dalits in Judicial system.

However, the case is still pending in the court. The court has postponed the case several times. "They killed our villagers very cruelly. The lawyers were corrupt and they took bribe from the upper castes. The upper caste people were trying to escape from the crime. We are waiting for the court's judgement."²² The respondent further added that the government set up a Special Court in this village and allotted a public prosecutor for the victims. However, this public prosecutor would be on government side and not in favour of the victims. The Turpu Kapus have four lawyers to defend them. One important thing is that a public prosecutor will not argue in the court on behalf of the public naturally because he has been appointed by the government. The lawyers and judges also were not in favour of the victims.²³

Role of the Police

There are evidences revealing the increasing negligence of the police during the attack on the Dalits. According to the victims of the Laxmipeta, there was indirect hand of the police in the massacre and their role was very negligible. In view of series of criminal cases reporting and prevailing tense situation in Laxmipeta village, a Police picket was operational in the village to control the Law and Order situation. On 09-06- 2012 due to bye-elections at Narasannapeta

²¹ Interview with Tirupathio Rao on 20 November 2019

²² Interview with Chitri Gangulu 22 November 2019

²³ Ibid

Assembly Constituency, the police picket at Laxmipeta was sent to Election Bando-Bust duty at Narasannapeta, the collusion and negligence of the police is clearly visible knowing the situation in the village sending the police constables who were already deployed with a purpose. The victims had to call and inform about the attack the police reached the village after the attack. This shows indifference and negligence towards the victims. The response of the police machinery after the massacre was also equally bad. They let the accused to leave the village and destroy the evidence. All the culprits involved were not arrested immediately.

The compliance of the police to the upper castes is clearly visible in Chundurur massacre. The large number of police, led by the Circle Inspector was present in the village on the previous night of the attack. On the day of the attack, the police raided the Dalit colony and chased the Dalits out of the village to make it easier for the upper castes to attack them. It was even alleged by the victims that the police were present in the tractors in which the upper castes came for attack. We can see the increasing insensitivity of the police force towards the problems of the Dalits. The attitude of the police after Chundurur was worse than what it was after Karamchedu. The police imposed prohibitory orders in the district of Guntur making it Impossible for Dalits and their supporters.

Response of the upper Castes

The SC community people had fight between them, the fight escalated to the position to get the bombs into that village and killed themselves. After sometime, one ambulance reached the village and took some injured people to hospital.²⁴ The SCs has a bad attitude and used to harass women of Upper Castes²⁵. Dalits attacked the Turpu Kapus with support of the MLA, Sub Inspector (SI) and MRO all these 3 people belongs to Mala caste. All these people conspired to attack the Turpu Kapus so that they can get the lands²⁶. The issue was between Malas and Turpu Kapus for several years over a dispute on land. The Malas were cultivating the land belonging to Turpu Kapus on the oral lease and later tried to grab the land and it led to attack on the Malas.²⁷

²⁴Interview with Avu Tirupathi Rao on 28 December 2017

²⁵ Interview with a woman belongs to Turpu Kapu (as per the request name not mentioned) in Laxmipeta.

²⁶ Interview with Avu Venkat Rao on 28 December 2017

²⁷Interview with the woman belongs to Padmashali caste

Struggle for Livelihood aftermath attack

The rumors spread in nearby villages of Laxmipeta that Dalits conspired to get lands and had fight with Turpu Kapus the incidents of grabbing lands of the Turpu Kapus by the Dalits if they are allowed to work in the lands of Turpu Kapus or other upper castes. After the incident that the Turpu Kapus are not providing us any daily wage work in the fields²⁸ After the attack, the lives have been devastated and there is no proper support from the government except rice, sugar, and kerosene. As part of the compensation, government provided two buffalos to each family for the survival but in a few months, the buffalos also died because the water was contaminated with fluoride²⁹. The government promised to give lands to Dalit families but none of them have got the land.³⁰ However, the Survival has become problematic, so many of the families from the village have migrated to other cities like Vizag and Vijayawada in search of livelihood to work as construction labourers.³¹ These issues have brought to the notice of the district collector regarding our difficulties such as no livelihood, no security, no employment, scarcity of food and so on but there is no positive response from the government.³²

Analysis of Laxmipeta Incident

Atrocities on Dalits shifted with shifts in political power, it happened in four phases in Telugu states. Dalits had been attacked by the castes that were holding political power of the time. In the first phase, it was Brahmins, though they had not committed any atrocity their hegemony was of a different kind. In the 1980s, Kammas captured political power in Andhra Pradesh. N.T. Ramarao (NTR), a Kamma by Caste, became Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh in 1983 and two years later Kammas massacred Madigas at Karamchedu. The main accused behind the Karamchedu massacre was the Brother-in-law of NTR, hence Dalits accuse it is with the backup of state lead by NTR gave enough strength and confidence to butcher Dalits. So, when the Chunduru massacre happened in 1991, Nedurumalli Janardhan, a Reddy by Caste, was Chief Minister. Chunduru Dalits were massacred by Reddys of Chunduru in 1991 with the backup of Congress Chief Minister of the time. In 2012, Congress was ruling Andhra Pradesh, while a Turpu Kapu, Botsa Satyanarayana was President of Andhra Pradesh PCC. His own caste Turpu

²⁸Interview with Nivvarthy Tirupathi Rao on 10 December 2019

²⁹ibid

³⁰Interview with Muthamma on 25 November 2019

³¹ibid

³² Interview with Anil Nivvarthy on 10 December 2019.

Kapus and his own faction in the caste committed atrocity on Dalits at Laxmipeta. This illustrates that whichever caste was ruling at the given time, that caste had killed Dalits who challenged them. Here, the main point to be noted here is Turpu Kapus were OBCs and they had risen to power in during Congress rule during 2004-2014. In Pathapally incident, the *Boyas*, listed under OBCs, were barbaric and savage. Even though they had killed Dalits, state power would have backed them operated by upper castes.

The rise of the OBCs could be seen after the implementation of reservations recommended by the Mandal Commission. They have been encountering SCs in universities since then. The slogan of SC, ST, and OBC unity given by Bahujans is a modern-urban-elite phenomenon. This slogan had not been taken to grass root politics by the aspirants. Hence, in villages, the hegemony of OBC was intact in rural areas.³³

Caste is a means to organize and mobilize one against another, but means of production-The land is central. The rural bourgeoisie has been economically grown against the rural poor. But in India, there were no revolts by the landless poor. As a result, the landless poor migrated to the cities. This is not acceptable to the rural bourgeoisie to the functioning of their industries. As a result, to prevent landless poor from migration, they commit atrocities. Asking for land reforms and land redistribution is futile, rather Land should be nationalized, and industries should be nationalized.³⁴

Turpu Kapus were economically powerful caste and was holding political power at the time of the incident. Though they were under OBCs, they consider them as superior to Dalits, the Brahminical ideology has been incorporated in them because of the proximity with upper-castes. Even in Karamchedu massacre, OBCs played a key role in perpetuating violence against Dalits. Lands have been Central to Dalit struggles, so is the violence. The laws that are to be implemented has been not implemented because they have to be implemented by the upper castes and it will affect them. So Dalits should join all the political, executive posts where they can be treated as decision-makers.³⁵

³³Interview with Dr. Gururam Sitaramulu, Civil Liberty Activist (Civil Liberty Committee), Hyderabad.

