

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF DALIT MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

The Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy By

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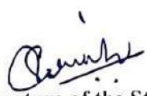
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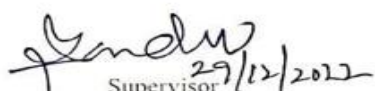
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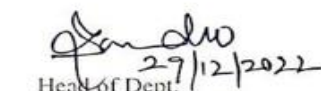
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Presented a paper on History of Bonded Labor in Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh: A case study of Nellore District on 25th-26th, March, 2019 at the UGC Sponsored two days national seminar on ‘ Unorganised sector and public policy initiatives in India organized by Department of Economics- Sri ASNM Government College, West Godavari, A.P.

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Sl. No	Course No.	Name of the Course	Credits	Pass/Fail
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4	EI704	Study Area	4	Pass
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The present study is an attempt to understand the historical nature and significance of social movements in India. The objectivity in studying social movements as a subject to estimate the socio-cultural consciousness and dialects of the larger masses could be interesting to trace out the neglected narratives of the historiography of the large masses who may call ex-untouchables, legally Scheduled Castes. Oral narratives of these neglected communities and their historiography¹ has been seen in social movements. What made them organize as a social group and how did this group lead social movements involved in expressing collective decent against existing mainstream knowledge systems? The evolution process of these social movements is the subject of study and the objectivity is how the social science received social movements and what were the contributions of these social movements in impacting Indian society and policymakers at large. It is this objectivity that motivated me to study the social movements from the perspective of grassroots people historiography rather than the top-down political bureaucracy. Thus, an attempt is made to deal with a historical overview of social movements, how these movements activated to exist, the consequences that led by these movements, and define the subject with new added meaning, definitions, and characteristics features of social movements from liberal, western and Marxist thought processes. While dealing with the theoretical conceptualization of the social movements, the experiences of the Andhra Pradesh-led Dalit Movement could be interesting in examining social movements broadly and can be applied to the larger society and nation-state across India in general and across the nation-states in the globe.

Social movements have existed and continued in all the countries in the past and present. These movements have an impact on the state's functioning, which in turn has an impact on the country as a whole. It also has an impact on the state's decision-

¹Das, K. (2015). Subaltern Historiography to Dalit Historiography: Tracing Heterogeneity in Dalit 'Subalternity'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 60-65; Rawat, R. S., & Satyanarayana, K. (2016). *Dalit studies*. Duke University Press; Yagati, Chinna Rao. *Writing Dalit history and other essays*. Kanishka Publishers, 2007; Ratnam, K. Y. "The Dalit movement and democratization in Andhra Pradesh." (2008); Jangam, Chinnaiah. "Politics of Identity and the Project of Writing History in Postcolonial India: A Dalit Critique." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2015): 63-70.

making, planning, and implementation. It is about mobilizing the masses for political action. But collective action cannot be regarded the same as social movement. The mob's action in the streets can be called a collective behavior, but not a social movement. It is because the action is impulsive in nature and does not aim to bring social change.

According to Herbert Blumer² Social movements are defined as collective enterprises in establishing a new order of life. In the situation of unrest, there is dissatisfaction with the current form of life which is understood through the motive power. On the other hand, the wishes and hopes for a new scheme. The groups which are excluded come together to bring changes in the social structure for providing recourse to non-institutional forms of political involvement are termed social movements, according to Doug McAdam³.

According to Sidney and Tarrow⁴ Social movements are collective challenges to achieve specific goals through interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities. It is the people's active participation in the process of social transformation, rather than their passive participation. It's a gauge measuring inner calm and purposefulness. This type of movement has the potential to destabilize existing institutions. It is a deliberate effort by a large number of people to bring or avert change. A sense of belonging and group cohesiveness are two characteristics required for a social movement. Active participation has the potential to bring the members of the group closer together. An entirely new social, economic, and political structure is the ultimate end result. It will produce new ideas, which the group members will be forced to follow and accept. It entails communal action as opposed to individual activity; it can be organized or unorganized, peaceful or aggressive. Its life is unclear; it could live for a long time or die out quickly.

It is difficult to categorize social movements because they are heterogeneous in character and alter dramatically at different stages. The different types of movements are explained one after the other. Millenarian movements are linked to religious, social, or political beliefs. Migratory movements are defined as people leaving one country and

²Blumer, H. (2017). What is wrong with social theory? In *Sociological methods* (pp. 84-96). Routledge.

³Davis, G. F., McAdam, D., Scott, W. R., & Zald, M. N. (Eds.). (2005). *Social movements and organization theory*. Cambridge University Press.

⁴Sidney, T. A. R. R. O. W. (1998). Power in movement: social movements and contentious politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511813245>.

settling in another. It is due to unhappiness with current circumstances or a desire for fresh chances. The People moving from East to West Germany is an example of a migratory social movement. The utopian movement refers to an imagined reality that does not exist in reality. Israeli kibbutz and the Sarvodaya movement are two examples. When people are alienated and unable to change their surroundings, they engage in expressive movements. The hippy movement is an example.

A reformist movement is a large-scale movement aimed at changing only one area of society. It is only conceivable in democratic countries where individuals have the freedom to express their thoughts and criticize existing institutions, as well as the ability to effect change. Dalit and women's movements are two examples.

The term "revolutionary" refers to a desire to replace a current social structure with a new one. It occurs when people have no choice but to create a new social system. The communist revolutions in Russia and China are two instances. Resistance movements exist not only to bring about change but also to resist or reverse changes that have already been imposed. An example is the anti-Hindi agitation of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam⁵. The goal of a revivalist movement is that the system should result in its original condition of absolute purity. A social movement is difficult to define. It is neither a political party nor an interest organization, nor is it a craze or trend among the general public. It's someplace in the middle. It has tense relationships with well-defined adversaries and is linked by dense informal networks. It can be defined as a group of organized but unofficial social entities engaged in an extra-institutional confrontation aimed at achieving a specified goal, such as a narrow policy or, more broadly, a cultural shift.

The research on social movements was an attempt to figure out why people become involved in collective action. These works were based on mass-society beliefs. The focus of mass society theory was the increasing industrialization of society, which many argued led to a sense of alienation among individuals as traditional social institutions and support networks dissolved. The study of social movements as discrete social processes with distinct patterns arose from this school of study.

Indian Context of Social Movements:

⁵Manikandan, C., & Wyatt, A. (2014). Elite formation within a political party: The case of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 32-54.

Traditional India was distinguished by political fragmentation and linguistic regional isolation, hierarchical social division and institutionalized unfairness, cultural ethnic diversity and social tolerance, and the community's authority over the individual.⁶ All these elements gave rise to and influenced to form the social movements. The many socioeconomic forces that accompanied the Indian National Liberation Movement were absorbed by the Nationalist ideology. The Nationalist spirit, on the other hand, dissipated fast, continuing the post-independence trend of restricting access to productive resources, social inequalities, and patriarchal attitudes. Caste, class, geography, and language were all focal points of social movements. Andhra Pradesh was not alone in experiencing this occurrence. In post-Independence India, the states vigorously pursued a positive discrimination policy is clear evidence of the state's sympathy for scheduled caste movements and their integration into the system. On the other side, a small number of groups have monopolized the benefits of affirmative action, leaving the poor to demand reservations within reservations. The riches in indigenous areas have attracted mainstream communities, which has resulted in their isolation. Tribal movements have always been in opposition to "foreign" forces.

The homogeneity and consistency in these forces' techniques of resource appropriation across the country provide the foundation for tribal movements. The governmental failings resulted in peasant movements forming a non-egalitarian agricultural structure, agriculture becoming ineffectively sustainable, and not in a position to deal with natural disaster threats. Despite the growth of advantageous state policies in the legal, economic, and social arenas, the women's movements still persisted in contrast to the deeply rooted patriarchal society. many sub-national movements formed in independent India despite the fear of exploitation by dominant areas and linguistic groups. This culminated in the linguistic rearrangement of states in 1956⁷. Due to inequalities in developing the resources, cultural identities, and political power, the linguistic foundation for state formation has not acted as a necessary ingredient as originally anticipated. Another channel via which social movements can reach out to the most vulnerable individuals is through the judiciary, which can aid in the restoration of

⁶Oommen, T. K. (1977). Sociological issues in the analysis of social movements in independent India. *Sociological bulletin*, 26(1), 14-37.

⁷Oommen, T. K. (1990). Sociology for one world: a plea for an authentic sociology. *Sociological Bulletin*, 39(1-2), 1-13.

rights. This chapter will look at the history and the impact on social movements in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Demography of Dalits in India:

According to the Census of India-2011, the total population of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) in United Andhra Pradesh is as follows: SC has a population of 166,635,700 people (16.2%), whereas ST has a population of 84,326,240 people. 82.2% SC/ST population total: 1,028,737,436 (24.4 percent). According to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment's 2011 Census, Andhra Pradesh's total population is 54,580,777, with an SC population of 13,878,078. (16.41 percent).

Historical Perspective of the Dalit Movement:

The first to oppose the Indian social order's inhuman religious practices were the Lokayats and Buddhists. Buddhists led social campaigns for Dalit freedom, while Lokayats battled philosophically. The struggle of Veerasaivas in the South led by Basava against the problem of untouchability played a key part in history during the Middle Ages. Poets' and writers' roles were limited to publicizing the negative impacts of untouchability and the caste system. However, they were unable to turn into a formidable social movement in order to address the issues of untouchables. Mahatma Phule was a trailblazer in the fight for the emancipation of all Shudras and Dalits. During the liberation struggle, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a prominent leader who took up the issue of Dalits on various levels in order to open up social, political, and economic spaces for the untouchables. It was his fight that brought the Dalit question to the forefront in a systematic way. The social movement started by Ambedkar laid the foundations on which the post-Ambedkar movements were built. Ambedkar has rooted the suffering in the Hindu scriptures and advocated religious conversion into Buddhism as one of the prominent means for Dalit liberation. He argued that since caste is rooted in the Hindu religious order, he believed that emancipation of caste is difficult and therefore Dalits are left with no option but only conversion. The research of Ambedkar became a lifeline in order to frame the other social movements in India.⁸

⁸Ambedkar's approach towards social change shaped India's character - Hindustan Times

Colonial Rule and Dalits:

As we all know, India was under the rule of many foreign nations, for example, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English. But none of them considered the problems of untouchables in Indian society. In fact, they were afraid of touching the religious and social beliefs of Indians in order to safeguard their stature in India, and also, the introduction of the Market in India by the British badly damaged the livelihoods of Artisans. The landlords and the rich could manage and safely hold their lands and properties from the British but the ultimate sufferers were the lower-class people and the Artisans.

Congress Party and Dalits:

When the Congress party became politically dominant and about to capture political power in India, Dr. Ambedkar raised his voice and questioned the plans of Congress in order to resolve the problems of untouchables. In fact, by that time congress also had no thought of taking up the problem of untouchability. After Ambedkar's demand only, congress started the Harijan Movement. And many programs under that. But the Harijan movement was not that active which could totally remove the problems of untouchables. Those who came out of Congress on ideological differences and formed their own political outfits also could do nothing to resolve the Dalit problem or the problems of untouchables. Realizing the fact that, all of them are from upper castes and representatives of landlords.

Purpose of the Study:

After the Chundur Dalit massacre the in 1991 challenges of this dalit movement surfaced in a big way. Form of challenging the leadership, spurting of individual caste identities among certain Dalit castes have brought about great changes in the dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. The formation of the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS) and its demands for the categorisation of reservation benefits, as well as Mala opposition through the formation of Mala Mahanadu, had far-reaching consequences on the dalit movement and politics that followed. The MRPS shifted the focus of dalit movement to the internal issues of the dalit society in terms of distribution of benefits of reservations among dalit communities. It's worth noting that before the Madiga

movement, all Dalits, or about fifty-six communities of Dalits, fought together against the upper caste. Thus, it is important to note here that MRPS though claim to maintain all the demands of the earlier dalit movement along with the categorisation they seem to have pushed to periphery.

Thus, the MRPS movement has added some new dimensions to the dalit movement which should be considered as an additional change to the already existing dalit movement. In one way it is a qualitative and quantitative shift in the dalit movement that has also influenced the classification demands in the rest of India. This demand has forced to redefine the dalit movement in terms of not only demanding justice from the upper caste but also from within.

In view of this qualitative and quantitative change in the Dalit movement there is a need to identify the basic characteristics of the Dalit movement and then the new changes that have started surfacing from the early part of 1990s. As such the present research is concern with the detail study of the features of Dalit movement and later changes over the theoretical backdrop of social movement. Since, Andhra Pradesh is like crucible for such experiments it can offer clear picture of the changing scenario of the Dalit movement. As such the present topic “change and continuity in Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh” is very essential one to make generalization of a pan India understanding.

Theoretical overview:

While much focus has been placed on describing how social circumstances organize the resources available to social movements, less attention has been made to articulating how knowledge and perceptions are generated. People with unequal social systems experience the same events differently, with ideas anchored in their social context clarifying or obscuring their perception, which plays a crucial role in social conflict. This structuring of knowledge and perspective has an impact on both movements and their opponents, and it has the potential to exacerbate conflicts of interest by impeding the identification of common ground required for negotiation, as well as the maximization of negotiation benefits the minimization of mutually destructive hostility. Most activists in most movements believe that complete victory and annihilation of opponents are neither feasible nor desirable. Their purpose is to achieve more

bargaining strength and leverage so that the outcome of discussions and compromises benefits their people. To avoid taking activities that increase rather than decrease opposition, campaigners must learn to perceive the subject through the eyes of their opponents.

As a result, knowing sociology concepts may be beneficial to both activists and conciliators⁹ illustrated how differing political concepts and beliefs, or 'ideologies,' aid or hinder movement efficacy. De-legitimation (identifying areas of stress and attacking the legitimizing mechanisms associated with them), dis-alienation (the presentation of an alternative cognitive universe and an explanation of how desired changes might be produced), and commutation (the presentation of an alternative cognitive universe and an explanation of how desired changes might be produced) are all processes that radical movements must complete if they are to attract and retain supporters (the communication to an audience of a realistic alternative interpretation of the world sufficiently flexible to encompass changing circumstances). The management of these processes is a task for theory, and the characteristics of the political theory embraced by a movement can be linked to its success or failure in large part. Even if its authenticity is recognized, implementing it entails tampering with political theories at the heart of the movement's rise. Such an approach is a vital addition to the toolset of academic social movement researchers, but its utility to movements is less clear. Nonetheless, movements can and do revise their political conceptions; for example, Levitas (1977) showed how the Christian Socialist movement redefined its goals in response to changing realities¹⁰. It is understandable that activists find it difficult to change or abandon important theories to a movement's identity; but, just as strategy and tactics can be distinguished, central components of theory should be distinguished from those that are more peripheral. Depending on how useful peripheral components of theory, such as tactics, are in achieving movement goals, they may be kept or removed.

Like most concepts in the social sciences, the concept of social movement does not explain a component of "reality," but rather a method of creating social reality. Too many social movement studies are fatally naive. Authors typically promote their own ideas or beliefs while professing to reflect communal activities or historical

⁹Glasner, P. E. (1977). *The sociology of secularization: A critique of a concept*. Routledge Kegan.

¹⁰Levitas, R. A. (1977). Some problems of aim-centred models of social movements. *Sociology*, 11(1), 47-63.

occurrences. We can observe how limited most analyses of social movements are when we compare different periods of intellectual and social history. In the postwar period, social movements were generally viewed as disruptive forces, with even "liberals" like L. Coser only willing to admit that disagreements may be useful for social integration at best¹¹.

However, social movements were connected with the counterculture and the search for "alternative" forms of social and cultural life after the 1960s. The issue fell out of favor in the early 1980s. How can we overcome the obvious prejudices that render social movement discussions pointless because they only enlighten us on the social attitudes of a few select academic groups? To counteract this naive and false positivism, each social scientist must define and contextualize the concepts he or she uses. However, simply stating "what I think" is insufficient; one must also compare one's own categories to other types of social reality construction. Rather than isolating and defining distinct Weltanschauung, the goal here is to blend different ways into a generic portrayal of social existence that allows each approach some autonomy. True, such a broad and diverse perspective is influenced by various "theories" and hence isn't totally objective. On the other hand, the issue is not to pursue abstract pure objectivity, but to push back ideological boundaries and make social scientific debates more important. We will lapse into pretentious and ineffectual displays of our personal or national preferences and representations if we do not engage in this critical self-assessment of our ideas and accomplishments.

Social movements are nearly widely recognized as a distinct type of social conflict. Many types of collective behavior, such as panics, crazes, fads, currents of opinion, and cultural developments, are not social conflicts, even when they accurately identify what they react to. A conflict necessitates a precise identification of rivals or competing players, as well as the resources over which they are fighting or negotiating control. A broad definition allows for a variety of tactics, but it also specifies two lines that should not be crossed. As a feature of a social system, a social conflict cannot be fully appreciated. When a "society" feels threatened or even no longer wishes to survive, as proven by specific African cases, the manifestation of this societal crisis cannot be characterized as a social conflict. Specific social categories must be formed as conflict

¹¹Coser, L. A. (1998). *The functions of social conflict* (Vol. 9). Routledge.

agents. If, on the other hand, a collective actor is unable to explain its goals in social terms for example, if a group wishes to be recognized for its distinctiveness - the war for independence or identity will not result in a social conflict. Even if the battle is not a zero-sum game, it must be defined by a "field" or "stakes" that two or more adversaries value and desire.