³⁴ Interview with Vidyasagar, writer and critic

³⁵Interview with Dr. Gogu Shyamala, Dalit writer and critic.

Many Dalit leaders want OBCs to refrain from joining Dalit movements. Perhaps this could be one reason for not having solidarity. OBCs don't perceive them as victims of caste violence, unlike Dalits. They think that they preserve the culture of their caste. Their culture is serving them upper castes and accepting their violence. Unless this perception is changed OBC and Dalits cannot be brought together.³⁶

In recent times, most of the atrocities on Dalits were committed by OBCs but was underreported. In case of a conflict between Yadavas and Gouds, Dalits also split among themselves into two groups supporting their affiliate faction. The caste has been Central to the conflicts and land has caste and Land has Gender. Dalit-women sarpanch has to be abiding by the diktats of upper castes otherwise she will have to face serious repercussions. At every level, she has to encounter upper castes while discharging her duty and at one or other level she has to bend, which in case of defiance, an atrocity is attracted. Parliamentary Left Parties never spoke or condemned violence on Dalits. They confine themselves in making posters and pamphlets. Dalits working in these parties do not consider themselves having caste but upper castes consider themselves as upper castes. OBCs are barbaric and do not have any particular ideology, they swing with the wind. Upper castes migrated to the cities and their legacy has been handed over to the OBCs and they emerged as dominant castes in villages. Upper castes could not tolerate equality or self-reliance of Dalits.³⁷

That northern-Andhra region has a violent history from ancient times since Ashoka, the ancient emperor. Caste structure itself has violence inherent in it. All upper castes perpetuate violence on lower castes; even Dalits commit assaults on their sub-castes. Some sub-castes and tribes practice untouchability on Dalits because they imitate Brahmanism. Dalits in northern Andhra where the violence took place are vulnerable, weak, fragile, and almost non-existent. They are more vulnerable than STs. As a consequence of Srikakulam Armed Struggle, STs were given concessions by the Govt. but not to the SCs of the region. No prominent Dalit leader had emerged from that area; no Christian missionary activity was active among the Dalits to educate. To say that it is not caste but land is the reason for the violence is nonsensical and escapist by the left parties. Those who committed atrocity on Dalits were not strong feudal castes; many do not have

³⁶Interview with Papani Nagaraj, Bahujan activist

³⁷Interview with Kongara Mahesh, Freelance Journalist

castes at all. Kapus, Agnikula Kashatriyas, Koppula Velamas continue to be OBCs there but are dominant castes there. They have to be delisted from OBCs and listed under upper castes. Thus, we have to make distinction between which kind of OBCs were committing atrocities and to say that these violence is not to be seen as OBC violence is not agreeable, it OBC violence. Karamchedu and Laxmipeta cannot be compared. In Karamchedu massacre, Dalits fought while they were being killed, but in Laxmipeta even they know that an atrocity will be committed if they could not find a way to escape it and surrendered to it.³⁸

We have to understand who owned the means of production. During Green Revolution, mechanization was introduced in agriculture and commercial crops replaced food crops. This created new wealth to the landed castes. The next generation migrated to towns and cities for education and business, some migrated abroad. Dalits had also simultaneously as a result of mechanization had migrated to urban areas in search of labour. This empowered Dalits in the economic front. They earned few pennies, built houses, purchased motorbikes, wore proper clothes. This upward mobility could not be tolerated by upper castes. Atrocities against Dalits have to be seen in this light as dalit assertion is the reason. The new generation which migrated to the cities handed over lands for a tenancy to lower castes which do not have land, particularly to OBCs and some Dalits. Hence, OBCs emerged as dominant castes. Along with it, they inherited the upper caste ideology of suppressing the lower castes. Some BCs claim that Ambedkar did nothing for the benefit of OBCs and he is anti-OBC. They consider Phule as their ideological father but never follow his path. Production relations have to be restructured, villages have to be destroyed, and an anti-establishment against caste structure has to be programed by the Dalits. Current Dalits organisations are part of the state or acting as a safety valve. They have never followed the path of Phule and Ambedkar. Dalit Mahasabha and MRPS could not build a sustained organized ideological movement for the benefit of Dalits. They always sought to protect their leadership. Upper castes enable Dalits and their politics as long as they cannot become a threat to them. This has to be changed, a struggle in all spheres-social, economic, political, and educational has to be waged.³⁹

³⁸Interview with Dr.Jilukara Srinivas, Dalit writer, Critic and Activist

³⁹Interview with Krupakar Madiga, Dalit Activist

One elucidation of the report is that the atrocity on the Malas was not for meagre contention of the problematic land, rather the Manuvadi ideology accumulated in the minds. Kapus could not tolerate Malas residing bordering their neighbourhood, their raising of the status of a cultivator of land could not be stomached by the Kapus. The land that is being cultivated is not a small piece of land but 60 acres. With one attack they were able to confiscate the land and eliminate the Mala neighbourhood buttressed by Political power. “Laxmipeta atrocity on Dalits killed five had risen many questions in front of us. Along with the Caste, Politics, Economic reasons, Land as fundamental to the identity has been central to the atrocities.”⁴⁰

What we understand from the above incident is that every caste regards themselves as upper-caste, who has every right to dominate SCs. With the backup of political power, they are able to come out from the cases with impunity. Before the atrocity, Laxmipeta Malas were compensated with two or three thousands for the loss of lands while paying lakhs to the Kapus, reflects the caste prejudice and discrimination by the Government officials against Malas of Laxmipeta. From the granting compensation, providing rehabilitation to aftermath of the massacre they have acted without responsibility. Day by day growth of the Malas could not be tolerated by the neighboring Kapu BCs. They massacred 5 people and tens were severely wounded, this remained as a dark day in the history of Andhra Pradesh. Till then BCs were considered as oppressed along with Dalits, but this incident proved that BCs could escalate to Upper Caste status in a single night. In fact, though Kapus were considered as BCs, after Kshatriyas, Kammas, Reddys, Velamas, they are the next dominant caste in all the spheres of Socio-Economic and political power. They has been influencing all spheres of aspects of the society. “Atrocities on Dalits continue to happen in the state. Whoever is ruling the state members of that Caste are committing atrocities on Dalits. When N.T.Ramarao was in power, in Karamchedu village of his marital relative, six Dalits were massacred. When N. Janardhan Reddy was Chief Minister, eight Dalits were killed in Chunduru, they were buried in Thungabadhra River. Now, Botsa Satyanarayana, who was the President of PCC, claiming to be BC, Batsa Vasudeva Naidu’s Kapu group onslaught Laxmipeta Dalits of Srikakulam district”⁴¹

⁴⁰Interview with Kumar Raja, Research Scholar and student activist, University of Hyderabad.

⁴¹ Interview with Dr.Kathi Padma Rao (Dalit Activist and writer)

Before we discuss the above issue in detail it is important to recall Manyshri Kanshiram's slogan. "Vote hamara Raj tumhara nahi chalega nahi chalega (Vote is ours and State is yours, it doesn't work)." SCs and STs are conceding their votes to upper caste parties thereby excluding themselves from the political power. Despite having less population, Kamma, Reddys, Velamas and Kapus are helping their own castes to grow. Simultaneously they have also been backing up the barbaric attacks by their castes against Dalits, this is true of NT. Ramarao and N. Janardhanreddy, and now Botsa Satyanarayana has acted the same and joined the list. Karamchedu, Chunduru and now Laxmipeta are victims of the Convict castes. Despite having high population, Dalits are disorganized and even they are organized upper castes charting out plans to disorganize them and has been succeeding in the plan. Even if Dalit becomes an MLA or a Minister, they cannot step out of the boundaries drawn by their upper caste political leaders, threatened by loss of power and lust for holding power. Whatever the positions Dalits occupy, they are nominal. For instance, in Laxmipeta SC women Simhalamma was elected as Laxmipeta Sarpanch, she was made a meagre symbol of Sarpanch while all the power was being operated by dominant castes. She has to hold her hands while she has to stand in front of the upper castes like criminal charged of crime. It shows us the patriarchal nature of Kapus towards Dalit women. They were able to grab the power because she was a women and on top of that is a Dalit. In this scenario, Dalit minister Kondru Murali to survive his position, he supporting Kapus was extremely humiliating. On total, Laxmipeta massacre is conducted by Brahminical, feudal, patriarchal Turpu Kapus. To comply with this programme, democratically elected people's government and officials helped to this end and are players involved. "Propagating that Dalits and Dalit politicians as reasons for the attacks on Dalits is a deceit, and portraying it as conflict between BCs and SCs is also a deceit. Non-Dalits perceiving Dalits as untouchables is true, but it is untrue that all other BCs had joined Kapus to attack Dalits is untrue. Except dominant Kapus who are unjustly regarded BCs, Washer men, Weavers, Barbers and Goudas has not been involved in this attack. Except for Kapus, no other castes possess at least one cent of land. Turpu Kapus who were spread over northern-Andhra districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Vishakhapatnam, have been inflicting adversaries not just on Dalits, but also to other castes like Fishermen, Washer men, Barbers castes who are good number of victims." ⁴²

⁴² Interview with U Sambasiva Rao, Bahujan Activist.

To Sum up, the Laxmipeta massacre introduced another foe against Dalits. The Turpu Kapus had joined along with the ranks of Kammas of Karamchedu and Reddys of Chunduru. Although the land was the apparent reason on the surface for the attack, the entrenched caste system has also been the fundamental reason. The ladder system of Caste ostracized Dalits from education, wealth, and politics. In reality, it is the Dalits who work on fields as laborers. The Manu Dharmashastra situated Dalits as a laborer and had denied any accumulation of wealth, any violation of this principle was propagated as a sin, which forbade Dalits from development for thousands of years. We come across the instances of Dalit lands being confiscated for not being able to pay the debt and interest, and as a consequence, they lose the little land they possess. It is, for this reason, in many villages of our country we do not find any land held by the Dalits except a few cents in which their homes are built. It is the labor of Dalits that is being exploited in the fields of upper-castes because Dalits work in the upper caste fields at remotely low wages and the wealth is being accumulated by the upper castes. The Manu Dharmashastra is unofficially being implemented by the upper castes, their lands are wetted by the blood of Dalits rather than water, and so happened in Laxmipeta. It is not necessarily to be an upper-caste to attack Dalits. The Laxmipeta massacre once again has been set as an example that any caste group can attack Dalits who have ranked above the Dalits.

Chapter-7

Conclusion

This study is both theoretical and empirical. The study is divided across seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the thesis where the importance of the study, constitutional safeguards to protect the citizen's socio-economic, political, equality of status and opportunity is discussed. It also deals with the review of the literature regarding caste, caste violence and atrocities. The chapter also covers the research protocols like the problem of the study, objectives of the study, research questions and the methodology of the study.

The second chapter discussed the theoretical framework of the thesis. This chapter's focus is to understand violence theoretically and understand violence in a social context and relations of power. The chapter attempted to present a method to study violence as a discourse and theoretical aspects of social interactions, explaining the question of violence and its complexities in various fields. This chapter traces that the notion of violence is rooted in history, and the very history has played a vital role in shaping up the interrelationship between the upper castes and the lower castes, the nature of atrocities, the motive behind the atrocities placing caste as central to them.

The third chapter mapped out the significant incidents of caste violence and atrocities against Dalits in India. This chapter also gives data on the atrocities in different states.

The fourth chapter is about locating the question of violence in the region of coastal Andhra. It is a historical account of caste violence and maps out the major incidents of caste violence and atrocities committed against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. It analyses major incidents of caste violence in the region over a period and provides an outline of perpetrators of caste violence against Dalits. This is supported by data from the criminal records bureau on the atrocities in Andhra Pradesh.

The fifth chapter deals with the upward mobility of OBCs and atrocities against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. It gives a historical account of understanding the rise of OBCs and some of the incidents of caste violence perpetrated by OBCs across the country. This historical account is essential to understand the changing nature of caste violence. This also lays out which caste groups have committed acts of violence on Dalits and what are the major reasons for the act of violence.

The sixth chapter has discussed the Laxmipeta massacre and discussed how caste, land and political power are the main reasons for the violence against Dalits in Laxmipeta. It also analysed Dalit assertion for self-respect and dignity as the root cause for the massacres against Dalits.