As a result, all types of social conflicts contain a reference to "actual" that is, organized individuals and shared goals among rivals or foes. Under this broad framework, various types of social conflicts must be defined. The competitive pursuit of group interests is a fundamental and easily recognized type of social conflict. It most vehemently opposes people or groups attempting to maximize their market advantages. It is defined in a more traditional sociological perspective as the manifestation of a link between actors' inputs and outputs in an organization, or of their relative deprivation. When employees of a firm bring high or low inputs (measured by competence, for example) and receive high or low incentives, four fundamental patterns of behavior have been proposed (in terms of pay in particular). When low rewards equate to large inputs, the likelihood of conflict increases. Resentment is replaced by competition when both input and output are high. Low input with a low reward, on the other hand, is more likely to lead to withdrawal, whereas a low input with a large reward leads to passive conformity.

The "stakes" of the disagreements are organizational rewards, and the actors are defined by their positions on a hierarchical scale. A. Oberschall has convincingly presented this "rationalist" approach to collective behavior. Reconstructing a social, cultural, or political identity is both related to and diametrically opposed to the first. In this context, the opponent is referred to as a foreigner or invader rather than a member of the upper class, the power elite, or management. The actor identifies as a member of a community whose principles are threatened by invasion or destruction. During the end of slavery, Messianic organizations in Brazil, for example, prioritized the defense of rural communities against the dominance of commercial and urban interests. In his understanding, C. Tilly sees the Vendean counter-revolutionary movement in France as a communitarian defense of a rural civilization endangered by a burgeoning urban bourgeoisie, rather than an aristocratic reaction.¹² Many strikes have taken place in recent years to emphasize occupational groups' opposition to new technologies that

¹²Tilly, C., & Wood, L. J. (2015). *Social Movements 1768-2012*. Routledge.

disrupt faltering enterprises or industries. In the second type of conflict, the pursuit of communal interests is referred to as offensive, whilst the pursuit of individual interests is referred to as defensive. Smelser's hypothesis that collective behavior corresponds to the crisis and rebuilding of a social system element is consistent with the second type of social conflict definition. The Chicago school of thought has explored gangs and ghettos as mechanisms of defense for marginalized socioeconomic and ethnic groups. These two conflict behaviors exist on the same level: they "respond" to changes in organizational status. The majority of their study focuses on "systems" rather than "actors." In most ways, though, they are diametrically opposed. The first is an instrumental piece, whereas the second is a piece of expression. Both have the ability to deviate from the notion of social conflict. Because the environment is characterized in nonrelational, simply competitive terms, and the competition players share no cultural or social orientation other than their own, the first no longer refers to a social conflict.

As sociology has constantly reminded us, Homo socius is not simply a subspecies of Homo economics. If the second is restricted to a prophetic defense of values and communities, it is no longer a social struggle since it pits culture and barbarism, Good and Evil, in a merely military form that disregards either camp's commitment to common values. A political force seeks to alter the game's rules, not only the distribution of relative advantages within a firm. Characterizing the characters and the stakes of their struggle appears simple in this case since the dispute is either well-organized or has a high capacity for mobilization. Each camp identifies itself, its opponent, and which components of the decision-making process or game rules should be modified or kept in both scenarios.

The image of social conflict pervades most industrial relations research, and it is frequently stated publicly. Organizational sociology has investigated in greater depth the efforts of various categories of individuals to govern what M. Crozier¹³ refers to "zones of uncertainty" and work in accordance with what March and Simon¹⁴ refer to as "limited rationality." Among other things, these authors have established that many "organizational" conflicts are essentially "political." Strikes¹⁵, according to E. Shorter

¹³Crozier, M., Huntington, S. P., & Watanuki, J. (1975). *The crisis of democracy* (Vol. 70). New York: New York University Press.

¹⁴March, J. G., & Simon, H. A. (1993). *Organizations*. John Wiley & Sons.

¹⁵Hyman, R. (1989). *Strikes*. Springer.

and C. Tilly¹⁶, are intimately linked to major rises or losses in union political strength, rather than being a reaction to "relative deprivation."

Defending one's status or advantages is the inverse of political pressure, and defending one's identity is the inverse of the communal pursuit of interests. Based on an idea introduced by J. Linz, P. Schmitter¹⁷ has demonstrated the importance of neo-corporatist policies in Europe and Latin America, which emerge when an interest group is incorporated into the State and defends its interests by emphasizing its functional importance and its usefulness for national life. Rather than simply defending their income, farmers and teachers advocate for agriculture and education to be prioritized. Political movements can convey both apprehensions about a disaster and a desire for national unification that preserves moral or communitarian ideals while criticizing dangerous minorities on a greater scale. Since the end of the eighteenth century, our political and intellectual life has been influenced by the fear of a mass society, which frequently expresses the preservation of values and interests that can no longer be effectively preserved through existing institutional channels. Because foreign corporations or the international banking and trade system make many key economic decisions in Latin America, political and ideological groupings have a considerable lot of autonomy in terms of economic interests. Disarticulation is a tactic used to weaken representative democracy. As a result, political movements are often characterized by defensive nationalism, which prioritizes national integration, defense against foreign influence, and the country's "dualization" over the development of directly competing political parties.

Above this political, institutional level of analysis, a unique type of social conflict emerges, with societal control over the main cultural patterns at stake, that is, the patterns through which our normative connections with the environment are organized.

Cultural patterns are classified into three groups: knowledge models, investment types, and ethical norms. For these representations of truth, production, and morality, a community's ability to achieve, to self-produce, is essential. Society is opposed to the community because a collective with a high capacity for action and transformation is inevitably divided between leaders or ruling groups, who impose savings, deferred

¹⁶Shorter, E., & Tilly, C. (1974). *Strikes in France 1830-1968*. CUP Archive.

¹⁷Schmitter, P. C. (1992). The consolidation of democracy and representation of social groups. *American behavioral scientist*, 35(4-5), 422-449.

gratification patterns, abstract ideas, and moral principles while also identifying their own interests with these universal principles, and "people" or "masses," who are both subordinated to ruling groups' control of cultural values and eager to transform themselves. This fundamental conflict will never end or be resolved. If the masses win, an active society becomes a fixed, reproducing community; if the elite imposes its values, "social self-production" transforms into private interests, and entrepreneurship transforms into speculation or privileges. These final observations highlight how small the gap is between this "good" conflict behavior and the "poor" conflict behaviors that correspond to it. The development of a new order is the polar opposite of society's conflict-ridden self-production.

The most severe form of such "critical action" is a revolution, which always strives to re-create a community by establishing a new social order, more rational or more national, but differentiated by its integration and ability to handle conflicts, as demonstrated by the police. In a similar vein, the ruling class frequently imposes order as a requirement for economic success, but order frequently becomes an end goal in and of itself, as well as a tool for sustaining advantages. The French and Russian revolutions firmly established the notion that a revolution was the political manifestation of a popular class movement. Historical experts have slammed Tilly's belief in continuity from social mobilization to revolution. While V. Bonnell¹⁸ proved that the birth of the Russian labor movement prior to 1914 was completely independent of revolutionary political organizations, T. Skocpol emphasized in a major book that revolutions are primarily triggered by a breakdown of the state and political system. In a previous paper, F. Furet¹⁹ criticized the conventional image of the French Revolution and its "natural" radicalization between 1789 and 1794. This enormous shift in political understanding is undoubtedly the result of dissatisfaction with post-revolutionary political control.

The six types of conflict behavior that have been briefly described correspond to three levels of social life that cannot be separated from "class" conflicts, organizational processes, political institutions, and cultural orientations and to two opposing and complementary types of conflicts, offensive and defensive. The first identifies warring

¹⁸Bonnell, V. E. (1978). Radical Politics and Organized Labor in Pre-Revolutionary Moscow, 1905-1914. *Journal of Social History*, 12(2), 282-300.

¹⁹Furet, F. (1981). *Interpreting the French revolution*. Cambridge University Press.

individuals and implies a reasonably independent representation of the stakes of the conflict; the second, on the other hand, tends to identify an actor with society and cultural ideals while eliminating the opponent as an external adversary or traitor. None of these types should be confused with those that are no longer defined by a specific level of social activity, but rather by conflicting attempts to exert influence over a historical change process, such as the transition from one cultural and societal type to another. In more particular words, we must distinguish between internal conflicts inside an industrial society and conflicts related to the industrialization process. For Western countries, this distinction is still difficult to accept because their own industrialization was primarily endogenous, based on science, technology, education, the "achievement motive," and the open market, so their central image of themselves identified functioning and change, modernity and modernization.

Since the Enlightenment, modern societies have been characterized by their ability to abolish conventions, particularisms, and beliefs while enabling Reason and its achievements to flourish. However, after a century of development policies that is, voluntary state-led or foreign-led actions against foreign political and economic dominance, resulting in a growing dualization of society, actions that reinforce traditional social and cultural controls and stifle protest movements the gap between internal endogenous change and state-led or foreign-led modernization has become clear. We're even inclined to disregard internal, structural concerns in favor of viewing all social challenges as a part of the transition process. This point of view is just as incorrect as the opposite one, which identifies underlying issues with modernization processes.

A comprehensive conflict typology should include a categorization for "historical" conflicts, comparable to the one for "social" conflicts. Synchronic and diachronic disagreements are classified in the same way. They can be aggressive or defensive, and they exist at different levels of social life. In this context, however, it is sufficient to analyze simply the two categories of "historical" conflicts that correlate to the largest degree of social conflicts, in both good and bad aspects. Positive historical conflicts have a very specific name: national conflicts. This is because the identity and continuity of a changing, developing country cannot be based on social actors and social relations that are precisely transformed, destroyed, or created by the process of historical change, for example, industrialization. Only the state and the country can establish their

continuity in the face of change. Fights over the control of change are debates over the state in all countries.

This highlights the need of distinguishing the political system as a representation of internal economic, social, or cultural interests from the state as the primary agent of historical change. When the State is diagnosed with a dominating elegance, the people, or the stability of social forces in such nations, the experience of "central" countries, particularly hegemonic ones like Britain in the nineteenth century and America in the twentieth, is deceiving or politically misinterpreted. The competition between elegance war and national war, which has dominated recent history since Austro-Marxists attempted to combine them and the First World War established the limits of "proletarian" internationalism, can be represented by the division between maximum stage social and ancient conflicts.

Neo Communitarianism is the polar opposite of country-wide conflict: it tries to thwart an externally imposed historic ex-trade that undermines conventional values and social structures. It's called an anti-revolution, and it is simply as vital on the flip of the century as modern actions had been a century prior. Rather than the inner social combat between capitalism and socialism, the arena is nowadays ruled through the war of words between social and democratic actions on the one hand and neo communitarian States or political companies on the other. The planet is now ruled through the competition among social and democratic actions on one aspect and neo communitarian States or political businesses on the other, starting from constrained Western neo-communitarian dispositions or sects to fundamentalist, nativist, indigenous ideologies, and the effective Islamist movement. The Leninist revolution marked a turning factor in history, permitting state-centric struggles to overcome social conflicts and ideologies.

This cold categorization conceals a slew of boiling ideological and political issues. Since the Dreyfus case, a leftist highbrow has been described as a person who preaches the convergence of liberal reforms, magnificence disputes, revolutions, and countrywide liberation movements, mainly in France. The most vital of those intellectuals became Jean-Paul Sartre²⁰, who diagnosed himself as a petit-bourgeois, or

²⁰Sartre, J. P. (1974). *The Writings of Jean-Paul Sartre Volume 2: Selected Prose* (Vol. 2). Northwestern University Press.

champion of Western democracy, however, best in the impenetrable horizon of Marxism, and enthusiastically supported the Algerian independence cause.

While opposing colonialism and "imperialism" conflicts, the thinkers supported socialist reforms in their very own country. Supporters of the Vietnamese freedom movement decided it was tougher to manual the Hanoi rule without mentioning Cambodia, and it is hard to appear Stalinist regimes as representations of proletarian revolutions. As a result, the convergence of rights and liberation appears to be contradicted by the useful resource of the usage of historic experience. The form of many varieties of social and historic conflicts aids us in comprehending the conflicts or tensions that exist amongst them and stresses each oldster to make tough, if now not impossible, decisions.

Many exams of "social movements" ' are obvious in that they focus on an unmarried form of conflict, usually due to the reality that kind is high-quality in a particular country. In many Third World countries, wherein anti-imperialism fights, neo-communitarian movements, and the emergence of a "State bourgeoisie" are the more exquisite forces, it's tough to have a look at beauty conflicts. Many Western observers, on the opportunity hand, did now no longer end up conscious of "social movements" ' till the 1960s and were usually interested in figuring out how social integration is probably restored with the beneficial aid of using reform or a neoconservative wave. Such relativist observations, however, may be misleading. We want to provide a well-known interpretation of conflicts in the location of proscribing ourselves to classifying and distinguishing categories. As a result, we want to now flip our interest to a more tough task: presenting a well-known rationalization of the versions and relationships amongst numerous types of disputes.

More specifically, due to this, we want to now introduce the idea of social movement, which we were given had been prevented using within the proper revel in till now. There are possibilities. The maximum primary definition is to remember a social movement as an extensive class that consists of all varieties of social and historic conflicts. But, if this sort of large time period is solely associated with communal conflicts, what's the point? We ought to merge the previous type right into large speculation that allocates numerous ranges of relevance to numerous conflicts, a good way to give an extra significant struggle analysis. When we advanced a typology that

contrasts tremendous and terrible movement and 3 ranges of struggle, a photograph that really prioritizes the "highest" level, wherein conflicts are organized around the management of center cultural styles and resources, we needed to introduce the sort of hierarchy from the start.

Indian political scientists regard even sports with an immediate political individual which can be expressly orientated in opposition to the government, not to mention social actions in general, to be out of doors the ambit in their instructional field. Political technology in India has typically targeted political establishments just like the administration, legislature, events, and elections. The examiner of the people's politics, their pursuits and desires, the articulation of their concerns, and their fashion of operation in articulating their needs out of the doors of the formal institutional framework has been in large part neglected with the aid of using political technology academia. However, 'improvement' regulations and welfare programs, in addition to governance, are on the coaching and studies schedule in Indian political technology. However, as opposed to coverage improvement processes, the point of interest is at the government's objectives and function, in addition to program evaluation.

The program of land reform, for example, is taught without attention to the battles that drove the country and political events to adopt it. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's *garibi hatao* coverage isn't always studied within the context of the agricultural and concrete poor's a couple of battles within the 1960s. It is generally forgotten that understanding how the country works necessitates a hold close to famous politics. The subaltern classes' perceptions, beliefs, goals, and viewpoints can assist to outline and re-outline our notions, in addition to venturing out of textbook-primarily based totally knowledge. The followers' or members' conscious will, normative self-control of the movement's ideals or ideas, and lively engagement are the guidelines of a social movement's self-control to extrude and raise. This unique definition of social movement in terms of volition and moral self-control is confirmed through the method of what appears to be an agreement by a number of the field's prominent experts. Heberle, for example, sees one's perception systems as an expression of the individuals who encompass them as a whole. He is terrific that the element of strength of will is what lets beliefs be effective in social conditions. The conscious evolution of humans performing collectively consequences within the embodiment of ideology in social movements. Objectives, philosophy, programs, leadership, and business enterprise are all widespread

components of social movements. They are associated and have an impact on each other.

Ranjit Guha's²¹ caution, on the other hand, needs to be noted. He points out that the ones' dispositions may be located in all forms of uprisings or insurgencies, which encompass so-called "spontaneous" rebellions, and that their place of job artwork can range from virtually unstructured to well-organized. He refutes the claim that peasant insurgencies had been spontaneous and lacked political interest and business enterprise. Despite the fact that none of these competencies can also furthermore need to inform in age or sophistication to the historically greater superior movements of the 20th century, such insurgencies lacked "neither leadership, aim, or likely some rudiments of a plan. I recognize that utilizing a selected definition in this essay, which I installed to study a selected collective movement within the Seventies as a manner to embody or exclude some studies, will land me in excessive difficulties. "It's probably that it will require me to skip some pretty intriguing, well-documented, and analytical studies." ²²

This is probably detrimental now no longer to our information of the individual of Indian social movements, but moreover to the development of terrific theoretical viewpoints and their boom over time. The term "new social movement" is drastically used among social scientists and activists today. Some people use the phrase to refer to 'new' movements, in conjunction with the women's, environmental, identity, and peace movements. The demanding conditions of 'post-contemporary-day' civilization have spawned some new social movements.²³ These movements are not primarily based totally on social education, and they will now no longer be worried about economic issues. They are also unconcerned about the authority of the use of a. They beautify the trouble of humanity, which affects people from all walks of life. In this revel in, 'new close by movements' are social in the area of politics. This is a concern, and you will be capable of surprising what quantity Indian society is post-contemporary-day' within the same level that Western society is. In premodern culture, had there been no identity conflicts? Is it right that environmental, women and Dalit movements have no economic impact? Isn't it right that they will be up in competition with the authorities?

²¹Guha, R. (Ed.). (1989). *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History* (Vol. 6, p. 335). Oxford University Press.

²²Shah, G. (2004). *Social movements in India: A review of literature*.