It is observed by analysing the fieldwork data through a structured schedule and face-to-face interviews of different stakeholders. The respondents are those who show Dalit assertion for a life of dignity and respect and advancement and victimised in atrocities for the same reason; various atrocities in general and of Laxmipeta massacre in particular. A majority of the Turpu Kapus and Malas in the Laxmipeta massacre had opined that caste is the basis of respect and social status in the village. It is more potent than land, education and employment (Table 6.20). The data reveals that caste-based discrimination and untouchability still exists in the village. The awareness of Dalit assertion against caste discrimination in the form of educational, socio-economic and political representation has been perceived as a challenge to the existing dominant caste status quo of Turpu Kapus.

The resettlement of the Laxmipeta village created a new structure, i.e., Turpu Kapus came adjacent to domestic settlements of Malas and also started cultivating the land beside Mala land. This is an interesting observation because it broke the traditional untouchability practice and cut the distance between mainstream village and outskirts. But the very resettlement and broken traditions were the causes for the eventual massacre.

Another important transformation in the village was a Dalit woman elected as Sarpanch of the village. In that capacity, she attempted to sanction funds for infrastructural development such as drinking water, construction of roads, drainage systems, etc. A Dalit woman exercising autonomy without the intervention of the Turpu Kapus had been perceived as a threat to their traditional

caste dominance and privileges. This has developed hatredness against Dalits. The advancements of Dalits were unbearable to Turpu Kapus and resulted in violence. According to the field observation of the researcher, the land was a mere triggering point for the atrocity in the Laxmipeta massacre but the real cause was the deep-seated caste hegemony. An economic gain by the dominant communities at the expense of the Dalit communities' disadvantage is the reason on the surface to explain such atrocities, but the data reveals that the exploitation also happens for the sake of exercising the power of the dominant castes by abusing and insulting the Dalits to express power and domination which is a strong motive for violence that leads to an atrocity.

Caste violence is a form of structural violence. It is an act of discrimination, humiliation and exploitation against the oppressed committed by the dominant social group in the name of caste. It manifests both physically and psychologically. It is a political act and is used as a means to control power over the weak. The study reveals that violence is not always in physical forms perpetrated towards the victim, it is more in a subtle psychological way. In most cases, violence takes a symbolic nature like humiliation, impurity and indignity associated with the caste system. It is a deliberate act to gain social control over the victim. It cannot be treated as a situational or spontaneous act but rather a planned and organized act of violence both physically and psychologically.

Caste violence is utilised as a tool by the dominant caste groups to maintain their authority in society's production system and power. However, it is to note that the public sphere or space where the power is exercised, as said by Bourdieu, has been dominated, occupied and used by the upper strata in India to control all the spheres such as social, economic, political and cultural spheres. Notwithstanding these, they also used the public domain to continue their superior status, which they have been enjoying for centuries to discriminate and continue their violence on India's marginalised sections.

The study reveals that the Dalit assertion in Laxmipeta and violence caused to them symbolises how the traditional caste violence is transformed into modern violence. To understand critically, it gave interrelated dynamics between discrimination and violence. Laxmipeta incident is neither the first massacre nor the last massacre committed against Dalits. The attacks on Dalits began, in

the region, with Kanchikacherala Kotesu and have continued till the arson of Laxmipeta. They go on even today. Very few have come into light that was brought out by the media, which is largely owned by upper castes in India. It can be observed that parties based on caste are spinning the wheels following the attacks on Dalits. In fact, atrocities are not new for the Dalits of this country. The atrocities are everyday happenings in sixty-five lakh villages in the country in one way or the other. Untouchability, humiliation and oppression is a daily experience. For upper castes drenched in caste arrogance, they do not consider it as a problem. The assertion of Dalits for a fistful of self-respect has been unbearable for upper castes. The hegemony, wealth, and status of the upper castes are falling apart.

The fieldwork reports lead us to understand that Laxmipeta has joined in the list of Karamchedu, Chundururu, Timmasamudram, Cheemakurthy, Vempenta, Belchi Laxmanpur Bathe, Kilvenmani, and Khairlanji, which are symbols of caste violence. Places and persons could be different. It could be Kammas, Reddys and wealthy Kapus, whoever it is, the pattern of caste violence on Dalits is similar. Castes that have experienced upward mobility in economic and political realms are the main culprits in recent times.

Our society believes in the notions of lower castes and upper castes. Lower castes should remain humble and should not aspire to rise to the level of upper castes. A labourer should remain the labourer, he should not desire land, and if he does, it enables him to equalize him with the master. This is the reason for Laxmipeta barbarism. Upper castes can occupy government land, and Dalits cannot do the same. Even if the Dalits tried to please the government, they pacify them, saying that they would be sanctioned at a different place. All the atrocities committed in Andhra Pradesh are on the pretext of self-respect and land. Atrocities on Dalits in Karamchedu and Chundururu as a reason for the assertion of self-respect by the Dalits, while the land was the reason for the attack on Dalits in Laxmipeta, reveals the data. Caste and land cannot be seen separately in this country, they are entangled. They are the source of power. Here, only upper castes are entitled to hold land.

In Andhra Pradesh, Reddys, Kammas, Kalingas, Kapus and other upper castes do not tolerate Dalits for asserting self-respect and cultivating lands. They seek vengeance on Dalits, attack them

or drive them away from the place. There is a relationship between caste and political power. These attacks happen with the support of the upper caste leaders in all the political parties.

Atrocities on Dalits continue to happen in the State. Whichever caste is in power, they are committing atrocities on Dalits. Seven Dalits were killed in 1885 in Karamchedu village. Telugu Desam Party (TDP) was in power, in which the perpetrators belong to Kamma caste and the prime accused Daggubati Chenchuramaiah has a family relationship with the then Chief Minister NT Rama Rao. Six Dalits were killed in 1991 by the Reddy caste in Chundururu village. After the brutality, the dead bodies were dumped in the Tungabhadra River. The Congress party was in power when this incident took place, Nedurumalli Janardhan Reddy was the then Chief Minister.

Laxmipeta killings pattern is similar to that of Karamchedu and Chundururu but the perpetrators belong to Backward Caste (BC) in Andhra Pradesh. After Karamchedu and Chundururu, Laxmipeta is the biggest massacre by the upper castes. The Turpu Kapus attacked Dalit residence for almost 4 hours even not sparing the dead. Turpu Kapus do miscellaneous jobs for Kammas, Reddys, and Kalingas at various other parts of the state. Turpu Kapus of neighbouring villages had involved in the attack because they had the same ill-feeling towards the Dalits. Five Dalits were killed in Laxmipeta, during the Congress government. The perpetrators belonged to the Turpu Kapu caste and the prime accused Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu has a family relation with the then Andhra Pradesh Congress (PCC) chief Botsa Satyanarayana. Botsa Satyanarayana was establishing himself as the Turpu Kapu representative in Andhra Pradesh. He was organizing Turpu Kapus of Vishakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts. Botsa Vasudevarao Naidu, following the PCC chief's footsteps, planned an attack on the Dalits. Kondru Murali, who was the then MLA of Congress party, did not dare to challenge the PCC chief. So, police, revenue and Murali could not stand by the side of Dalits because their life was dependent on Botsa Satyanarayana.