²³Singh, R. (2001). *Social movements, Old and New: a post-modernist critique*. SAGE Publications Pvt. Limited.

Given that the individuality of education and class ties has changed within the present global capitalism, does the education (or economic strata) have no effect on people's conceptions of the dominant ideology and power? Within the paradigm of recent social movements,

Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes²⁴ (1987) distinguish between social and political movements. They say that the preceding is not interested in gaining governmental power. "Social movements are named for added autonomy in the area of power. Social and political authority are different, with the latter lying great within the use of a. According to the authors, the reason for social movements is societal transformation. The organization is added to paintings for social justice. Of course, because the real society and us, and consequently social and political power, are not identical, this argument is faulty. To discriminate between social and political power in current society, but, is to gloss over reality and overlook the intricacies of political processes. Political sports activities aren't the great ones involved in politics. The authors rightly argue that Frank and Fuentes are committed to a way of "DE politicization of the social world," but they overlook the political consequences of movements focused on questions of justice or injustice²⁵. Even if it isn't always on the right now agenda, we get hold of as actual with that any collective endeavor to bring about social reform, which encompasses changes inside the labor-property relationship and the war for justice and rights, requires taking pix or influencing political authority. As a result, within the contemporary-day setting, the distinction between "social" and "political" movements is basically conceptual.

Social Movements: The Concept of Social Movements:

The term "social movement" refers to one of the most unusual places of enterprise behavior. The study of social movements has captivated the hobby of a massive form of sociologists in modern years, no longer truly in India but furthermore within the West. For a number of reasons, numerous sort social movements are launched. There are movements pushing for improved reserves for SCs, STs, and unique backward classes, further to counter-movements calling for his or her abolition or, at the very least, the recognition of the status quo. There are campaigns to protect flowers and fauna and the

²⁴Frank, A. G., & Fuentes, M. (1987). Nine theses on social movements. *Thesis Eleven*, 18(1), 143-165.

²⁵Frank, A. G., & Fuentes, M. (1990). *Social Movements in Recent World History*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

environment and further, sell international peace. The production of Sri Ram Temple within the disputed town of Ayodhya is unfavorable with the aid of the use of each proponent and opponent. To list a few, there are fascist movements, communist movements, Naxalite movements, tribal movements, peasant movements, women's movements, youngsters' movements, labor movements, civil rights movements, human rights movements, and afforestation movements.

Meaning and definition of Social Movements:

A social movement is a collection of individuals who paint collectively to assist or oppose alternates within the society or company to which they belong. The important protagonists are Turner and Killian: A social movement is a group of people who come collectively to guide or oppose a positive cause²⁶. Hunt and Horton²⁷ are names that come to mind. A social movement, according to Neil J. Smelser, is "an organized group attempting to generate or resist social change."²⁸ A social movement, according to Rudolf Heberle, is "a collaborative endeavor to modify established relationships within a particular society."²⁹

Characteristics of social movements:

The nature of social actions is mentioned within the Social Movements in India, edited with the aid of using M.S.A. Rao, certainly considered one among India's maximum fantastic sociologists³⁰. He claims that social movement is described with the aid of using functions on which sociologists are typically in agreement. The specifics are as follows:

Collective Action:

Unquestionably, collective movement is an element of social movement. On the other hand, collective movement splendid will become a movement as quick as it's far been sustained for an extended time. This collective interest now does not want to be

²⁶Diani, M. (1992). The concept of social movement. *The sociological review*, 40(1), 1-25.

²⁷Horton, R. (2009). Global science and social movements: towards a rational politics of global health. *International Health*, 1(1), 26-30.

²⁸Smelser, N. J., & Baltes, P. B. (Eds.). (2001). *International encyclopedia of the social & behavioral sciences* (Vol. 11). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

²⁹Heberle, R. (1951). *Social movements*. Ardent Media.

³⁰Rao, M. S. A. (1981). Some aspects of sociology of migration. *Sociological Bulletin*, 30(1), 21-38.

officially organized. It's furthermore feasible that it's a haphazard attempt. It should, however, be capable of piquing people's interest and arouse it in a big fashion people

Oriented towards social change:

A social movement's most important reason is commonly to impact social change. It's viable that this transition may be partial or total. Other forces are striving to dam the adjustments and guard the reputé quo, in spite of the reality that that is presently centurion converting the present system's values, norms, and ideologies. Most countermeasures are protective and restorative, as opposed to the new change. They are often the end result of a pre-present order's decided efforts to preserve its reputation. While sociologists agree on the above-stated traits of social movements, they disagree significantly on extra standards which include the presence of an ideology, the method of organization, and the character of consequence, as M.S.A. Rao factors out.

The ideology behind the movement:

An essential element of social movement that distinguishes it from the broader elegance of collective mobilization is the presence of an ideology. A scholar strike, for example, entails collective mobilization and is supposed to effect change. A scholar strike, at the opportunity hand, without an ideology becomes a one-time event rather than a movement. If the strike is inspired via an idea, at the opportunity hand, it may go through longer and take the form of a movement.

Organizational framework:

As Paul Wilkinson has pointed out, a social movement calls for only a rudimentary organizational framework to prevail or, on the very least, hold its momentum. To distinguish among leaders and followers, become aware of the movement's aims, convince others to sign up for or guide it, and rent diverse techniques to acquire the goals, a social movement wants a few sorts of organizational framework.

The Techniques and Results:

A social movement can also additionally set up its very own method or technique to achieve its goal. There's no way to inform for certain. It can also additionally utilize nonviolent or conflicting methods and techniques to achieve its aim, in addition to

competitive or nonviolent methods and techniques, compulsive or persuasive methods and techniques, and democratic or undemocratic methods and techniques. The equal is probably real for the very last results. It can also additionally prevail or fail: it may be a partial fulfillment or, at the absolute least, it may increase public cognizance. A movement's ideology and organizational framework have a large effect on the movement's result.

The formation of social movements:

As with crowds and mobs, social actions do now no longer seem out of nowhere. Herbert Bhumer has accomplished lots of theoretical paintings within the subject matter of social actions. According to him, the emergence of a social movement is going via several stages.

1. The Preliminary Stage:

This length is likewise called the "unrest level. At this point, we may also note a few folks that are confused or upset. They are agitated as a result. All social movements, as N.J. Smelser³¹ factors out, start with an experience of dissatisfaction with the triumphing social order. The hyperlink among goal situations and subjective impressions of these situations is usually the supply of dissatisfaction. If all people in a society are content material with their lives. Any social movement that fails to obtain traction is doomed. When human beings are a part of a movement, they're upset with something. More unhappiness, an experience of lack, or restlessness do now no longer result in mobility. People have to think or be persuaded to believe, that those problems are made from human behavior and they may be successfully resolved through collective action. The level is most effective and then set for a movement to arise.

2. The Popular Stage:

The movement coalesces around a figure or leader who promises to alleviate the people's miseries during the popular stage. This character could be a dynamic leader with remarkable talents who can guide the movement. He may speak of reform, revolution, or resistance, or he may express himself in a way that leads his supporters to

³¹Haferkamp, H., & Smelser, N. J. (Eds.). (1992). *Social change and modernity* (pp. 1-33). Berkeley: University of California press.

feel he will act to fix their situation. People will surely rally behind the leader if his message is relevant and appealing.

3. The Formulation Stage:

This is wherein programmes, partnerships, and organizations, in addition to tactics, are developed. In order to perceive, analyze, and clear up the modern-day problem, a political party, an organization, or a group of people might also additionally offer an opportunity, vision, factor of view, or ideology at this time. Once the concept has received famous support, efforts need to be taken to convert it right into a programme that encourages collective action. As a result of this, the movement was born. Not each movement is led through a charismatic figure. They are often sponsored, supported, or spearheaded through a few organizations. In order to boost their position, the oppressed network might also additionally realize the need to shape an organization. As a result, a longtime organization might also additionally favor selling the human beings' motive and lead the movement. Rather than being a hard and fast formal framework, ideology is normally used to behave as a movement. For a number of reasons, human beings might also additionally lose faith in charismatic leaders and shift to organizational leaders.

4. The stage of institutionalization of the movement:

If the movement succeeds, it will eventually kill itself as an institution when it reaches its final stage of development. Because it is organized, follows established societal rules, and has replaced its movement foundation with the premise that it is aiming to calm the people's rage and reassure them that things will return to normal in due time, it is no longer collective behavior. As a result, the movement's active life may be coming to an end. During the institutionalization stage, the movement practically becomes routine, as Horton and Hunt³² have pointed out. During the institutionalization stage, they believe, bureaucracy becomes entrenched, and ideology and programme become crystallized as organizations take over from early leaders. Putting an end to the movement's existence on a regular basis.

5. The Dissolution Stage:

³²Horton, R. (2009). Global science and social movements: towards a rational politics of global health. *International Health*, 1(1), 26-30.

According to Horton and Hunt, the disintegration degree is the very last degree of social motion. When a motion turns into a long-lasting organization, consisting of the Indian National Congress, or whilst it fades away with the chance of being reborn later, its miles stated to have entered this degree of disintegration. They declare that at the same time as this cycle is no longer in the shape of expressive or migratory movements, it is in the shape of utopian, reform, revolutionary, and resistance movements.

Conditions of a successful Social Movement:

Not all social movements succeed in accomplishing their goals. Certain requirements, according to sociologist Abel, must be met. Would make a positive contribution to the movement's success.

1. Many people must go through events that are perceived as dangerous.
2. A strong and movement dissatisfaction with the events is required.
3. There must be a consideration of personal values.
4. There has to be something that becomes the focal point of the movement's discontent and opposition.

Types of Social movements:

Sociologists categorize social actions into numerous sorts primarily based totally on their objectives. Wallace and Wallace, Horton and Hunt, M.S.A Rao, and others have all referred to three special kinds of actions.

Reform Movements:

Although reform movements are content with the modern-day social order, they agree that a few reforms are vital in precise areas. Reformers need to extrapolate positive elements of the modern-day system. Civil rights movements, women's liberation movements, environmental upkeep movements, Arya Samaj movements, and so forth are examples of such movements.

Revolutionary Movements:

The viability of the system is contested by revolutionary movements. These movements are seeking to change the current social order because they are unsatisfied with it. They propose demolishing the entire current structure. Their goal is to reorganize society according to their own ideological blueprint. On the whole, revolutionary movements prefer not to utilize violence, however, some do. For instance, consider the protestant reform movement, the socialist movement, the Russian and Chinese communist revolutions, and the Indian national liberation struggle.

Reactionary or Revivalist movements:

Revolutionary groups are questioning the system's viability. Because they are dissatisfied with the present social order, these movements strive to change it. They suggest razing the present structure to the ground. Their purpose is to restructure society around their ideological design. Revolutionary movements, in general, prefer not to use violence, although some do. Consider the Indian national liberation fight, the protestant reform movement, the socialist movement, the Russian and Chinese communist revolutions, and the Russian and Chinese communist revolutions.

Resistance movements:

These movements have sprung out as a result of societal transformation that has already occurred. Many Indians believe that secularism, minority appeasement, sexual permissiveness, moral degradation, political corruption, and the selling out of national interests for political gain are eroding our country's national virtues, traditional values, and cultural glory. Various modern resistance movements have expressed their dissatisfaction with our country's current course. To mention a few, there is the anti-abortion movement, the anti-Hindi movement, the anti-Reservation movement, the Swadeshi movement against economic liberalization, and the campaign to Indianize Indian education. This sort of movement differs from revolutionary movements in that it is less revolutionary and more resistive.

Utopian Movement:

These are initiatives aimed at bringing society, or at least a segment of it, closer to perfection. These are loosely organized groups that see a dramatically altered and cheerful society in the future, or on a lesser scale presently. Despite the fact that the

utopian ideal and its means are usually imprecise, many utopian groups have quite detailed social reform programs. For instance, the 1970s Hare Krishna movement, the B.J.P. and Sangh Parivar, an RSS offshoot's push to establish Ramarajya, communists, and socialists declaring a movement toward a world free of all forms of exploitation, and so on.

Social Movements in Andhra Pradesh: Overview

Andhra Pradesh has a unique role in India's social movement history. One of the goals of international institutions experimenting with economic changes in Andhra Pradesh, according to political scientists, was to capture the reaction to such reforms from various social groups and those involved in social movements ranging from the extreme left to autonomous organizations. Numerous social movements involving marginalized and poor individuals and areas have occurred in the state. The Dalit and tribal movements in the state were the first in the country to seek quota for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) inside reserves (STs). The civil rights movement emerged in reaction to the constitution's protection of civil rights, especially in Andhra Pradesh, where the presence of radical left parties resulted in routine violations of civil rights. The recent resurgence of the land movement demonstrates a renewed desire for land distribution to landless people. The fight for a separate Telangana has been going on for a long time, and it's indicative of the country's many regional identity movements. Andhra Pradesh is the only state in the country with a robust women's self-help movement. The rise of a strong women's movement undoubtedly aided this. Apart from these parallels, the nature and impact of social movements in Andhra Pradesh's three regions may vary. Given the efforts of the Indian government and various governments in Andhra Pradesh to better the socioeconomic status of women, Dalits, tribals, and backward regions, these movements should have had a stronger impact in the state than elsewhere in India. As a consequence, these aspects of civil society's human development should improve, and state-wide geographic disparities should decrease.

Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh During the 1920s:

The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh began in the 1920s. The Adi Andhra movement began in 1920 with the goal of ending untouchability and improving Dalit economic

conditions. The movement's mode of operation entails abandoning nomenclatures such as Panchama, Mala, Madhiga, Harijana, and others in favor of a new one known as Adi Andhra. The term Adi Andhra refers to the Dalits of Andhra Pradesh's aboriginal nature and rights to the land. That is, they were referring to the oppressor communities as nonnative communities, implying that they were Aryan-related groups. Several scheduled castes (Mala and Madhiga) changed their names to Adi Andhra as a result of this movement. And even today we found a lot of Adi Andhra people holding the same nomenclature i.e Adi Andhra. However, this movement was a reformist movement among Dalits of Andhra Pradesh aimed at raising the social status of Dalits. Kusuma Dharmanna, Undru Venkaiah were prominent leaders in this movement. This movement must be seen as a corresponding reflection to the Adi Hindu movement of Bhagyareddy Varma of Telangana state, Adi Dravida movement of Tamilnadu, Adi Kannadiga movement of Karnataka, Adi-dharmi of Punjab. Adi-Andhra's movement was in force till the 1930s. But with the Harijan movement of Gandhi, several Adi Andhra leaders left the Adi Andhra movement and joined the Gandhi Harijan movement. they believed that their influence was not enough to bring about a change in society towards the Dalit upliftment and as such, they believed that Gandhi's influence could work more and bring about change the rest of the society as well. but the Gandhi's influence seemed to be very limited as know no non-Dalit members were in favor of abolishing the 'Untouchability'. Gradually, the Dalit movement becomes passive and some of the active Dalit members have joined the leftist movement. till the 1980s there was no clear demarcation between the Dalits and the left movement in Andhra Pradesh.

Dalit Panther's Movement (May 1972):

Founded in Maharashtra state by Nam Dev Dasal, Arjune Dangle, Raja Dahale, and J. V Pawar. Afro-Americans in the United States were influenced by the Black Panther Party. Through the publishing of the Black Panther News, the Dalit Panthers were recognized and supported by the Black Panther Party. From the 1970s through the 1980s, it was in full swing. Later on, more Dalit Buddhist activists joined it. It is occasionally violent and uses Ambedkar and Phule doctrine as well as Marxist means. Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, for example, have used the term Dalit Panther. The Black Panther movement ushered in a new era in Marathi literature and art.

Kamramchedu Massacre (July 1985):

Six Madigas were brutally killed by Kamma landlords Three Dalit women were raped. Many were injured. It caused the independent Dalit movement to create new independent Dalit leaders such as Kathi Padma Rao, and Bojja Tarakan.

Origin of Dalit Maha Sabha (DMS September 1985):

It has Organized all the Dalits groups under one umbrella. Created all the Dalit writers, poets, and intellectuals into one collective group which is called 'Darakame'. Released its manifesto in 1986. Aims and Objectives of Dalita Maha Sabha.

Annihilation of caste.

Annihilation of untouchability.

To eradicate caste conflicts in oppressed communities.

To make ready an oppressed class for the social revolution.

To succeed in the cultural revolution.

To continue the struggle to nationalize the land and wealth.

To get educated the oppressed people in knowing the policies of exploitation of the ruling class.

To Success the Social Revolution.

Try to make efforts to provide civil and human rights for the Dalits.

Chunduru Massacre (August 1991):

Eight Malas were brutally murdered by Reddy feudal lords in the Guntur district's Chunduru village, igniting a new wave of Dalit resistance across the state. When a young Dalit graduate was beaten because his feet unintentionally touched an upper caste woman near a cinema hall, the Dalits of the village rallied to his defense. Dalits were socially boycotted as a result, and eight Dalits were brutally murdered and thrown into the Tungabhadra canal as a result. In this case, the trial court sentenced 21 people to life in prison and 35 others to a year in prison. Later that year, a division bench led

by L. Narasimha Reddy struck down all of the sentences for failing to produce sufficient proof in front of the court.