It is the Dalits who are most affected in the process of constructing the dam. Let alone whether fruits of development and rehabilitation were implemented ineffectively. The government acquired 3000 acres of land from farmers of 7 villages, after compensation, for the construction of the Madduvalasa Project. Laxmipeta villagers were given rehabilitation in the present village.

Later the height of the dam was reduced by two feet which left 250 acres of land which was acquired for the project useless. One hundred ninety acres were cultivated by Kapus, while 60 were cultivated by Dalits. The Turpu Kapus could not tolerate Dalits cultivating the lands because those lands belonged to them before the acquisition. They felt deep disdain that even though they received compensation, they felt that they are the land's real owners. In actuality, the 60 acres of land that the Dalits were cultivating belonged to Turpu Kapus of the neighbouring village Devakivada, who migrated to other places as a part of compensation for the acquired land.

Those 250 acres of the land neither belonged to Turpu Kapus of Laxmipeta nor Turpu Kapus of Devakivada. The land belongs to the government as the compensation and jobs are already provided to the landowners who lost their land in the project's construction. Malas started cultivating those lands. Turpu Kapus attacked them while they were cultivating lands. Police did not register a complaint even though they complained. The issue was not resolved even by the area's revenue officers and MLA who were representing the Scheduled Castes (SC) constituency. Finally, Dalits filed a case in court and the verdict stated that neither Dalits nor Turpu Kapus should cultivate those lands. Enraged by the act of Dalits, the Turpu Kapus decided that Malas should be driven out of the village thereby they can grab the entire lands, and it was the reason for the June 12th attack. The government turned a blind eye when the brutality was happening for more than 4 hours. Police said that the criminals were not yet found even though the Dalits identified the accused.

Incidents like Karamchedu and Chunduru massacres started a new beginning to mobilise Dalits across the state those are for centuries oppressed overcome against their structural disorganization. There are various reasons for this higher consciousness among the Dalits. The agitations of the Dalits started getting some redressal of their problems. These agitations gradually carried the form of mass movements.

The study of this incident reveals that there is an increasing social consciousness among Dalits. They are determined to fight the upper caste dominance both at the level of social and political spheres. The organized forms of agitation by the Dalits reflect their efforts to emerge as a political force independent of upper caste-dominated political parties.

In the context of the violence against Dalits, the actions of the police, judiciary and the entire state system as a whole and the democratic forces provide many points to reflect upon. There is an increase in the magnitude of violence against the Dalits in the recent past. Support for the violence among the upper castes against the Dalits is growing. There has been an increase in police machinery's brutalisation and politicization of the judicial process is also evident. This administration was pushed back and its role was marginalized. The multi-pronged attacks against Dalits by the dominant castes with the support of the state have been increasing.

To analyse the incident, there are multiple factors responsible for the Laxmipeta massacre. Some people have observed this incident in terms of class and articulated that the land is a primary reason for the Laxmipeta massacre. Though it is a valid observation, it is not the only reason for the massacre because caste is the fundamental reason behind every atrocity. At the newly settled Laxmipeta, Turpu Kapus could not digest the fact that the Dalits are living next to them. A Dalit woman winning as Sarpanch and not working on their terms is one reason, and the second reason is they could not tolerate the fact that a Dalit woman was heading the administration. Even though her win is constitutional, and they are taking their fair share, it means challenging the domination of Turpu Kapus. Appallingly, the women belonging to the Turpu caste participated along with men to kill Dalits, men started killing and women completed it. Women threw chilli powder into the eyes of Dalits and killed them. Kapu women checked whether Dalits died or not and if they did not die, they accomplished the task of killing them.

Land is the major source of livelihood in India. The role of land isn't merely limited to cultivation. Land is very much essential for establishing industries, businesses and constructing houses, as well. Land is the major resource for human survival. That is precisely the reason why wealthy castes would go to any extent to keep the land under their control. When land is thus controlled, the landless have no option except to work as labourers in the fields of the land. When the landed are busy with other vocations or disinterested in tilling the land they would lease out the land. Dalits with no resources at their disposal are compelled to work as agricultural labourers, farmhands, and inclined to cultivate on their own would lease in the land from the landed. Even if some Dalits owned land from their hard work, it is extremely excruciating for them to retain

their land. Though the agrarian crisis is there for everyone to see, unable to invest their skills in the non-agricultural productive forces, the surplus people who are alienated from the land are still bound to the land. We are calling these people variously poor farmers, agricultural labourers. 90% of them are from the lower castes.

The Dalits are increasingly challenging the hegemony and discrimination of the caste system and untouchability. In this challenge, the Dalits' main weapons are education and employment opportunities through reservations. However, the Dalit assertion and unity is a threat to the hegemony of the dominant castes, these attempts of assertions attract strong reactions from the forward castes who then attack to disintegrate through acts of humiliation, social boycott, murder, rapes and demolition of the Dalitwadās. Irrespective of the form of the assertion, for dignity, for a hike in the wages or accessing education and other public resources, it always is perceived as a threat by the dominant castes and is met with extreme measures to check the status quo. The Dalits increased assertion for rights are met with harsh consequences as the caste hierarchy tries to uphold its hegemony.

As B.R. Ambedkar rightly observed "It is your claim to equality which hurts them. They want to maintain the status quo. If you continue to accept your lowly status ungrudgingly, continue to remain dirty, filthy, backward, ignorant, and poor and disunited, they will allow you to live in peace. The moment you start to raise your level, the conflict starts. Untouchability is not transitory or temporary feature; it is eternal, it is lasting. Frankly, it can be said that the struggle between the Hindus and the Untouchables is a never-ending conflict. It is eternal because the religion that assigns you the lowest status in society is divine and eternal according to the belief of the so-called high caste Hindus. No change warranted by change of time and circumstances is possible."

Education is the panacea for all the ills. Since the time Dalits started holding books, they strived to move out of the bondage and overcome discrimination. As education naturally leads to questioning, it creates the hopes of living a decent life like everyone else. They hope to have private property, be it either house or some land, to feed themselves. In that process, they either purchase land or if the economic situation isn't that conducive, they lease inlands. By working

this way, they want not just to earn enough grains, but like other castes, make some money by selling the produce. However, all this will be a possibility only when they overcome the caste that is dominating their existence.