The emergence of Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS July 1994):

It was developed in the village of Edumudi in the Prakasam district by Mandakrishna Madiga. It is a watershed point in the history of the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. It was demanded that reservations be classified. Until the development of MRPS, there existed a demand for quota inside quota. Malas, Madigas including 56 Scheduled caste people of Andhra Pradesh were united under the single umbrella of Dalit. But the MRPS emphasizes on the Madiga identity was a change towards the disintegration of individual Dalit communities. In 1994, the BSP of Kanshiram sparked widespread interest among Andhra Pradesh's Dalits. In fact, Kanshiram was the only one who could concentrate on the lines of Ambedkar's political power ideology. The ultimate goal of the Dalit movement, according to Ambedkar, would be to gain political power. Kanshiram decided to follow in his footsteps. Dalit movement as a social movement. All the characteristic of social movements reflects in the Dalit movement. Dalit movement as collective action. Dalit movement ideology (Phule, Ambedkar).

Review of literature:

A literature review was conducted in order to better understand the various researchers' perspectives on social movements in India. The current literature review is divided into three sections:

- Works relating to the Western world's theoretical paradigm on social movements.
- Works pertaining to India's theoretical discourse on social movements.
- Works on the caste and Dalit movements in India, particularly in Andhra Pradesh.

The above classification is based on existing Dalit movement literature. This literary survey will provide us with a broad understanding of the Dalit Movement in general, as well as change and continuity, works relating to the Western world's theoretical paradigm on social movements.

E.J. Hobsbawm, in his book *Primitive Rebels*, he had seen the social movements in two divisions the first one was ancient and medieval movements like slave revolts, social heresies, sects and peasant risings and so on. The second one is modern social movements movement has a primitive stage and is differing from one country to another.

Della Porta Donatella, Diani Maro, in her celebrated work '*Social Movements: An introduction*' explains and defines what social movements and where they often emerge and how they bring changes in people's life at individual and institution level as well. She also defines social movements as organizations that operate outside of institutional power and use nontraditional tactics like street marches and dramatic media events, as well as more traditional tactics like petitions and letter-writing campaigns.

Tarrow Sidney, The Social Science Encyclopedia argues that societal movements are a type of community self-awareness that participates in long-term interaction with the economic and political elite in order to promote or prevent social change in his book *Social Movements*.

Jasper M. James, The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology defines social movements as "mass movements that mobilize people who are alienated from the established order, do not believe in its legitimacy, and are willing to fight to overthrow it" in his book *Social Movements*.

Jhon D. McCarthy in his famous work *Social Movements in an organizational Society*, argues that these new forms of movement are professional movement organizations'. The capacity of these groups to overcome their insufficient resources, to innovate forms and to gain access to the media differentiate them from earlier forms of social movements. The internet and other forms of personal communication reinforce this trend away from personalization and towards decentralized movement mobilization.

Charless Tilly in his famous book titled *social movements*, argues that a social movement campaign is all about its claims. For instance, a social movement trying to organize is leveled against policy makers and business owners. The claim is that workers should be paid more. He goes on to say that social movements accomplish this through a variety of actions aimed at drawing attention to the claim. This could include holding meetings, rallies, or protests.

Andre Gunder Frank In his essay *Nine Thesis on Social Movements*, argues that social movements are cyclical in two ways. First, they respond to shifting conditions brought on by political events. Ups and downs in economic and, possibly, ideological terms. Second, social movements have their own distinct life cycles. Because social movements mobilize people in response to cyclical situations, their membership, mobilization, and strength are also cyclical.

Alberto Melucci in his article *The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements*, he claims that a new political space is being created beyond the traditional boundary between state and civil society. A public intermediary whose goal is to urge society to hear the words of movements and translate those messages into political decisions while protecting the movements' autonomy.

Clause Offe in his well-known article *New Social Movements: Challenging Institutional Politics*, he argues that the focus should be on how social movements change and what the parameters of social change are. He believes that the social foundations, issues, concerns, and values of new social movements, as well as their modes of action, can all be studied. In order to do so he termed them as old paradigm and new paradigm. First, an old paradigm that has been dominant throughout the second post world war era would be described, focusing on its four principal components i.e., values, issues, actors, institutional practices. Second, the new paradigm would also be described in the same categories. Third, the question will be addressed how the rise of the new paradigm can be explained and what kind of evidence is provided by analysts who have undertaken such partially conflicting explanations.

Alain Touraine, in his work, sought to explain how a sociology organization around the notion of social movement may recognize and criticize the relative autonomy of other schools. A primer on the study of social movements. Recognizing the presence and power of the four major sociological orientations is more useful, and one could argue that today's fundamental debate opposes the concepts of strategy and social movements, whereas the most heated debates twenty years ago opposed the concepts of social system and inequality.

(ii). Theoretical perspectives on social movements in India are the subject of these works.

Ghanshyam Shah, in his famous work, *social movements: literature review*, he also summarizes the vast literature on social movements in India, covering the scope of social movements and their dimensions. Shah encourages us to conduct more self-aware, theoretically informed research.

Oomen T.K., in his seminal work, *Social Movements: Issues of Identity*, he defines social movements as "purposeful community mobilization inspired by an ideology to promote change or stability by any means, including nonviolent measures," and functioning within at least a basic organizational structure.

Omvedt, Gail, in her EPW article titled *Relevant and Committed Sociology* demarcates that In India, new social movements and socialist ideals paved the path for Dalits to enter the sociology of the country. She continues by describing the Dalit movement as a social movement with the potential to make a significant difference in Dalit lives.[11]

M.N. Srinivas in his renowned book "*social structure*", "*Gazetteer of India*", stated that although the caste system's original economic and social links had broken down, the caste system had endured as a method of gaining access to a variety of resources.

D.N.Dhanagare, Sociologists who have tried to comprehend and explain the current state of sociological research in India, writes in his article *Practicing Sociology Through History: The Indian Experience*. While reviewing seminal works by scholars who extensively used ideology, as well as sociologists who attempted systematic use of history in macro analysis on contributions of Indian sociologists who have rigorously used historical method in rural studies, social movements, agrarian structure and change, cast, and analysis of industrial and urban settings on contributions of Indian sociologists who have rigorously used historical method in rural studies, social movements, agrarian structure and change, cast, and analysis of industrial and urban settings on contributions of Indian sociologists who have rigorously used historical

R.S. Sharma in his book entitled *Light on early Indian society and economy*, He claims that the establishment of private property and a family centred on the woman were considered important to the formation of the state and were the driving forces behind social activity. Those who continuously alluded to the great honor bestowed on women and Shudras as the most persecuted group in society.

(iii). Works related to Caste and Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh.

Dickens Leonard in his recent article *Towards a casteless community, Dalit experience and thoughts as movement*, by viewing conversion as a movement, he asserts that displaced individuals, such as dalit, who are perpetually positioned outside of space (outcaste), look for and travel towards an imagined home on a continual basis. They see a journey towards a casteless community, no matter how violent the displacement and perhaps disembodiment may be.

Gopal Guru, his article, *Dalit Movement in mainstream sociology*, the prevailing school in sociological studies of the Dalit movement criticizes and hypothesizes that Dalit protest is an inevitable product of an obscurantist Hindu tradition with deep-seated prejudice towards Dalits. As a result, it implies that the movement's goals are restricted to advancing in socioeconomic, civic, and political spheres within the present system, rather than aiming to revolutionize that society. The movement's comprehension has been hampered as a result of this. These assumptions must now be severely examined, and the dalit movement must be studied from the bottom up.

Kalyan Das In his one-of-a-kind book *Subaltern Historiography to Dalit Historiography: Tracing Heterogeneity in Dalit Subalternity*, he proposes that tracing the history of such widely held academic notions may be accomplished by drawing on the subaltern studies discourse on caste and subalternity. He also claims that dalits' relationship with the state and statist ideology is ambiguous, and that any attempt to construct a dalit history must admit this ambiguity while also embracing and using the analytical insights of subaltern studies specialists.

Anupama Rao, Maharashtra's history, movements, events, and people have all informed her article, *The Caste Question: Dalits and Modern Indian Politics*. She expertly blends history and anthropology to show how Dalits might help us reconsider India's political modernity. Concerns concerning subalterns' ties to non-modernity, customs, pasts, and communities are raised by the caste problem, notably among Dalits. Rao places a strong focus on radical anti-caste philosophy as part of a worldwide history of political thinking as well as a critique of colonial and nationalist concepts.

Chinnaiah Jangamin his book *Dalits and making of modern India* argues that Dalits as a marginalized and stigmatized community worked to transform the nationalist imagination by challenging the limitations embedded in the concept of nation and by arguing in favor of a future nation that would ensure dignity, equality and justice both spiritually and materially. It is critical to understand that Dalits saw themselves as being a part of the national subjectivity, having suffered during the pre-colonial and colonial periods and now desiring to be part of the collective struggle to liberate India.

Nicholas B. Dirks, in his well-known book *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, he examines how colonialism shaped contemporary India. Unlike previous fluid and dynamic forms of social identification, Dirks' contributions claim that political changes under colonial authority, notably the replacement of indigenous royalty by colonial power, led to the foundation of caste as we know it today. To legitimize colonial power, the notion of caste, a European portrayal of Indian civil society, was used. It's evolved into a more modernized version of India's traditional identity.

A.Satyanarayana, He examines the history of caste in a systematic manner in his book *Dalits and upper castes: essays in social history*. It is the history of the everyday life of Dalitbahujans. Their struggles, their relationship to the land, water and production needs to become part of living history. More than anything else, writing the history of caste relations and conspiracy of Brahmanism that worked throughout history to keep Dalit Bahujan struggles out of history needs to be written as the history of this nations he concludes.

P.R. Venkataswamy, *He traces the beginnings of the Dalit movement in the state of Hyderabad, which was ruled by the Nizam at the time*. He says however there were subtle conflicts within the Dalit community they could unite and fight against social evils like devadasi, bonded labor (Begari). Also, he was the witness for the dalit movement under Ambedkar during second phase of twentieth century.

Kancha Ilaiah, *Why I Am Not a Hindu* is a well-known work by him, in which he explains why he is not a Hindu He supports Ambedkar's views on Dalits and Shudras with practice experiences that they would never be part of Hinduism because their daily

activities are not associating with Hindu practices. He is a Shudra critique of Hindutva philosophy, culture, and political economy.

Bojja Tarakam, in his book titled *Caste and class*, He tries to persuade Dalits that caste struggle is a mental material struggle, whereas class struggle is usually limited to material concerns. The communist party did not address the caste issue in both the Srikakulam and Telangana armed struggles. He considers the abolition of caste and class to be an urgent political necessity. Both Ambedkarites and Marxists must take responsibility for their struggles; otherwise, neither will be able to achieve their objectives. They must be self-assured and energetic in order to overcome immediate obstacles.

Kathi Padma Rao, in his Book *Ambedkar - Marx – Phule: Equal thought* (Lokayutha publisher 2001 Hyd) He combines Marx with Ambedkar and Mahatma Phule, criticizing the fact that while Phule and Ambedkar were the first visionaries for women's emancipation in India, they lacked the credibility that Raja Rammohan Roy and Kandukuri Veeresalingam received from mainstream Indian society.

Objective of the Study:

1. To research social movement theories.
2. To highlight the history of Andhra Pradesh's Dalit movement.
3. To investigate the characteristics of continuity in the Andhra Pradesh Dalit Movement.
4. To determine how the Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh has changed.

Research Methodology:

This is an explorative study which needs both the primary and secondary sources. To acquire the primary data interviews would be conducted with open ended questionnaires. For secondary data books, articles, newspaper reports would be consulted. This apart, support of the internet would also be considered. Present study ethnographic methods are used to collect the data. Collected information pertaining to their lifestyles of the leaders of the movement, strategies of movement and their conceptual understanding of the Dalit Movement. To achieve or reach the goal of data,

the unstructured interviews are conducted with the Dalit communities with regard to their understanding on the movement and their participation in the movement. Finally, I used a dialogical method to procure the data from the individual Dalit leaders and people about their participation in the movement, their experience from the movement.

The first chapter is the introduction to my study, Change, and Continuity in the Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh, covering all chapters of this study and the problem of my research area, the objectives of my study, and the review of literature and methodology, and finally the conclusion and findings.

Second chapter from a theoretical basis, explains social movements Throughout history, people have always complained about the things they don't like. They occasionally go beyond whining and band together to bring about change. In modern cultures, people have organized themselves to attain their goals. Strikes, picket lines, and demonstrations are held in support of both unionization and political goals. The Luddites broke new machines in early British manufacturers in the early nineteenth century. There have been dozens of revolutionaries in France, Russia, China, Cuba, and Iran, to mention a few nations. Some social movements sought to claim new rights, while others responded to threats or violence. Most academics saw movements before the 1960s as dangerous crowds behaving irrationally and mindlessly following demagogues who formed in their midst. Individuals would protest if they were only rational about the benefits of their actions, according to noted economist Mancur Olson's book "the logic of collective action." Many movements have a global component, such as protest groups from different countries or multinational organizations. The World Commerce Organization, for example, has been chastised by the environmental movement, as has unfettered globalization trade.

The major way of influencing the direction of social change in social movements is the management of a society's symbols and self-perceptions. Most social movements attempt to gain media attention in order to promote awareness of their cause. They aim to arrange protests that will be covered by the media. Many studies on social movements in India have been conducted in India during the last three decades. After the mid-1960s, other researchers finished and published the majority of the investigations. Historians, sociologists, political activists, and journalists did the majority of them. Because political science in India has mostly concentrated on political

institutions such as the government, legislature, parties, and elections, political scientists have largely overlooked the issue until recently. Political science academics has generally ignored the study of people's politics, their aims and wants, the expression of their challenges, and their "modus operandi" in articulating their demands outside of the formal institutional framework. Policy formation methods, development policies and welfare programmes, governance, and other themes, such as the role of government and programme evolution, are on the teaching agenda, rather than policy formulation procedures. For example, land reform policy is taught without consideration for the fights that compelled governments and political parties to pursue it. They're well-deserved, possibly because they're flashy or represent a fresh take on an old tactic.

Social movements have exhibited a variety of characteristics in order to emerge and participate in society. Collective action, constructive organization, and participants are a few examples. Many academics have defined social movements. These new forms of movement were dubbed 'professional movement organizations' by Mc Carthy and Zald.

A collaborative group of researchers has offered a number of hypotheses. They represent a wide range of perspectives on the causes of social movements. The relative deprivation hypothesis is a theory that attempts to explain why people join or start social movements. It is based on a set of psychological concepts for the most part. Robert k. Merton, an American sociologist, coined the term "relative deprivation" to describe social deviance for the first time. Brush defines relative deprivation as the difference between what one has and what one expects. In addition to this theory, Walter Runciman pointed out that relative deprivation has four preconditions. 1. A person who lacks financial means. 2. A person who knows of other people who might be able to help. 3. Someone who is looking for a resource. 4. Individual who believes that obtaining a resource is feasible. According to break down theories, rearrangements in societies such as urbanization and industrialization, which wreak havoc on rural people's lives, result in the loss of social control and an increase in the desire to engage in antisocial behavior. As a result of the sudden breakdowns in society, strikes, violent collective action, and social movements have intensified. According to resource mobilization theory, resources are what drive the formation, growth, and outcome of social movements. Any social, political, or economic asset or capacity that may contribute to collective action is referred to as a resource. William Kornhauser introduced the Mass Society Theory in 1959. Mass society, he claims, is impersonal,

industrialized, and overworked. People with poor self-esteem and a sense of social alienation join movements in which they feel they can make a difference.

People who are denied commodities deemed valuable in society, whether money, justice, status, or privileges join social movements in the hopes of redressing their complaints, according to deprivation theory. Karl Marx eloquently articulated this point. Neil Smelser is the author of one of the most influential ideas on social movements. The following variables are identified as encouraging the emergence of social movements by the Structural Strain Theory. Lack of social control, structured conduciveness, structural tension, India's expansion and spread, triggering causes, mobilization for action, and a lack of social control are some of the circumstances.

Many Indian academics have contributed significantly to the study of social movements in India. M.S.A. Rao, T.K. Oomen, Rajani Kothari, Ghanshyam Shah, Gail Omvedt, and other pioneering Indian sociologists have all contributed significantly to social movements.

Third chapter deals with the continuity in Dalit movement. What are the factors and characteristics that are being continued etc. untouchability is the first and most crucial factor which is prevailing in so called independent Indian Society? Dalits as untouchables in pre-colonial India were stigmatized as Chandalas, Panchamas, Asprushyas, Antyajjas, and in everyday life as Malas, Madigas, Pariahs, Mahars, Matangas, Chamars, Chindus, and Dhed. There were also many other pejorative caste identities. B.R. Ambedkar defined caste as more than just a division of labor. In addition, it refers to the separation of workers into watertight compartments based on birth into castes, there is a hierarchy and inequality that is graded on a scale of one to ten. sense a reverent tone and a descending tone sense contemptuous. Recently in Nalgonda district of Newly formed state Telangana a Dalit man was hacked to death, just because of he hails from untouchability community, brutally on 14 of September 2018 in front of his pregnant wife who is Vaishya by caste and whose father Maruthi Rao was being accused of her husband's death which shook the entire nation and termed honor killing as caste pride killing. Garugaparru Dalits in Andhra Pradesh where Dalits were denied and alienated for daily wage works offered by upper caste just because they installed the statue of Ambedkar in the Centre of their village in June 2017. The second factor is education as an emancipatory tool for the Dalits in recent

times too. Most of the Dalits are being denied education due to rampant poverty in their daily lives. Social emancipator of the Dalits Ambedkar had found and enlightened that education is the only weapon for their emancipation and it is the only way to extinguish their lives with multiple colors. For that Dalits have been striving for many years. Dalit leaders also fighting against state to provide proper education for the Dalits. Due to the relentless struggle by Dalit leaders' reservation started implementing in some education's institutions.