From the late 1970s to the early 80s, the peasant and educated middle classes hailing from the OBC castes have benefited from government policies mainly by the Green Revolution strategies and the reservations in the education and employment sector's new areas of representation that helped in their empowerment. This representation has instilled confidence in them leading to political aspirations.

The dominant castes, such as Reddy and Kammas have benefitted from the Green Revolution, and they have multiplied their sources of income and moved towards urban spaces. The liberalization policy of the Indian state also has favoured the Upper castes. The rise in the sophisticated machinery through Green Revolution has enhanced the yield and raised the productivity and accumulated a surplus, which flowed into various economic activities like agrobusiness, the hotel industry, film production and exhibition, etc. The diversification of the income from agriculture to the non-agricultural sector facilitated the upper caste to move out of the villages and settle in small towns and big cities. The liberalization of the economy also provided some impetus to the entrepreneurial nature of these upper castes. So, they moved out of the villages, still retaining some of their lands in the village. It provided an opportunity to the OBC communities traditionally associated with providing agricultural services to the peasant castes and sometimes directly involved in farming. They bought some of the lands sold by the upper castes. The shift of these upper castes from villages has resulted in the transfer of lands to some of the OBC communities and they have emerged as the dominant castes in the villages. The majority populated castes in the OBC community has thus grabbed the land by using its newly emerged political consolidation.

Thus, the shift of caste violence directed against Dalits has been taken from upper caste OBCs, having internalised the Brahminical culture, still does not seem to think that the Dalits are human beings. They sustain the same hegemony and domination on the Dalits in the Caste-Hindu society. At the empirical level, the social base of caste oppression has changed, in the sense that the OBCs are the main perpetrators of caste atrocities. Once they were the victims of the upper caste violence and domination. They are now carriers of *Brahminical* ideology. This inversion

of roles is evident in the countrywide Dalit atrocities committed by the Other Backward Class (OBC) castes. However, the ideology of Brahmanism essentially continues to serve as the motivating force as far as the OBC castes are concerned.

The castes that are part of Chaturvarna lived in villages including OBCs, they saw Dalits, who are outcasts in the Varna system, as untouchables. Though OBCs were serving upper castes and did not face untouchability. They have the same view as upper castes towards Dalits. Utilizing their economic self-reliance, OBCs started capturing political power in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. After implementing Mandal Commission, many OBC castes gained employment opportunities in the state bureaucracy. OBCs have achieved economic empowerment through reservations and land transfers after the Green Revolution, political power through politics, and hegemony through their superior position in the caste hierarchy. Thus, internalising the caste ideology and attacking Dalits.

In Andhra Pradesh, the formation of TDP provided political opportunities for OBCs. Congress was labelled as helping only the SCs and STs. The formation of TDP provided OBCs with a political representation in the state. So, the equation was like SCs are to Congress as OBCs are to TDP. This led to a latent rivalry between these communities. Both parties, which are led by upper castes encouraged those rivalries, which in turn benefitted them. OBCs could not tolerate SCs rising in their status through reservations in education, jobs and economic spheres. These attacks can be seen in this light.

The communist parties that tried to unite the people through the land struggles and liberation movement have failed to prevent Dalit attacks. In the name of land struggles, the upper caste communists kept the lands in their custody but haven't distributed them because the lands were still in the hands of Reddys and Kammas under whose leadership both the communist parties were working. The parties have reached a place of losing their relevance as they ignored the importance of caste as a social institution in determining access to resources than that of class. They've habituated to call or classify the attacks on Dalits as classist by sugar coating the other reasons. The Dalits were always seen as flag bearer for communists, their movement failed to find any solution for attacks on them.

“The violent attacks on the Dalits and subsequent responses of various dominant forces of society indicate the polarization of social forces on caste lines rather than class lines. There is a broad class differentiation between Dalits, and even dominant castes are mobilising on the caste lines. The dominant-caste Marathas, including the Kombis, have come out aggressively demanding reservations for themselves in the context of other such dominant castes also gunning for reservations— for example, the Jats in Haryana and the Patels in Gujarat and Kapus in Andhra Pradesh. This indicates the position of caste as a dominant social identity even for accessing the state resources than class”.

Dalits assert the rights based on their social identity and are no longer needed to remain as a targeted group of a reserved category. In the name of secular development, the state carried economic and political development on the caste lines. But the upper caste dominated political system defines departmental development only in economic terms. In the context of liberalisation of the economy, the state has become the facilitator for the private capital.

In this context, it is hard to believe that Dalits will have access to their social and political rights. The socially dominant caste strengthened their political power in the context of the privatisation of the economy. Through political power, they are continuing their feudal nature of dominance. Dalits have to demand a redefinition of the paradigm of development. In the new demands for development, community identity with its sentiments and self-respect should be an integral part of the development paradigm. The Dalits assertion based on their social identity should stress the need to evolve a pluralistic political system in which the different social classes can have an equal share in the political power and economic development and opportunity for equal social status.

The violent attacks on Dalits have brought out many undercurrents that are inherent in Indian society. The political intervention in the social order has shown a very little positive impact and could not disturb the system. The incidents such as Karamchedu, Chundururu were taken to the national and international level by Dalit movement activists. There were a lot of changes in Dalit movements which came following the Laxmipeta incident. Though there is truth in the partial success of the movement in terms of bringing it to the notice of officials, even as the movement was taking place, the activists are compelled to respond to other incidents as a result of which

the energies are being dispersed. The movements are creating some sort of waves, for the time being, it is necessary to make a thought about long term movement to put an end to the cycle of violence. Though, the people are progressing in their social and economic lives by utilizing the reservation policy which is trying to pay back to society.

New alignments across the castes and class lines may take place. In this context, the dominant castes are also trying to regain their traditional social base by organizing all the castes against the Dalits. The upper castes are not able to gain the support of Backward Castes. This can be said as an effort by the upper castes to retain their social hegemony, in the context of the challenges from different factions, such as politicisation of the Dalits and breakdown of the patron-client relationship between the Dalits and the dominant caste and economic differentiation across the castes. The phenomenon of increasing brutalisation of the state and the upper castes suggest the fact that ruling caste/ classes are no longer going to bother about the social base for the legitimacy of their rule.

The idea of social democracy is still a prerequisite to political democracy. It is very relevant for both the upper castes as much as for the Dalits. The constitution of India has given special protection to the marginalized sections. The study reveals that the apparatus of states had failed miserably in delivering justice to the victims. The data reveals that the problem of atrocity has been approached differently by the victims, perpetrators and state. For the perpetrator, atrocity means control over the victims and an effort to continue the hegemony. The oppressor doesn't want to recognize it as an atrocity. The dynamics of the caste system justify the oppressor's lack of remorse over the atrocities that the caste hierarchy has to be continued and any threat to it by the assertion from the lower castes has to be crushed.