However, reservations are not implemented in some institutions and universities. Due to the Dalit movement, there was a dramatic change in Dalit education following the Karamchedu massacre in Andhra Pradesh in 1985. Between 1985 and 2000, access to education improved across India, though the gap between Dalits, particularly Females and those from higher castes were unaffected. Enrolment rates for Dalit boys increased from 47.7% to a pitiful 63.25 percent over a seventeen-year period. Enrolment rates for upper caste males increased from 73.22 percent to 82.92 percent when compared to lower caste males. When comparing the female Dalit enrolment rate to the male Dalit enrolment rate, the female Dalit enrolment rate is higher. The results were even worse for their upper-caste counterparts, whose enrolment increased from 43.56 percent to 59.15 percent, and the results were even worse for their lower-caste counterparts, whose enrolment increased from 15.72 percent to 32.61 percent (Desai & Kulkarni). Following the Karamchedu massacre in Andhra Pradesh in 1985, there was a dramatic change in Dalit education as a result of the Dalit movement. Access to education improved across India between 1985 and 2000, though the divide between Dalits, particularly females, and those in higher castes remained constant. Enrolment rates for Dalit boys increased from 47.7% to a pitiful 63.25 percent over a seventeen-year period. Enrolment rates for upper caste males increased from 73.22 percent to 82.92 percent when compared to lower caste males.

The results were even worse when comparing the female Dalit enrolment rate, which increased from 15.72 percent to 32.61 percent, to their upper-caste counterparts, whose enrolment rate increased from 43.56 percent to 59.15 percent (Desai & Kulkarni). Another factor that continues is the celebration of Ambedkar's Jayanti on April 14th. The 125th anniversary of Ambedkar's birth has prompted commemoration, celebration, and commentary in the days leading up to April 14, 2016. The commemoration of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar has drawn a larger crowd than in the past. Most notably, there was

a concerted effort on the part of the Hindu right to appropriate him, while the parliamentary left has recently reawakened interest in him. Even in Indian universities, student politics is increasingly embracing Ambedkar's figure. Dalits have long been impoverished. The Dalits were previously barred from owning land due to religiously sanctioned and socially enforced caste restrictions. Dalits had no place in the feudal system established by the rulers in order to ensure more efficient and profitable tax collection. During British rule, the programme of distributing land to Dalits began in every ryotwari hamlet in the Madras Presidency in 1918. The Society for the Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP) in Andhra Pradesh established the Unnathi-POP plan to solve this issue and ensure that the poorest of the poor in disadvantaged communities receive sufficient benefits. The Unnathi Niru Pedala Samagra Abhivrudhi, as the project is known in Telugu, was launched in March 2010 with the goal of providing support in the form of sustainable livelihood that will provide each poor family with an annual income of Rs.60,000 for three years the period estimated by SERP to be sufficient for a household to emerge from poverty. Patriarchy and caste exploitation of Dalit women are starkly depicted in the socioeconomic profile of Dalit women. Dalit women's exploitation has long been a part of a caste-based society. Dalit women experience several disadvantages as a result of their status as Dalits and women, as well as the triple oppression of caste, class, and gender. In India, Dalit women are a very explosive and sensitive topic. This is an important subject in today's globe, especially in light of the ongoing discussion in India concerning economic deregulation and liberalization. Unlike Adivasi culture, Dalit culture is not thought to be attractive.

The Karamchedu event in 1985 is seen as a turning point for Dalit women because it prompted a wave of critical mobilization of Dalit women both inside and outside the community on caste and patriarchal concerns. Dalit women are on the verge of menopause. In the Karamchedu movement, Suvartamma's simple reluctance to follow the dominant caste ignited a storm of vengeance by the dominant caste against the dalits, with the chief minister refusing to aid. Alisamma, a vital witness to the Karamchedu massacre, was murdered by higher caste landlords for her detailed account of the tragedy. Women from the Dalit community who took part in the Karamchedu movement went on to support other dalit movements, including those for land, livelihood, patriarchy, and caste oppression and atrocities. Gaddam Jhansi, a dalit woman activist, formed Dalit Stree Shakthi. Dalit women's literary innovation was

mainly unknown in the mainstream literary world, but a few dalit women authors took the initiative to express their literary creativity. The IPC's accused status was modified to a complaint under the SC, ST (prevention of atrocities) act in 1989. Long-standing repressive and humiliating practices that were not previously regarded crimes under the IPC have now been made into crimes, and a dalit has been elevated to the status of a complaint. Article 17 of the Indian constitution was given new life with the passage of the act. Another factor is Dalit voting patterns. Previously, Dalits voted for the Congress party, but when Telugu film actor NTR founded the Telugu Desham party in 1983, some of his community members began to turn out the Dalit vote bank for them. In 1985, the NTR community, who are from the upper caste Kamma feudal lords' community, took Dalits in Karamchedu as part of the political consolidation process. It actually highlighted the negative consequences of their political decision. They started causing rifts among the Dalits a few years ago by categorizing reservations among them. With this, the Madigas immediately voted for the TDP, while another dalit group, the Malas, voted for the Congress Party, which replaced the YSRCP. As a result, Dalits continue to be a vote bank for the upper castes, despite the fact that they are humiliating and attacking Dalits. Since the Mahad Satyagraha, Dalit drinking water has been a constant in the Dalit movement's history. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar began the Mahad satyagraha for drinking water from the Cavdar tank in Mahad on March 20, 1927, and it lasted ninety-one years. This was the dalit movement's "foundational fight," a battle for water – and caste extinction. In 2016, a dalit lady from Maharashtra was refused the privilege to collect water from the community well, which is located in the hamlet's center.

A dalit labour from a hamlet in Maharashtra's drought-stricken Vidarbha struggled for hours to dig his own well after being refused access to water by upper caste residents. Bapurao Tajne's wife, a resident of Kolambeswar village in Malegaon taluka, was forbidden by Villagers from obtaining water from a well. Tajne exacted his wrath by digging a well in his hamlet. In a social setting that still discriminates huge portions of the community, it now serves to satisfy the thirst of the whole Dalit population of the area. He dug for only forty days and was overjoyed when he discovered water. Likewise in Andhra Pradesh also it is happening. A decade ago, exactly in the year 2010 in Vaddepalem hamlet in Kodavaluru village panchayat, Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh Dalit wada people denied accessing water by upper caste from the well.

Later the Tahasildar of that village arrived and sanctioned a one lakh rupees pipe line for the Dalits. Thus, this stigmatization of drinking water for Dalits continues.

Fourth chapter explains the shift that occurred in the dalit movement the first ideological shift has occurred. The Andhra Pradesh Dalit movement has received widespread intellectual support. It has a varied support base, which reflects the variety of the Dalit predicament, including middle-class employed individuals, educated jobless people, and urban political and social activists. Rationalist/atheist activists, orthodox Ambedkarite youths, and Marxist youths all joined the Dalit movement. However, a substantial number of like-minded young people have joined the movement. Apart from that, another change is the anti-Ambedkar ideologues' appropriation of Ambedkar. For many years, Ambedkar was only associated with the Dalit community, but as times have changed, he is now being appropriated by many mainstream communities for political gain. Appropriation is done because the personality has influence over a large number of people and can benefit from it.[4] Appropriation is a way of fooling people by claiming that it supports people, but in reality, it doesn't. Appropriation is using anything - an idea, a cultural artifact, a person etc. To fulfill your own agenda, by distorting or deliberately misrepresenting it. Dalit feminism emphasizes Dalit women's hardship above mainstream women's, as well as caste and gender norms. India is home to the majority of Dalit women. Women from lower castes in India confront distinct challenges than women from upper castes. They are poorer, less educated, and more socially isolated than other women. Dalit feminists pushed for equal rights for Dalit women in the early 1900s, based on their gender, caste, and other considerations. They've spoken at conferences, created organisations, and aided other Dalit women in running for office.

In the social change, the Early phase of social base of the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh was based on urban-based employees and educated group. The current Dalit movement was obeyed with majority rural people educated, uneducated, employees and unemployed. Earlier there was lack of women participation into the movement, now many Dalit women have involved the movement and heading some Dalit women organisations like Dalita Stree Shakthi. (DSS). Another significant change is Dalit activism prevailed in Indian universities spaces as well as in foreign universities. With the efforts of Dalit movement, the prevention of atrocity act has been enacted by the parliament to facilitate safeguards to the Dalit legally. If Dalit movement had not been

in practice the Atrocity Act would not have been possible. All these efforts because of the struggles by the relentless Dalit activists only. Mainly this act has been enforced after the gruesome massacre of Karamchedu in 1985. Though the act is enforced caste atrocities are not diminishing.

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In the history of dalit movement the political change took place after the Poona pact ratified by the British government in colonial government. 1932 September 24. Till then Dalits have no political representation. Forget about the political representation they did not have right to vote after many struggles lead by Ambedkarite Dalits got right to vote. Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh have changed the perspective from observing the ideas of Ambedkar to spreading the political ideas. In this regard many Dalit journals and leaders could try to disseminate political ideas that advocated by Ambedkar thought the state. Right from the Nizam state to present many Dalit journals played a significant role to wide spread the ideas of Ambedkar Bagya nagara Patrika of Bhagya reddy varma, novels of Jala Rangaswamy, writings of Kusuma dharamanna, enlightened the Dalit society. Panchayats were formerly thought to be only a tool of building rural unity and solidarity, but independence movements saw them as a structure for local self-government and gave them political significance. To decentralize authority and group individuals with local administrative chores, village panchayats should be founded and developed to govern village affairs. Provisions for local self-government were established in both administrative changes in 1919 and provincial law in 1935. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, on the other side, was opposed to panchayat raj because it would render village rulers who became panchayat sarpanches unaccountable. Ambedkar saw villages as centers of violence, prejudice, and communalism.

The formation of the Madiga reserve Porata Samiti marks a watershed moment in the Andhrparadesh Dalit movement's history. The major observation of the Dandora

movement was that there is an unequal distribution of advantages under the reserve regime.

Economic change is mainly from unemployment to employment in less numbers. Education provides employment for the Dalits. When they get employment, they would have the possibility to get rid of poverty in which they have been living for several centuries. In India, Christian missionaries were the first messiahs for the Dalits. During fieldwork, increased Dalit freedom was discovered to be an important empowerment mechanism, as it reduced reliance on upper caste employers like Reddies and kapus. These are undeniably the results of long-term processes of change, such as education, exposure to democracy, and equality before the law, but which have been accelerated by social protection policies such as MGNREGA and have ramifications in both the community and market domains, while a survey shows that Dalit deference is widespread, encapsulated in the notion of internalized subordination or fear, which has been historically instilled in them by the upper casing. The tendency of land demand for Dalits lasted even throughout British rule. However, as a result of the Dalit fight and the left movement, Dalits were able to secure some agricultural land. Dalits were created using agricultural coolies. These depressed groups were given land not only for cultivation, but also for the construction of houses, the establishment of schools, and the formation of small Pariah settlements. The amount of land set aside for agriculture increased from 19,251 acres in 1920-21 to 3, 42,611 acres in 1931. The Permanent Settlement Act 1793, on the other hand, made significant changes in the land revenue system and created new intermediaries between the State and cultivators, namely Zamindars, Rytu, and Inamdar's. The first Five Year Plan, 1951-1956, expressly stated the first public articulation of a national land reform programme, including agricultural holding restrictions.

A conference of Dalit and tribal academics and activists was recently held in Bhopal. The Bhopal Declaration laid the groundwork for Dalits and tribal people in the twenty-first century. Following a call for the implementation of policies enshrined in our Constitution to promote their development, the Declaration highlights the importance of providing representation for these marginalized groups not only in government and public institutions, but also in private corporations and enterprises that benefit from government funds and facilities, particularly in this era of privatization. Article 16(4) of the Constitution provides for employment reservations for people who are socially and

educationally disadvantaged. Neither the private nor the public sectors are mentioned. Dalit entrepreneurs have emerged as a result of the Bhopal declaration. Andhra Pradesh has produced its own Dalit entrepreneur, Mannam Madhusudhan Rao of Prakasham District, as part of it. The "Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation, and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act. No. 1 of 2013" was passed by the state of Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh is the first state in the country to pass legislation to address this issue. The Dalit cultural movement seeks to reclaim Dalit spaces by asserting their identity in cultural public spheres formerly dominated by privileged castes and organisations. This process is characterized as the "re-emergence" of Dalit culture, according to Gopal Guru, who claims that the higher castes have stolen Dalit history.

Fifth chapter explains the Western world's theoretical model of social movements, notably in India. It covers the story of the Andhra Pradesh Dalit agitation. Andhra Pradesh has seen both consistency and substantial change. Finally, the present investigation's findings.

Chapter-II

The Theoretical Perspective of Social Movements

Introduction:

The present chapter intended to explore the theoretical background of the social movement as a subject of study in social sciences in general and how these theories contributed to creating socio-economic transformation among vulnerable communities. Throughout history, people have always complained about the things they don't like. They will occasionally go beyond whining and establish a coalition to bring about change. People in modern societies have organized themselves to achieve their aims. Strikes, picket lines, and protests are held in favor of unionization as well as for political reasons. In the early nineteenth century, the Luddites damaged sophisticated machinery in early British businesses. To name a few countries, there have been dozens of revolutionaries in France, Russia, China, Cuba, and Iran³³. Some social movements intended to assert new rights, while others were in response to threats or violence.

The rise of the popular press, as well as the dissemination of enlightenment and revolutionary thinkers' notions of natural rights and liberty, as well as the rise of evangelical and non-conforming faiths that encouraged literacy and reading and preached human rights principles, coincided with the increased centralization of national states that accompanied war and revolution in Western Europe and North America³⁴. Some organizations promote political and economic liberation, while others oppose or fear specific lifestyle choices. Others would rely on informal networks, while still others would establish formal organizations. Movements have utilized violent and peaceful actions, illegal and legal activity, disruption, education, fanaticism, and moderation. Political struggle and transformation are essentially the responsibility of social movements. Social movements produce new viewpoints and ways to steer them. They compel us to think about how we react to government policies, social trends, and

³³National Intelligence Council (US) (Ed.). (2012). *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds: a Publication of the National Intelligence Council*. US Government Printing Office.

³⁴Ferrone, V. (2017). The Rights of History: Enlightenment and Human Rights. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 39, 130.

new technologies. In certain cases, they may inspire us to develop new technologies or find new applications for existing ones.

Until the 1960s, most academics saw movements as dangerous mobs that reacted rashly and irrationally to demagogues who appeared in their midst. The masses who gathered in Europe's cities regularly to demand better working conditions drew the most attention in the nineteenth century. According to eminent economist Mancur Olson's book "the logic of collective action," individuals would protest if they were merely rational about the benefits of their decisions³⁵. He also emphasized that individuals are rational while also being highly individualized. In the year 1965, it was said that contrary to his assertions, John McCarthy and Zald argued a few years later that formal organizations are rational, and that they even compete for contributions to the social movement industry³⁶. Theorists who focus on the mobilization of time and money by social movement organizations are known as resource mobilization theorists. In the same way that Olson saw individuals as rational, McCarthy and Zald saw organizations as rational. Labor and civil rights movements, for example, made direct demands on the government in the past. It was a call for new rights, especially the right to vote. As a result, the state became a target as well as a teacher of grievances. It was also explained as the result of state-provided opportunities, such as the easing of repression or a schism among the economic and political elites.

Many movements, such as protest groups from various countries or international organizations, have a global component. For example, the environmental movement has been protesting the World Trade Organization and unregulated globalization trade. Organizers must frequently play on fears and anxieties to elicit their anger, outrage, and compassion. Before people protest, these fears and anxieties must be alleviated, or the movement will devolve into violence, causing people to be injured and ejected from the movement. As a result, organizations must provide certain joys and excitements to encourage participants to stay in the movement rather than abandon it. In the nineteenth century, the majority of protests resulted in urban riots. In the 1950s, however, mass movements were meant to be explained by mass society theorists. Social movements, according to mass society theorists, occur when a society lacks alternative intermediary

³⁵Olson, M. (2009). *The logic of collective action* (Vol. 124). Harvard University Press.

³⁶McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.

organizations to which marginalized persons may belong. Trade unions, neighborhood groups, churches, or any other organization that can serve as a conduit between citizens and the government, gathering preferences and offering outlets for venting, are all viable options. Because social movements are now viewed as a natural component of politics, these early ideas are no longer taken seriously. Scholars feel that resources continue to be a crucial component of any explanation for the creation of movements today. Tarrow and McAdam characterize movements as primarily political, with demands made of the state and appeals for legislative and policy reforms³⁷. They believe that governmental changes are the most critical chance for a movement. Control of a society's symbols and self-perceptions is seen as the primary means of influencing the direction of social change in social movements. A movement can succeed just by believing that it can. In other words, cultural perspectives may be just as important as changes in the state structure. Economic reasons such as greater discretionary money; organizational elements such as social network linkages or formal organizations among aggrieved groups; demographic factors such as increased population density linked with industrialization; and cultural factors such as moral institutions or sensitivities that favor the armed forces. In the early stages of a social movement, activists form organizations and begin to think of themselves as a movement; their next step is often to try to extend their movement by recruiting individuals to their cause.