The intellectuals and activists opined that atrocity is a problem with the tradition or consequence of modernity. In reading atrocity, the state's apparatus, such as the police and judiciary, responded to it as humanitarian concerns that are linked with development. The intellectuals and activists who responded to the study expressed that the state always looks at atrocity as a law and order problem. It concerns atrocity as a hurdle to harmony and views it as an anti-developmental act. It articulates atrocity from a perspective of prevention. This view of an atrocity is inhumane and is perceived in a vacuum by the state apparatus without considering a caste's position as

dominating and a caste as inferior, thus legitimising the violence directed against them and sanctifying it through the Chaturvarna system.

The interviews with the intellectuals revealed that this caste hegemony embedded into the Indian fabric has not just sanctioned the dominant caste status and the right to continue the established caste hegemony through any means and in this context, violence. It also made the marginalised sections weak by fear and imposition that they are inferior and shall obey the established structure. This psychological readiness to caste hegemony embedded in society's psyches is the root cause of caste discrimination and the violence directed towards Dalits in Laxmipeta as justification by the dominant castes to maintain the caste hierarchy.

Many respondents from the field study expressed that the police response to stop an act of violence or atrocity is late and the measures that the governments took to serve justice to the victims rather victimised the victim again than serving them justice. The judicial intervention in the form of proper investigation, setting up special courts, and providing compensation to the victims was rather slow and nil. If acted constitutionally, it would decrease or prevent such atrocities rather than continue them.

The study revealed that the nature of violence could be different depending on good and bad social conditions. When the act of violence takes place in adverse conditions, it results in bad violence whilst if performed in good conditions, such as through government agencies, the act results in a non-violent process and is not subject to scrutiny as it takes place to maintain the law and order in the society. The study reveals that it is important to note that atrocities are not emotional acts and fight against disciplined military professionals committed by insurgents. On the contrary, the government mechanisms try to suppress insurgent Dalit communities' assertion and their nonviolent sympathisers. Thus, historically, the struggle between the insurgent Dalit communities to assert their governmental rights and its suppression through counter-insurgency has led to atrocities.

The increasing support of the state towards the dominant castes/classes in the context of the violence against the Dalits, suggests the deterioration of the state's image as a 'relatively independent' political institution of the dominant castes. Besides, the nominalization of the role

of the 'civil administration' 'politicisation of the judiciary' and 'police machinery' led to erosion of the legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the people. The increased use of police force against the mass movements that arise out of social problems indicates the state's inclination to protect the status quo rather than that of an agent of social change. The growing brutalization of the state towards the national Dalit movement as tensions and agitations against democratic forces is going to lead to greater violence in the Indian society in the times to come.

The thesis final argument is that the caste violence against Dalits must be seen in the context of landowning, political consolidation of dominant 'Backward Castes' since the 1970s who have benefitted from the Green Revolution and occupied the position of the upper castes in the villages. They not only gained economically, but they also internalised the ideology of the caste system. In a society of graded inequality, every grade has a certain level of access to economic and intellectual resources. Every upper community on the upper ladder exercises the same discrimination it has experienced. It was perceived that dominant castes lie on one side and the rest of the marginalised lie on another side. The logic is no longer valid because OBCs are exercising power over Dalits.

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APPENDIX-1
QUESTIONNAIRE

Changing Dynamics of Caste violence in Andhra Pradesh:
A Case Study of Laxmipeta Massacre

Profile of the respondent

1. Name of the Respondent _____
2. Age of the Respondent (in Years)
(1) 15-25 (2) 25-35 (3) 35- 45 (4) 45- 55 (5) 55- 65 (6) > 65
3. Gender: (1) Male (2) Female
4. Religion: (1) Hindu (2) Muslim (3) Christian (4) Others
5. Category: (1) SC (2) ST (3) OBC (4) Others
6. Caste,.....
7. Education: (1) Illiterate (2) Primary (3) Upper Primary (4) Secondary (5) Inter to Degree
(6) PG and Above
8. Occupation: (1) agriculture labourer (2) small farmer (3) farmer (4) employee (5)
self-employee (6) business (7) other.....
9. Do you possess land? (1) Yes (2) No
10. If Yes, No. of acres of land possessed by you?
(1) No (2) 0 to 1 (3) 1 to 3 (4) 3 to 5 (5) Tenant
11. Annual income.....

Madduvalasa Project Compensation, Rehabilitation and Resettlement

12. Do you think that construction of Madduvalasa project is good for your livelihood and better future? (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't Know
13. How did Project affect your life?
(1) Benefits, Specify..... (2) Loss, Specify (3) Any other

14. What kind of compensation was provided by the government through the rehabilitation and resettlement act?

(1) Job (2) Money (3) Job and Money (4) House site (5) Land (6) None of the above

If the answer is (1), What kind of a Job?.....

If the answer is (2), How much money did you receive?.....

If the answer is (3) What is the job_____ and how much money_____

If the answer is (4) Where the house site located.....

If the answer is (5) Where is the land located.....

If the answer is (6), what is your immediate response.....

15. Do you feel the government has provided fair compensation to you?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

16. If you feel that you are compensated unfairly by Government, did you try to represent the same again to the higher authorities? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

17. How did the government officials respond to your request?

(1) Considered representation (2) denied representation (3) Considered request on moral ground (4) Did not take any action

Experiences of Discrimination

18. What determines the social status of a person/community in your village?

(1) Caste (2) Land (3) Education (4) Employment (5) Others.....

19. In your opinion, does the social status of the Dalit s improved in comparison with previous times in your village?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

If Yes/No, specify.....

20. How was village before Madduvalasa reservoir project? Was it United or divided on the basis of castes?

(1) United Village (2) Divided based on castes.

21. If divided, have you had a Dalit ghetto before the Madduvalasa reservoir relocation?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
22. Does the division of main village and Dalit ghetto locations change after the rehabilitation and resettlement?
(1) Yes (2) No
If yes, specify the change.....
23. Do you ever face any kind of discrimination in your life?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
24. If yes, what is the reason for the discrimination that you faced?
(1) Caste based (2) Religion (3) Illiteracy (4) Poverty (5) Others, _____
25. If it is caste based / religion based, have you experienced untouchability?
(1) Yes (2) No
26. What is the nature of the caste-based discrimination in your experience?
(1) Calling by caste name (2) Humiliation at Public Places (3) Physical Attack
(4) Sexual Harassment (5) Damage to Property (6) Others, _____
27. Are you affiliated to any Civil Society Organization? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
28. Do you follow day to day politics?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
29. Do you have any political affiliations? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
30. Does any of the Dalit s ever become a Sarpanch to your village?
(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
If yes, how many times.....
31. Do you see any noticeable changes in the village after a Dalit was elected as a Grama Sarpanch? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K
If, Yes/No specify.....
32. How about the governance under Dalit Sarpanch in your Village?
(1) Effective (2) Ineffective
33. If effective, specify.....
34. If ineffective, specify -----
35. Did the Dalit Sarpanch enjoy autonomy to carry out the process of governance?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

36. What are the hindrances faced by Dalit Sarpanch?

(1) Caste (2) Gender (3) Education (4) Non-cooperation (5) Political party (6) Leadership qualities (7) unaware of rules and regulations (8) None of the above

If the answer is (1), explain?.....