Some argue that marginalized and alienated members of society are more likely to join social movements. Others are less inclined to join the movement if they are insecure or have personal concerns. Social networks were regarded as critical as both a prerequisite for the formation of a movement and an explanation for who was recruited. For recruiting, a variety of social media outlets can be used. Participants must undergo a mental metamorphosis to be recruited. According to McAdam, 'cognitive freedom' occurs when potential participants begin to believe they have a chance of success³⁸. Direct human connections are critical in this setting because they allow organizers and potential participants to align their frames to arrive at a shared perception of a social problem and a shared prescription for its resolution. The first is diagnostic, in which a movement persuades potential converts that a problem exists, the second is prognostic,

³⁷McAdam, D., & Tarrow, S. (2010). Ballots and barricades: On the reciprocal relationship between elections and social movements. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(2), 529-542.

³⁸Hines, M., Chiu, L., McAdams, L. A., Bentler, P. M., & Lipcamon, J. (1992). Cognition and the corpus callosum: verbal fluency, visuospatial ability, and language lateralization related to midsagittal surface areas of callosal subregions. *Behavioral neuroscience*, 106(1), 3.

in which it persuades them of appropriate strategies, tactics, and targets, and the third is motivational, in which it exhorts them to participate in these activities, according to Snow and Benford, recruiting entails more than just cognitive assumptions³⁹. It is equally important in terms of moral and movement dimensions. In recruitment, their movement dynamics are critical. People, whether or whether they have a network of connections, are compelled to take political action in response to events or information. Emotional relationships between members of social networks are also significant. Cultural orientations and changes, as well as network structural position, are all significant factors to consider while recruiting. Cultural messages may be utilized to attract individuals in the absence of social networks. Only a tiny percentage of individuals who want to join social movements do so.

Another task for social movements is determining who stays in the movement and who leaves. Recruiting activists and supporters for a long-term movement is an obvious challenge. A movement will eventually decline or die out if it is constantly replacing recruits who drop out and cannot be replaced. People's motivations for staying involved in movements may differ significantly from their motivations for getting involved in the first place. Activists who are committed to a cause, according to Kanter, are more likely to continue a movement for decades⁴⁰.

It's a cognitive, effective, and moral action since it includes people's thoughts, feelings, and moral judgments. Many people were drawn away from the movement by the outside world's opportunities and temptations. Another challenge to commitment came from inside the movement, as individuals spent so much time with their families, friends, or sexually attracted persons that they forgot about their duties to bigger organizations. Dyadic withdrawal is a threat to movements because it occurs when activists meet, fall in love, and gradually retire from public activity in favor of more private existence. Working together, eating together, singing, playing together, praying together, and making decisions together all resulted in the formation of profound emotional bonds among movement members⁴¹. Kanter Polarization, according to Klandermans, can cause people to withdraw from a movement rather than strengthen

³⁹Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, 611-639.

⁴⁰Hall, J. R. (1988). Social organization and pathways of commitment: Types of communal groups, rational choice theory, and the Kanter thesis. *American Sociological Review*, 679-692.

⁴¹Walsh Jr, J. F. (1986). An approach to dyadic communication in historical social movements: Dyadic communication in Maoist insurgent mobilization. *Communications Monographs*, 53(1), 1-15.

their commitment to it⁴². Activists frequently stop their job, which is both time-consuming and advantageous. People may conclude that their zeal for certain issues was misguided and unrealistic as the political environment shifted. What matters is what people protest over; there are a few common ways for individuals to protest in any civilization. Petitioning, protests, marches, vigils, and sit-ins are only a few of the techniques employed by most social movements in modern Western civilizations. What demonstrators are anticipated to do might help police control or subdue them.

According to Charles Tilly, tactics persist because they are either somewhat successful or deeply important to individuals⁴³. More importantly, evaluate how the government and the media impact social movements. In this regard, it must deal with other social groups, individuals, and bureaucracy. The most important factor influencing the social movement is the state. Any social movement has demands for the government to meet. Initially, the movement sought policy and legal changes. Another important institution with which social movements interact is the news media, which serves the movement's message by portraying opponents in a negative light and influencing government decisions. In the political process, the state has a significant impact on social movements. The interdependence factors here are the effects of the media and politicians. Politicians have an impact on social movements not only through their official structural roles but also through their media influence.

Most social movements seek media exposure to promote awareness of their cause. They aim to stage notable demonstrations, often because they are spectacular or represent a new twist on traditional approaches. On the other hand, some people are newsworthy simply because they are celebrities. To gain more publicity for their cause, social movements frequently try to enlist the help of well-known actors, musicians, singers, and athletes. This strategy has the potential to backfire on the movement. According to Todd Gitlin, the media's effect can give radical or illegal wings of movement undue prominence⁴⁴. The government has the potential to further radicalize the movement by repressing moderates and radicals alike. As a result, a movement's ability to change its society is heavily influenced by its interactions with the media and the state. Eventually,

⁴²Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and participation: Social-psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American sociological review*, 583-600.

⁴³Tilly, C., & Wood, L. J. (2015). *Social Movements 1768-2012*. Routledge.

⁴⁴Gitlin, T. (1979). Prime time ideology: The hegemonic process in television entertainment. *Social problems*, 26(3), 251-266.

the causes of the movement's demise must be identified. Initially, political opportunities and state repression, which is a key factor, cause the movement to fade away. Internal dynamics and recurring disagreements among members about the ideology they follow can also cause movements to falter. Activists in the women's movement, for example, wanted gender equality first and foremost but were unable to do so later. This was the result of a tense ideological battle between radical feminists.⁴⁵

Social movements are universal and can be found in all societies, past, and present. During the early era, social movements shaped the state, its functions, duties, and responsibility, as well as the state's political boundaries and collective action. The goal of social movements is to mobilize people for political action. Collective action, on the other hand, is not the same thing as a social movement. A social movement is not a mob's collective behavior on the streets. These collective activities are not considered social movements since they are usually spontaneous and do not strive to promote societal change. Due to their mixed nature or the fact that they can change completely at different stages of their careers, several types of social movements are stratified in various ways and are difficult to comprehend.

Social movements such as millenarian, migratory, utopian, expressive, reformist, rebellion, revolutionary, and resistance have been classified.

Millenarian movements are based on the notion that society will go through a big transition, after which all elements will shift in either a positive or negative direction. In medieval millenarianism, for example, demons were thought to rule the world, and this belief persisted into the nineteenth century.

Migratory movements A major exodus happens when a big number of individuals leave one nation and migrate to another. People's dissatisfaction with current situations or circumstances, as well as their search for new opportunities for a brighter future, are significant factors in their predicament. Migrant social movements include persons moving from East to West Germany.

An utopian movement is a straightforward approach to reversing unfavorable circumstances: A movement dedicated to dreaming but never realizing a perfect social

⁴⁵Gleadle, K. (2016). *The early feminists: radical unitarians and the emergence of the women's rights movement, 1831-51*. Springer.

system or civilization. The Israeli kibbutz movement is modern history's most successful utopian movement⁴⁶. The Sarvodaya movement is another utopian movement. When people are ignored and powerless to change their circumstances, expressive movements emerge. To put it another way, the powerless have no route out of the social order. The hippie movement in the United States is one of the country's most prominent examples of expressive movement.

A reformist movement is a large-scale movement targeted solely at altering one aspect of society. Reformist movements may arise only in democratic countries where people have the freedom to express themselves and criticize existing institutions, allowing for rapid change. Reformist movements are shown by the Dalit and women's movements.

The revolutionary movement that replaces the old social order with a new one. Revolutionary movement developed when individuals have no other alternative for altering the social structure except to entirely transform it. Individuals would gain from the revolution to escape their current plight. The communist revolutions in Russia and China were both revolutionary movements.

A resistance movement arises not only to bring about change but also to prevent or reverse changes that have already been implemented. The anti-Hindi movement of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam is an outstanding example of resistance. A revivalist movement aims to return the system to its original state of complete purity.

In any society, large amounts of change are brought about by the efforts of individuals or groups of people, which are referred to as social movements. They have been labeled as counterculture, which is in opposition to current society. The term "social reform movements" refers to movements aimed at changing the existing social order. In contrast, revolutionary movements strive to profoundly transform the world. Cultural drift, which occurs when human values and behavior in civilizations alter, will undoubtedly result in social movements. Most people establish their ideas as a result of cultural drift. People might form a movement to bring these principles into practice in society. Women's emancipation, the abolition of untouchability, the spread of mass education, equal opportunity for both sexes, and the rise of secularism are all instances of cultural drift in the development of democratic societies. Another reason for the

⁴⁶Abramitzky, R. (2008). The limits of equality: Insights from the Israeli kibbutz. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 123(3), 1111-1159.

occurrence of social movements is any changing society that is unorganized while another society is well organized because change does not occur in all areas of society at the same time. For example, urbanization arose as a result of industrialization, which resulted in a slew of social issues. As a result of the social disorganization, there is a sense of wilderness and uncertainty, as old traditions are unable to form for a long time and their reason is social injustice, in which people become frustrated and alienated as a result of the injustice that has been done to them. Such feelings provide fertile ground for social change. Injustice does not only affect the poor; it can affect people of any socioeconomic status.

The word "social movement," has been defined in many ways by various scholars, including B.H. Blumer signifies a deliberate and continuous effort by a social group to attain a common objective.⁴⁷ A lot of work is invested in changing, preserving, replacing, or eliminating existing social structures. Previously, social movements were characterized as communal endeavors aiming at building a new way of life. To create a collective movement, it gains organization and establishes a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, and lasting division of labor, social rules, and social ideals. Social movements, according to Tarrow, are "collective mutual awareness in sustained interaction with economic and political elites seeking to advance or halt social change"⁴⁸. "In addition, social movements are made up of organizations that operate outside of institutional authority and pursue their goals by both unconventional (e.g., street marches, spectacular media events) and traditional (e.g., petitions, letter-writing campaigns, etc.) means." Government policies provoke both negative and positive protest movements, signaling to challengers that the state is either less or more receptive to problems that pertain to the people in question.

People will not be spectators or passive participants in collective action, according to the central theme of social movements. People from the alienated segments would become involved in the movement as a result of the circumstances that led to it. The movement's leader is critical because he has the potential to play a spectacular role in guiding participants and executing the movement's plan of action, as well as processing the power to run the movement. Social movements may arise out of the blue. They

⁴⁷Fuchs, C. (2006). The self-organization of social movements. *Systemic practice and action research*, 19(1), 101-137.

⁴⁸Tarrow, S. (1988). National politics and collective action: Recent theory and research in Western Europe and the United States. *Annual review of sociology*, 421-440.

aren't based on a specific issue. As a result, numerous scholars have critically defined social movements, one of whom was Karl Marx, who had a synthetic approach to society. "Social movements as expressions of material interests that organized class conflict and eventually propelled political and social change," he claims. Emile Durkheim, in contrast to Karl Marx, believes that "social movements are a collective expression of aggregate psychological dysfunction, symbolizing society's failure to integrate diverse social constituencies." "Social movements as a collective phenomenon that represents the loss of individual identity and conscience,"⁴⁹ "Le Bon has also said.⁵⁰

In a broad sense, social movements can be seen as an expression of an institution's or an individual's frustration with the mainstream society's failure to meet all of their needs, as well as acceptance or accommodation. Social movements aren't just about changing the world. But it also serves as an inspiration for other social movements. We can learn from history about how the Indian constitution was shaped by the national movement. In exchange, the Indian constitution has contributed to the execution of societal transformation. A social movement, according to Anderson and Parker, is a type of dynamic and pluralistic behavior that acquires structure through time and aims to partially or completely transform the social order⁵¹. A social movement, according to Lamburg, is a group of people who get together voluntarily to change people's attitudes, behaviors, and social interactions in a larger society⁵². According to William Kornhauser, mass movements mobilize underprivileged people who do not believe in the legitimacy of the current system and are prepared to help overthrow it⁵³.

Indian Context:

Several studies on social movements in India have been conducted during the last three decades. The majority of the research was completed and published by various specialists after the mid-1960s. The bulk of them was completed by historians, sociologists, political activists, and journalists. Until recently, political scientists mostly ignored the topic since political science in India has traditionally focused on political

⁴⁹Simons, H. W. (1976). Changing notions about social movements. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 62(4), 425-430.

⁵⁰Le Bon, G. (2002). *The crowd: A study of the popular mind*. Courier Corporation.

⁵¹Parker, K., Horowitz, J. M., & Anderson, M. (2020). Amid protests, majorities across racial and ethnic groups express support for the Black Lives Matter movement.

⁵²Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2014). Power in management and organization science. *Academy of Management Annals*, 8(1), 237-298.

⁵³Kornhauser, W. (2013). *Politics of mass society*. Routledge.

institutions such as the government, legislature, parties, and elections. Academics in political science have usually ignored the study of people's politics, their aims and wants, the expression of their challenges, and their "modus operandi" for articulating their demands outside of the formal institutional framework. Governance and other concerns such as the role of government and program evolution are on the teaching agenda rather than policy formation methods, development strategies, and welfare programs. Land reform programs, for example, are taught without regard for the fights that compelled governments and political parties to embrace them. Political history, or the history of rulers and elites, has historically been the focus of historians. Social history arrived late on the scene. Recent research on social movements, notably peasant movements, has piqued social historians' attention.

While the first generation of sociologists did not focus on social movements, the second generation focused on the tradition-modernity paradigm. Friendship, caste, and village life are the subjects of the majority of their research. Their interest in social movements was primarily focused on Sanskritization and socio-religious reform movements until the late 1960s when they decided that the political dimension was beyond their scope. Only ten articles on movements were published in the "Indian journal of political science" between 1965 and 1978 out of 370 articles. Only 15 doctoral dissertations in political science were accepted by Indian universities between 1957 and 1979, and only 15 of those dissertations dealt with movements. They were not included in the first trend report on political science research, which was commissioned by the ICSSR's Indian Council of Social Science Research in 1971. Between 1969 and 1994-95, the ICSSR funded 672 research projects in history, political science, sociology, and anthropology. Only 17 of them had anything to do with social movements. Social movements in India have been classified into several categories to bring about changes in the political system, including revolt, rebellion, reform, and revolution.

Political fragmentation and linguistic regional differences, hierarchical social stratification and institutionalized inequalities, cultural-ethnic diversity and social tolerance, and a hegemonic attitude toward the group over the individual were all features of traditional India. The nature and type of social movements were shaped by these multiple dimensions. The Indian National Liberation Movement encompassed a wide range of social movements, all of which were subsumed by Nationalist ideology. Nonetheless, the Nationalist spirit died quickly, and in post-independence India, the

process of denying access to productive resources, social discrimination, and patriarchal values continued. Caste, class, region, and language-based social movements persisted, resurfaced, and emerged. This phenomenon was not limited to Andhra Pradesh. In post-Independence India, the states vigorously pursued a positive discrimination policy demonstrating the state's sensitivity to Scheduled Castes movements and their co-option into the system. However, a few groups have monopolized affirmative action's benefits, leaving the marginalized to demand reservations within reservations. In contrast to plains areas, where resources are concentrated, tribal areas have attracted mainstream communities, resulting in resource alienation. "Foreign" forces have always been opposed by tribal movements. Tribal movements were founded on the uniformity and consistency of these forces' modes of resource appropriation across the country.⁵⁴

Peasant movements have erupted in the past as a result of policy failures that resulted in an unequal agrarian structure, ineffectiveness in making agriculture viable, and inadequacy in dealing with natural disaster risks. Despite a series of positive state policies in the legal, economic, and social realms, women's movements continue to occur due to the entrenched patriarchal value system. Fear of exploitation by dominant regions and linguistic groups sparked a slew of sub-national movements in independent India, leading to the linguistic reorganization of states in 1956. The linguistic basis for state formation has not served as a binding factor as intended due to disparities in resource development, cultural identities, and political power. Another strategy used by social movements to address people's concerns, particularly those of the most vulnerable, is to fight for civil, political, and economic rights within the constitutional framework and then negotiate with the state for their restoration through the judiciary. This chapter will trace the history of Andhra Pradesh's social movements as well as their impact in this context.⁵⁵

Features of Social Movements:

Social movements have exhibited a variety of characteristics to emerge and participate in society. As a result,

⁵⁴Burger, J. (1987). *Report from the frontier: the state of the world's indigenous peoples*. Cultural Survival Inc.

⁵⁵Venkatasubbaiah, P. C. Perspectives of Social Movements and its relevance to two contemporary issues in Andhra Pradesh.

1. A large number of people are required for a social movement, which undoubtedly involves sustained collective action over time rather than individual action. It does not have to be formally organized; it can be done informally. However, it should be able to pique people's interest and awaken them in a large number of people. Defending changes in policies or practices is a common form of collective action directed against the state.
2. The degree of organization in collective action must be noted.
3. Leadership and structure are two aspects of the organization that describe how members of a movement interact with one another, make decisions, and carry them out.
4. Participants in social movements should have similar goals and ideologies. An important feature of social movement that distinguishes it from the broader category of collective mobilization is the presence of an ideology. A student strike, for example, entails collective action; however, without ideology to effect change, the strike becomes a one-off event rather than a movement.
5. The goal of social movements is to bring about or resist social change in society. This transformation may be partial or complete. Despite the movement's goal of changing the existing system's values, norms, and ideology, some forces are attempting to thwart the changes and maintain the status quo.
6. These distinguishing characteristics are not always constant. It's possible that throughout a social movement's existence, it will change.
7. There are two types of social movements: organized and unorganized. Protests that are disorganized and spontaneous cannot be called social movements. For example, a bus driver struck a young boy, injuring him.
8. Social movements can take either a peaceful or a violent form.
9. Social movements have an uncertain future; they may last for a long time or fade away quickly.
10. When social movements seek to bring about change in society, counter-movements emerge to defend the status quo. This type of counter-movement can be found in a variety of places. Sati supporters formed the Dharma Sabha and petitioned the British

not to legislate against it after Raja Rammohan Roy protested *Sati* and founded the Brahmo Samaj. Many people opposed reformers' demands for girls' education, claiming it would be harmful to society. Reformers who pushed for widow remarriage were shunned by society. When the so-called 'lower caste' children began attending school, their families withdrew some of the so-called 'upper caste' children.⁵⁶

Definitions of Social Movements:

Many academics have defined social movements. Mayer is the one who explains how social movements arise when a collectivity is threatened and receives signals from the political environment that benefit new groups if they choose to mobilize⁵⁷. People believe that if the government does not act, the situation will worsen, and they will lose collective goods such as land, rights, and employment. People who engage in collective action perceive that the current political situation is conducive to new collective goods such as new rights, higher wages, improved environmental quality, and so on if they act responsibly.

Social movements can be thought of as institutionalized groups of individuals who engage in a series of contentious interactions with elites or opponents. It can also be said in a single phrase as McAdam's view 'contentious politics. With the results of the great calamities of fascism and the Russian revolution in Europe, earlier movements were revived⁵⁸. The case especially in the United States of America researchers have interpreted social movements are an expression of dysfunction in society. The students,' anti-war, women, and environmental movements have developed concrete and purposive critiques of elites and authorities, and the result of social movement research in both Europe and the USA was the 'normalization' of collective action. Europeans in particular have criticized North American approaches for neglecting the ideological projects of movements. Americans themselves criticized the lack of attention towards the movements in their models. By observing these trends some scholars have responded to revive social psychological approaches to movements. The impact of movements of the 1960s was somewhat different in Europe where the structuralist's

⁵⁶Mosse, D. (2018). Caste and development: Contemporary perspectives on a structure of discrimination and advantage. *World development*, 110, 422-436.

⁵⁷Mayer, M. (2009). The 'Right to the City' in the context of shifting mottos of urban social movements. *City*, 13(2-3), 362-374.

⁵⁸McAdam, D. (2000). Culture and social movements. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 253-268). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

persuasion, after the stripped of its Marxist integument, led to the new social movements. It had French, German, and Italian variants. But British researchers, many of whom continued to beat a Marxist drum, had less impact.

McCarthy and Zald called these new forms of movement 'professional movement organizations. The capacity of these groups to overcome their insufficient resources, to innovative forms, and gain access to the media differentiate them from earlier forms of social movements. The internet and other forms of personal communication reinforce this trend away from personalization and towards decentralized movement mobilization.⁵⁹ On the one hand, there has been a great diffusion of movement activity in which collective has become an accepted part of routine politics; on the other hand, there has been a great diffusion of movement activity in which collective has become an accepted part of routine politics. On other hand, there has been a spread of violence, intolerance, mutually exclusive movements such as Islamic fundamentalism, ethnic violence in Eastern Europe, and anti-immigrant and racist movements in the west. Secondly, transitional movements raised above the national state, targeting international institutions, and foreign states inaugurated objects like globalization. While the last phase of socialist movement research took its cues from the far largest, national, and purposive movements of the 1960s.

The conservative reaction to the French and industrial revolutions was the first source of social movements in history. The second is the rise of socialist movements in the late nineteenth century. After anarchists' demise and the rise of reformist movements, a gradually growing belief in the rationality of collective action countered the earlier assumption of irrationality.

Social movements have theoretically focused on three main issues. Firstly, rationalists have been recruited into collective action in the past. But ever since the mid-1970s research has shown that movement activists have come from almost all sections or communities of people; some people tend to stay active in one form or another movement after their initial recruitment. Secondly, the emergence of the movement earlier relates to economic growth and changes in class relations. Because economic deprivation was the main source of the formation of movements. But now the

⁵⁹ McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (2001). The enduring vitality of the resource mobilization theory of social movements. In *Handbook of sociological theory* (pp. 533-565). Springer, Boston, MA.

movements of the 1960s led to the result of post-material attitudes that have grown out of wealth. Thirdly, the relationship between leader and follower affects the outcome of the movement. The displacement of group goals by leaders has been its guiding star but 1960s research suggested that such institutionalization is far from the preordained. The problem of leader followers has been recast in the form of the now familiar problem of the free rider.

According to break-down theories, rearrangements in societies such as urbanization and industrialization, which wreak havoc on rural people's lives, result in the loss of social control and an increase in the desire to engage in antisocial behavior. As a result of the sudden breakdowns in society, strikes, violent collective action, and social movements have intensified. Not only during breakdowns, but also during the expansion of political opportunities, social movements are sometimes spared from violent and repressive responses from authorities. Any social movement can be influenced by the political environment or the structure of a nation-state's context. For example, Germany has a strong and exclusive government that allows for the rise of various groups. Switzerland, on the other hand, has a weak and inclusive government with no opportunity for groups to rise. Many contemporary social movements are becoming increasingly affected by inchoate globalization as a result of technological revolutions in communications and transportation, as well as economic, political, and cultural developments, which have increased the interdependence and consciousness of the global world. Culture is an essential component of the emergence of cross-national social movements because it provides a common language for expressing a worldview that serves as a yardstick for evaluating events. When an event fails to meet expectations, people may experience moral shock, which can lead to the formation of movements. As a result, culture has the potential to amplify the moral shock that leads to collective action. In France, for example, peace movements were opposed to forming a coalition with the Americans. On the other hand, the German peace movement was opposed to any use of German military forces on foreign soil.

Social movement organizations, which are changing in a variety of ways, coordinate the activities of the movement and its participants. The significant way in which they differ from others is in terms of their ancestors. Some movements start at the grassroots level, such as a mother who started a campaign against drunk driving after her child was killed by one. Social movement organizations also differ at different levels, depending

on how they carry out their plans of action. Some social movement organizations operate solely on a local level, while others concentrate their efforts at the state, provincial, and regional levels. Some social movement organizations work in multiple countries at the same time. Human rights are a focal point for many transnational social movement organizations. Organizations of social movements are always autonomous; they do not report to a central authority. Theorists of resource mobilization were among the first to emphasize the importance of social movement organizations in carrying out these tasks. They argue that without an organization, movements will struggle to obtain the resources they need to meet their challenges.⁶⁰

Money is needed in today's social movements for advertising activities, printing posters, banners, and leaflets to distribute to the masses, and lobbying staff. As a result, without material resources such as money, social movements are unable to carry out any activities that will result in change. By looking at all of the research that has been done by scholars on the outcomes of social movements, it is clear that among all social movements, women's and civil rights movements have the potential to produce rippling changes that gradually engulf societal institutions. That specific women's movement has the potential to bring issues like sexual harassment and unequal occupational status to the forefront. Women, on the other hand, continue to face significant workplace and domestic inequalities. In general, some research suggests that social movements are incapable of bringing structural change; all they have achieved thus far is cultural change. These cultural changes are reflected in women and minorities, fashion trends, and popular music and one more significant factor is a social movement to diffuse the knowledge about the society which affects the people regarding unhealthy issues that are speeded around the locality. Spreading new knowledge is about attempting to affect social change.⁶¹

In the 1980s, European intellectuals such as Gustav Le Bon argued that mobs were a form of madness that caused people to act differently than they would alone.⁶² As a result of urbanization, the entire scenario has changed. The concept of the crowd was seen as crucial in social movement by many thinkers in the early twentieth century, including Durkheim, Freud, Weber, and persons. Only a revolutionary scholar such as

⁶⁰McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, 82(6), 1212-1241.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp-1212-1241

⁶²Le Bon, G. (2002). *The crowd: A study of the popular mind*. Courier Corporation.

Karl Marx believed that the urban mob was a component of the proletariat, which would usher in a just society in the form of socialism. Rather than a dangerous working class, social movements in the mid-1960s were populated by familiar middle-class faces. In a social movement, the most important thing is leadership, which plays a critical role.

In this regard, Morris and Staggenborg suggest four types of movement leaders: (1) official title-bearing leaders of social movement organizations; (2) leadership team members who work with and advise top leaders; (3) bridge leaders movement activists who act as a link between top leadership and mass potential constituents and adherents; and (4) local organizers who mobilize relatively small communities⁶³. According to Kretschmer and Meyer, a "platform leader" is someone who keeps her position by articulating a distinct position within a larger social movement⁶⁴. Enunciating leaders can have an impact on the movement's ability to move forward and achieve its objectives. However, most academics agree that this leadership topic is still under-theorized and in need of more research.

In his book *Social Movements: Nonviolent Violent*, Kurt Schock makes a clear distinction between violent and nonviolent social movements. Any social movement that directly challenges the elite's interests, whether nonviolent or violent, will be met with violence, according to his beliefs. Nonviolent action methods avoid using or threatening people with physical violence, and they entail collective action to achieve political, social, or economic goals. Acts of omission, in which people refuse to do things that are expected of them by norms, customs, law, or decree; acts of commission, in which people do things that they don't normally do, aren't expected to do by norms or customs, or are illegal; and, finally, a combination of the two. These methods apply political, economic, social, movement, or moral pressure to the wielding of power in contentious interactions between collective actors. In the twentieth century, nonviolent action evolved from a largely ad hoc strategy based on moral or religious principles or a lack of violent alternatives to becoming a deliberate tool for social and political change. By the end of the twentieth century, nonviolent action had evolved into a modular and global method for combating oppression. Various social movements have been almost

⁶³Morris, A. D., & Staggenborg, S. (2004). Leadership in social movements. *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 171-196.

⁶⁴Kretschmer, K. (2009). Contested loyalties: Dissident identity organizations, institutions, and social movements. *Sociological Perspectives*, 52(4), 433-454.

entirely nonviolent. Throughout the twentieth century, women's movements have primarily focused on pro-movement nonviolent methods and social relations. The labor movement is an example of a nonviolent social movement in WWII, new social movements arose in Western industrialized countries, such as the environmental and peace movements, which were almost entirely nonviolent.⁶⁵

A movement emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century, using nonviolent action methods to expand global civil society and fight for social justice. According to this viewpoint, nonviolent action is only used in legal or institutionalized actions, it is a middle-class or bourgeois method for social change, and it works slowly in the democratic process. It's also ineffective in countries that aren't democratic. Violence, on the other hand, is one of the defining characteristics of revolutions. There would be no results from collective action if there was no violence. In today's changing circumstances, violence is an appropriate element of social movements to challenge state repression, even if it is not acceptable or effective in democratic societies.

People recruitment is another important aspect of social movements. In democracies, social movements have a long history of political participation and have resulted in significant political, social, and cultural changes. People choose to participate in movements because they have limited time and energy. As a result, they must decide how to spend these resources to maximize their gain. Individuals join movements because they believe that if the movement's goals are implemented, they will benefit significantly. If a movement has a small number of members, those seeking these benefits may believe that unless they join, the movement will fail. As a result, they may find that joining the movement is a good use of their time, energy, and money. If a movement already had a sufficient number of activists but added one more, the movement's chances of success would increase. If the movement succeeds, they, along with the participants, will reap the benefits. According to a French theorist, people join movements because they succumb to crowd movements and lose their ability to resist unconscious instincts. Individuals were said to be drawn to movements because they were lonely and alienated as a result of weak social ties, and thus sought a sense of belonging that they lacked elsewhere in movements. Social movements are now

⁶⁵Schock, K. (2007). Social movements, nonviolent. *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*.

regarded as rational enterprises pursuing a wide range of political, social, and cultural changes, and their members as rational individuals who support these changes.⁶⁶

Most organizations provide a variety of resources to encourage recruitment and higher levels of participation after recruitment. Coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, coercion, co (3) Social and individual movement Individuals identify with the movement's goals and believe it is capable of achieving them as a result of normative (or purposive) incentives that appeal to their values, concerns, and ideologies. (4) Social incentives, such as friendships and other personal contacts, that make participation socially rewarding. Because social movement organizations, like other non-profits, lack the first two types of incentives, they must rely on the latter two to entice people to join the movement and motivate them to participate at higher levels once they do. The ideologies of a movement are often thought to be a necessary but insufficient condition for attracting new members, but this is far from the case. The reason for this is simple: far more people agree with a movement's goals and other ideologies than ever join or assist it. It's also important to consider what age groups might be involved in the movement. Apart from these incentives, other types of incentives have been used to recruit people into the movement, such as personal interests inducing friends to join movements and ideology, and goals inducing spectators to become involved in the movement. Unlike voluntary organizations, social movements' normative incentives are heavily influenced by the movement's political ideologies and beliefs. Another type of organizational incentive is thought to be important for post-recruitment participation levels because it makes people feel like they belong to the movement.⁶⁷

According to renowned scholar Jennifer Earl, repression of social movements is defined by groups, individuals, or state actors such as militaries, national police, and local

⁶⁶Rose, F. (1997, September). Toward a class-cultural theory of social movements: Reinterpreting new social movements. In *Sociological forum* (Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 461-494). Kluwer Academic Publishers-Plenum Publishers.

⁶⁷Barkan, S. E., Cohn, S. F., & Whitaker, W. H. (1995, March). Beyond recruitment: Predictors of differential participation in a national antihunger organization. In *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 113-134). Kluwer Academic Publishers-Plenum Publishers.

police⁶⁸. These organizations are tasked with dismantling collective action at any time if the social movement disrupts the state through violence or frequent attacks on state policies that are harmful to victims. Repression is a crucial form of action used by the government to dismantle the crowd. Repression includes arrests and police violence at public protests, military suppression of protests, activist disappearances, arrests and imprisonment of social movement activists by government informants, and covert counterintelligence programs targeting social movement organizations. Participants have used tactics such as restricting free speech and assembly, assailing human rights, and assassinating social movement activists. These are the various organized repression forms that the state uses to destruct and control protest events and social movements.

The three types of repression are overt and covert repression, coercive and channeling repression, and private and public repression. Any direct action that gives an individual or group unequal treatment based on their age, gender, sexuality, skin color, ethnicity, or nationality is considered overt repression. Such repression is frequently carried out with malicious intent, such as causing injury. Covert repression, in contrast to overt repression, involves passive acts. It's difficult to prove such behavior. These actions can occur either intentionally or unintentionally. To gather information for social movements, these methods included tapping phone lines, examining mail, and occupying people's homes and offices. It's also critical to understand the difference between coercive and channeling repression. Coercion includes acts such as violence, harassment, and surveillance, whereas channeling includes laws, policies, or actions that reward protest movements for using certain types of acts while discouraging others. Coercive repression is well-known, and it used to be more popular than channeling repression. The third type of repression is private and public repression. Private repression involves non-state perpetrators who are often recruited to stifle the movement, whereas public informants are recruited directly by the state and use official methods to crush the movement. These repressive methods have turned activists into political opportunists. And it's possible that the movement's intensity will decrease, and that it will become more institutionalized and less violent. The state fulfills its duty to crush social movements by employing these radical repressive methods as long as collective action activities vehemently disrupt and destabilize state activities. Few

⁶⁸Earl, J. (2013). Repression and social movements. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

activists have been subjected to state repression, while others have been left to die in these heinous circumstances for failing to defend themselves. As a result, the state's repressive actions have hampered social movements.⁶⁹

Theories of social Movements:

Many theories have been proposed by a group of scholars working together. They have a variety of viewpoints on the causes of social movements. The roots of any movement, according to one group of observers, can be found in social misery, social deprivation, and economic deprivation. Another group of observers believes that social movements are propelled by widespread disillusionment and oppression. They also stated that people are joining social movements because the living conditions in society are becoming increasingly pitiful and intolerable. From the collective to resource mobilization to political perspectives, a clear succession of social movement theories emerged between the 1960s and the 1980s.

Relative Deprivation Theory:

The relative deprivation model tries to explain why people become involved in or start social movements. It is primarily based on a set of psychological principles. Robert k. Merton, an American sociologist, coined the term "relative deprivation" to describe social deviance for the first time. Brush defines relative deprivation as the difference between what one has and what one expects⁷⁰. In addition to this theory, Walter Runciman pointed out that relative deprivation has four preconditions. 1. A person who lacks financial means. 2. A person who knows of other people who might be able to help. 3. Someone who is looking for a resource. 4. Individual who believes that obtaining a resource is feasible. The concept of relative deprivation can be traced back to John Dollard's early frustration-aggression hypothesis, which proposed that when people respond to frustration with aggression, their frustration shrinks and they react with aggression. The mechanism of relative deprivation has been proposed as a possible explanation for this frustration.