If the answer is (2), describe?.....

If the answer is (3) brief.....

If the answer is (4) how?

If the answer is (5) describe.....

If the answer is (6), specify.....

If the answer is (7) brief.....

If the answer is (8), explain.....

Background of the Incident / an inquiry into the violence occurred

37. How often Dalit s and non-Dalit s in Laxmipeta go for physical fights?

(1) Frequently (2) Rarely (3) Never

38. If it does exist, who initiate the quarrel? (1) SC (2) ST (3) BC (4) Others

39. What are the reasons for quarrel and which would lead to physical fights?

(1) Caste based discrimination (2) women assault (3) abstracting from the use of public resources (4) all of the above (5) others

40. What are the reasons for the outbreak of violence in Laxmipeta?

(1) Caste (2) Practice of untouchability (3) Land (4) Political power (5) Self-respect (6) all of the above (7) others.....

41. How does the above chosen reason trigger the attack?

42. What are the livelihood options for Dalit s?

(1) Agriculture (2) Agriculture labourers (3) Traditional occupations (4) Construction labour (5) Unorganised sector (6) any other

43. What are the weapons used in the violence?

(1) Spears (2) Axes (3) Sticks (4) Bomb (5) All of the above (6) Any other (7) D.K

44. What would be the prime reason for the violence in a single statement?.....

State intervention (compensation, justice and jobs) / State Response

45. Who are the victims in this violence? (1) SC (2) ST (3) BC (4) Others

46. Who had approached police station first time? (1) SC (2) ST (3) BC (4) Others

47. Do the police respond immediately? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

48. What is your opinion on the response of Police receiving a complaint on the accused?

.....

49. Any caste organization opposed the violence? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

50. What are they?

51. How did they take part in the post violence? (1) Active Participation in the movement (2) Economic and moral support (3) Articulation and representation to the Government (4) fighting for the justice legally (4) all of the above (5) any other

52. What is your observation on the response of Dalit associations or Dalit movements on Laxmipeta massacre?

53. Did political parties condemn the violence? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

54. Do you think that political parties taking the responsibility in delivering the justice?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

If, Yes/No explain.....

55. What was the response from State government after the violence?

56. What measures does the government take to serve justice to the victims?

(1) Proper investigation (2) setting up of special court (3) police picketing (4) compensation (4) all of the above (5) any other

57. Do you think judiciary has responded immediately? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

58. What are the judicial interventions in disposal of the case?

59. Do you think judicial interventions delivered the justice to the victim?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

If, Yes/No specify.....

60. Are you satisfied with the way Laxmipeta case is dealt? (1) Yes (2) No (3) Can't Say

61. Do you think the media is giving proper coverage to atrocities committed against SC/ST in general and of Laxmipeta massacre in particular?

(1) Yes (2) No (3) Can't Say

Aftermath of the attack and the present situation

62. Now, what is the situation of the village (Socio-Economic and Political)?

.....

63. Does the government sanctioned compensative measures reached the victims (Dalit s) so far? (1) Yes (2) No (3) D.K

64. If yes, what kind of support/compensation and in what mode is extended to the victims?

(1) Ex-gratia/money (2) Job (3) Land (4) any other

65. If No, why delay in the process of compensation?.....

66. What kind of relationship does the Dalit s have with the Turpu Kapus now?

Dalit Assertion and Victimisation: Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh

Suman Damera¹

Abstract

Atrocities against Dalits continue to be a burning problem till today. Even after seven decades of achieving the independence, there is no much improvement in the living conditions of the Dalits and there is no abatement of atrocities against the Dalits despite of many laws and legal provisions constitutionally guaranteed by it. Violence against Dalits continues on daily basis in many parts of the country perpetuated by the caste Hindus. In recent times, the perpetrators of this violence has not been necessarily from the upper, dominant castes. Since the time of liberalisation period, i.e. from 1991, there is a marked difference in the nature of violence in terms of the oppressor (from Upper caste to OBC's) who conducted the act of violence. The paper will adopt the method of political economy in analysing this shift taking examples from various incidents of caste violence in Andhra Pradesh and also will explore the changing nature of caste violence from upper caste to the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). There is direct correlation between increasing socio- economic and political inequalities and violence on Dalits by the OBCs.

Key Words: *Caste Violence, Atrocities against Dalits, Dalit Assertion, Laxmipeta Massacre, Political Economy of AP.*

Introduction

The studies that have focused on caste-based atrocities have highlighted that Caste has been central to the Indian social structure and it is consolidated by violence directed against Dalits, predominantly in rural parts of India. In post-Emergency India, caste violence took different shape due to a breakdown of the traditional forms of dominance and because of the resistance from the people hailing from lower castes (subaltern) rejecting these feudal forms of dominance as a resistance against the oppression faced by them. "The post-Emergency period has seen a new assertion from Dalits due to the changes in the rural economy, availability of educational facilities leading to the raise of literacy among Dalits, opening up of employment

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29 October, 2019

Certificate

This letter confirms that **Suman Damera**, Ph.D. candidate at the University of Hyderabad, participated and presented paper on **“Dalit Assertion and Victimization: Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh, South India”** in the Fifth International Conference on the Unfinished Legacy of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, hosted at The New School in New York City, USA, October 24-26, 2019.

The New School is pleased to have received and to recognize the aforementioned submission as a significant contribution to the growing discourse on caste-based discrimination inspired by Dr. Ambedkar. We are confident that Suman Damera’s work is a meaningful addition to fuel the debate concerning the interaction between gender, religion, and Dalit dignity.

This conference was made possible through an effortful collaboration between Brandeis University, Barnard College, Columbia University, UMass Amherst, The Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, Samata Foundation, University of Cincinnati, The International Ambedkar Mission, the Boston Study Group, Julien Studley Graduate Programs in International Affairs and Global Studies, and The New School.



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Changing Dynamics of Caste Violence in Andhra Pradesh: A Case Study of Laxmipeta Massacre

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