⁶⁹Mongiello, M. M. (2016). *Powerless in movement: How social movements influence, and fail to influence, American politics and policy*. University of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁰Merton, R. K. (1936). The unanticipated consequences of purposive social action. *American sociological review*, 1(6), 894-904.

According to analysts of relative deprivation, people can suffer from a variety of levels of deprivation. These include aspiration deprivation and increasing aspirations that are not realized. Depreciated deprivation occurs when expectations are stable but available resources are decreasing. In general, social, economic, or power conditions, there is either improvement or progressive deprivation. To experience relative deprivation, an individual must not only feel desire but also believe that she or he has a right to access desired resources. She or he must also believe that the likelihood of their access being restricted is very high. Many relative deprivation theorists have spent their time trying to figure out when and how relative deprivation occurs. Some theorists believe that there is a mechanism in place that causes relative deprivation to lead to collective action.⁷¹

As a result of a combination of feelings of relative deprivation and structural strain, people may come to see the sources of their aspirational blockages as structural blockages. These individuals are led to such structural solutions as a result of their collaboration as part of a situated group or social movement. Other factors, such as the power balance between parties or resource mobilization, are also factored into relative deprivation. The rate of change in access to these resources relative to others, according to Korpi (1974), is not only a measure of how deprived a group feels in terms of power resources. Out of the three types of deprivation, only progressive deprivation is likely to result in conflict.⁷² While violent collective behavior supports a group that is gaining power relative to others and when the other group is losing power, it also supports a group that is losing power relative to others, according to Tilly, who did not write specifically about relative deprivation. When it comes to explaining when the revolution happens and when it doesn't, models based on the concept of relative deprivation have been used. Even though deprivation is a personal experience, relative deprivation is typically socioeconomic and measured at aggregate levels, such as census dates. Although relative deprivation may explain a portion of the variation in riots, it does not explain why the vast majority of people who are subjected to relative deprivation do not act on it. Individual members of social movement organizations may speak about their reasons for forming or joining the movement in terms that can be

⁷¹Kollar, E., & Santoro, D. (2012). Not by bread alone: Inequality, relative deprivation and self-respect. *Philosophical topics*, 79-96.

⁷²Korpi, W. (1974). Conflict, power and relative deprivation. *American Political Science Review*, 68(4), 1569-1578.

construed as relative deprivation theory because relative deprivation theory cannot be tested empirically without some sort of evidence of feelings of deprivation before collective action. As a result, while this model remains popular among psychologists, it is no longer widely used in sociological studies of social movements.⁷³

Strain and Breakdown Theory:

This theory aims to explain why people behave in groups and join social movements. When social institutions are stable, people are less likely to rebel against them. When institutions are stressed and fail, social disorganization and a loss of social control result, in increasing collective behavior such as fads, crazes, riots, rebellions, movements, and revolutions. According to Emile Durkheim, a classical sociological spokesperson, chronic/long-term strain and acute social order breakdowns can lead to a variety of antisocial behaviors.⁷⁴ Concept strain was defined by relative deprivation theory as a psychological state of cognitive dissonance that motivates collective action, whereas structural functionalists proposed that structural strain was a key factor in the emergence of a variety of collective behaviors. The lack of an intermediate social group, according to the mass society theory, causes alienation, which in turn motivates collective behavior. Although some critics claimed that this approach took a pessimistic view of collective behavior, American sociology in the 1960s revealed that strain and breakdown were the primary causes of collective behavior and social movements. In studies of 1960s urban riots, it was discovered that strain breakdown theories were explicit and psych logistic, obscuring the political dimensions of the riots, denying rational and strategic aspects of riots as political tactics, and obscuring the actual roots of the associated violence. According to European collective action, violence is better understood as an interactive product of relations between authorities and protesters. When it comes to tactics, protesters frequently act in a rational, purposeful, and political manner. In the explanatory note, these critics argued that the degree of solidarity among contenders predicts the episodic nature of collective action better than strain and breakdown. These critics argue that breakdown theories are logically and empirically flawed and those solidarity theories are universally preferable.

⁷³Grant, P. R., & Brown, R. (1995). From ethnocentrism to collective protest: Responses to relative deprivation and threats to social identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 195-212.

⁷⁴Mueller, A. S., Abrutyn, S., Pescosolido, B., & Diefendorf, S. (2021). The social roots of suicide: Theorizing how the external social world matters to suicide and suicide prevention. *Frontiers in psychology*, 763.

Fiscal distress, elite alienation and conflict, and a high mobilization potential among the general public resulted from the state's breakdown. Although the underlying causes of state breakdown have changed over time, demographic growth and population shifts are frequently involved, putting new strains on state resources. Between 1500 and 1850, state breakdowns occurred as a result of population growth overwhelming the agrarian bureaucratic state and popular unrest, according to Goldstone. Piven and Cloward argue that social strain reduces the number of opportunities for protest and weakens the impact of protests that do occur⁷⁵. As a result, social breakdowns in the regulatory capacity of society and daily routines are rare. People must also see their plight as unjust and changeable, rather than simply as a breakdown. As a result, not only does societal breakdown disrupt regulatory capacity and daily routines, but it also raises awareness of alternative social arrangements. The breakdown isn't required for normative group action, but it is for collective protest, rioting, and rebellion.

Between what collective behavior theorists mean by strain or breakdown and what resource mobilization theorists mean by opportunity, there is a lot of conceptual overlap. The terms "strain" and "breakdown" relate to unfavorable or unpleasant situations that should be avoided, avoided, or corrected. Even today, breakdown theorists are more likely to consider social control as beneficial and protester activity as detrimental. The goal of this discussion is to look at the concept of opportunity. It gives critics the Trans value they desire, allowing them to show collective action in a positive light. Failure indicates that something is pursued, seized, enjoyed, valued, and maximized, whereas opportunity suggests that something be sought, seized, enjoyed, valued, and maximized. It also keeps a channel open for discussing modifications in the background that make collaboration simpler. While opportunity and breakdown are not the same things, they serve similar functions in their respective theoretical traditions. To put it another way, political theorists can argue that the concept of opportunity structures reflects the relevance of strain breakdown in a coincidental way. To the extent that opportunity has become a stand-in for tension and breakdown in social movement theory, it is reasonable to assume that the latter has never completely vanished.

Resource mobilization theory:

⁷⁵Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. (2012). *Regulating the poor: The functions of public welfare*. Vintage.

Resource mobilization theory holds that resources drive the emergence, development, and outcome of social movements. A resource is defined as any social, political, or economic asset or capacity that can be used to support collective action. Social capabilities such as group cohesion and cultural perspectives enable individual and collective activity. According to resource mobilization theory, social movements are collaborative attempts to change social institutions and the distribution of socially valued products. It has been established in recent years that the formation of collective identities, as well as the role of values and social networks in collective action, are all critical components of resource mobilization. The micro factors that lead to individual involvement, as well as the macro processes that lead to individual participation, have been the focus of resource mobilization theory. (a) Organizational processes shape mobilization. c) the political opportunities that influence the growth and repercussions of social movements.

Individual participation:

Structured stress and relative deprivation, according to McCarthy and Zald, are secondary or irrelevant to movement engagement, and it is these modifications that give rise to the social movement. Some scholars have questioned whether complaints are required for individual participation, as opposed to newly imposed grievances. Personal networks that enable participation, according to resource mobilization theory, establish communal identity and solidarity. Organizers pay a large portion of the startup costs, according to Marwell and Oliver, by forming solidarity networks, developing injustice frames, and instilling collective perceptions of accelerating production.

Organizational processes:

Modern movements have become more professionalized, according to Zald and McCarthy, with full-time staff and little grassroots support. The major contributors to these movements are wealthy patrons and institutional sponsors of sympathetic bystanders. As a result, professional movements such as the environmental, women's, peace, and human rights movements have formed. Many contemporary movements have been chastised for relying mostly on the unpaid labor of direct beneficiaries linked by loosely organized networks, strong collective identities, and volunteer organizers. Morris explains how the southern civil rights movement was organized by a loosely

linked coalition of pastors and college students, with African-American churches serving as the organizational nucleus. While external institutional resources are important for the professionalization of movements, indigenous protests are also important. Foundations and government officials began to sponsor more moderate social movement organizations as a consequence of the increasingly militant civil rights marches, leading to a radical part effect.

Political Opportunities:

The responses of the participants are based on their estimations of the costs and likelihood of success. As a result, the growth of a movement should be determined by political chances. McAdam emphasized how presidential candidates' competition for African-American votes aided the growth of civil rights movements, elevating Tilly's theory above elite challenger coalitions that led to revolutionary circumstances. Tarrow claims that it is difficult to distinguish between early and late riser movements within a larger protest cycle and that late risers are more effective because they may draw on policy precedents and resources established by early risers. According to some researchers, movement outcomes are influenced by both opportunities and strategies. The changes in work and family life ascribed to the feminist movement are founded in broader cultural developments that emphasize individual autonomy, as well as the structural rise of service sector employment, which encourages more women to seek professional professions while also increasing the number of feminist activists and lawmakers and boosting pressures for feminist legislation. Similarly, while many social revolutions achieve their leaders' goals, many have unintended consequences for people's lives and the society they live in. As a result, resource mobilization theory has grown to encompass research on movement impacts as well as efforts to investigate the social and cultural processes that occur during mobilization.

Mass Society Theory:

The Mass Society Theory was proposed by William Kornhauser in 1959. He contends that mass society is impersonal, industrialized, and overworked. People who are socially isolated and have low self-esteem join movements where they believe they can make a difference. Social movements that create a sense of belonging help to fill the emptiness that such people feel. He also stated that in a society with fewer social

relationships, social movements have a better chance of succeeding. According to sociologists such as Dough McAdam, the primary motivation for people to risk their lives in social movements is a strong desire to right wrongs and overcome injustices. They, too, try to avoid isolation because they are deeply rooted in their families and communities.⁷⁶

Deprivation Theory:

According to this theory, people who are denied commodities that are valued in society, such as money, justice, position, or privileges, join social movements to have their grievances addressed. Karl Marx eloquently expressed this idea. Excessive economic exploitation, he claimed, impoverishes the working masses, causing them to revolt against their rulers. On the other hand, Karl Marx understood that extreme poverty and exploitation do not always lead to revolutionary fervor. He asserted that the Lumpen proletariat's anguish, and the resulting alienation, may be so intense that all social and revolutionary awareness would evaporate. According to Karl Marx, relative deprivation is a type of deprivation in which people think they are being denied something that is rightfully theirs. It's a perceived disadvantage caused by a specific comparison. People think they are obligated to join movements based on their beliefs of what they should have in such situations in comparison to what others have. This concept, on the other hand, contains a twist that sheds light on the beginnings and course of revolutions. Improved circumstances increase one's curiosity in seeking even better ones.

This never-ending yearning for more can also lead to uprisings. The "rise and fall" of the J Curve hypothesis, as articulated by James Davies, is another explanation for the notion of relative deprivation. He contends that revolutions are more likely to occur when a long period of social and economic development is unexpectedly reversed. "People are afraid that the accomplishments they've worked so hard for will be squandered, and their attitude has shifted to revolutionary."

Neil Smelser Developed One of The Most Influential Theories About Social Movements, **Structural Strain Theory**. The following factors are identified by the Structural Strain Theory as encouraging the development of social movements.

⁷⁶McAdam, D., & Scott, W. R. (2005). Organizations and movements. *Social movements and organization theory*, 4.

1. Structural Conduciveness:

When individuals perceive that their society has difficulties, such as economic, social, cultural, or political challenges, social movements form.

2. Structural Strain:

People experience a sense of relative deprivation when their needs or expectations are not met. Pro-democracy movements rose in popularity in Eastern Europe as a result of citizens' beliefs that their level of life was significantly lower than that of Western Europe.

3. Growth and Spread of an Idea:

A well-organized social movement necessitates a clear explanation of the issue, its causes, and possible remedies. When individuals are perplexed by a situation or suffering, they will vent their displeasure and disappointment in a disorderly manner, such as rioting.

4. Precipitating Factors: There might be both overt and underlying dissatisfaction, which could be generated by a single occurrence.

5. Mobilization for Action: People become ready to act when they share a common concern about a public issue. Protests, marches, rallies, and demonstrations are all possibilities, as are leaflet distribution, public meetings, and alliances with sympathetic organizations. People in Eastern Europe were inspired by the success of the Solidarity Movement in Poland to demand change. The rate of change increased in tandem with the strength of reform movements. In Poland, the change took a decade, but in Hungary and other Eastern European countries, it took only months or weeks.

6. Lack of Social Control: Whether a social movement succeeds or fails is determined by the reaction of politicians, officials, police, and the military. It's possible that the government's intervention, which is quick and aimed at putting down a movement, will fail.

The way China's pro-democracy movement was crushed is an example of such treatment of any movement. Gorbachev, on the other hand, pursued a non-

interventionist policy in Eastern Europe, which aided democratic movements and brought about widespread change.

Contribution of Indian scholars on social movements:

A large number of Indian academics have made major contributions to the study of Indian social movements. Several academics have viewed social movements in various ways. Direct action, according to Rajani Kothari, is an extra-constitutional political method that takes the shape of collective action and aims to bring about political change in opposition to the present administration. As a result, the word "extra-constitutional" might be interpreted in many different ways. In the 1960s, Kothari's understanding of political transformation was restricted to changes in government. In their confrontations with the government, those seeking political reform are not necessarily alone. People's collective acts, he said, are directed against dominating culture, caste, class, and ideology on multiple levels. Protests and agitations are not necessarily regarded as social movements. Students at an engineering college in Gujarat protested the mess bill in a pretty spontaneous manner, as Ghanshyam Shah illustrated. As a result of this protest, Gujarat's Nav Nirman Andolan was created in 1974. Furthermore, depending on the degree of analysis and viewpoint utilized, such collective activity may be interpreted as an agitation by some scholars and as a movement by others, depending on the level of analysis and perspective employed. India's democracy, according to Kothari, has deteriorated into a refuge for rising corruption, criminalization, repression, and intimidation of broad segments of people, and the state's role in social reform has decreased. It is much more so in the first world's neoliberal economy. Rajani Kothari stated as a result that direct action is inescapable in India's existing parliamentary system.

Many academics have emphasized that the theory's flaws have been pointed out by many Indian researchers, making relative deprivation theory more linked and necessary to the Indian setting than the other mentioned social movement theories. Relative deprivation is a necessary but inadequate prerequisite for protest movements in India, according to M.S.A. Rao, a well-known and pioneering Indian social movement expert. According to him, participants must have a sufficient degree of understanding and reflection, as well as the ability to detect and identify the discrepancy between privileged and impoverished social and cultural situations, as well as recognize that

something can be done about it. Relative deprivation theory, according to Shah, ignores the role of individuals' consciousness and ideologies. Revolutionary movements are not explained or evaluated, but protests and revolt movements are. It is not always the case that a demonstration sparks a movement. According to T.K. Oomen, deprivation theorists view movements as one-time events rather than continuing processes of change, and they ignore the sources of deprivation. He also believes that neither the movements nor the traditional structures will be able to completely overthrow the existing system. In essence, social movements serve as a space where old and new values and structures collide. According to Gurr, an American scholar who developed the relative deprivation theory, deprivation is primarily psychological, so he ignores the socioeconomic structure that causes deprivation. Social movements, according to Partha Mukherji, are accumulative, alternative, and transformative. Changes within a given structure and system are referred to as cumulative changes. Gopal Guru, a prominent and pioneer sociologist in India, is an expert in conceptualizing Dalit issues. He discarded and countered M.S.A. Rao's theory of deprivation, which tries to connect it to the Dalits, in one of his articles titled Dalit movement in mainstream sociology. He contends that deprivation theory does not in any way reach out to Dalits. Because, while the higher castes are depriving Dalits, they are also depriving themselves.

The focus of the study is on the two-line battle between Charu Mujumdar and Kanu Sanyal. On the issue of peasant struggle, he appears to have backed Kanu Sanyal's position. Charu Mujumdar is described as a member of the urban elite who is authoritarian and petty bourgeois, whereas Kanu Sanyal's groups are described as peasant leaders who are more democratic, and they are closely linked to the 1967 uprising. It's possible that what Mukherjee is trying to convey to us is that Charu's conspiratorial style left the party in shambles, but it's difficult to imagine how it would have come into existence without his political intervention.

In Partha Mukherjee, Rajendra Singh's study of the peasant movement focuses on the peasant struggle in Bengal in 1967. The most interesting aspect of his Basti district in Uttar Pradesh is that it hosts two important peasant movements: the Nijai Bol (self-speak) movement and the CPI and social activists' Land Grab movement. In his research, he discovered that cultivators have steadily lost their lands, although lands are cultivated for landlords, because they are untouchable, particularly Chamar Khetmajurs, who were bonded laborers and field servants who tilled the land for Raipur overlords

but had no independence or claim to the land. While both participated in land struggles, the chamars and other untouchables were largely excluded from the Nijai Bol because the movement's terms, which required land claims to be made based on being traditional "cultivators," tended to exclude them. Singh's account of the land-grab movement is regrettably brief, but it is clear that it was fueled by significant rural class shifts. After zamindari was abolished, a large class of Kisan emerged, consisting of ex-tenant middle caste Kurmis, wealthy peasants, and capitalist farmers, who, along with some ex-zamindars, formed the dominant rural elite. 'In this context, the land grab movement was limited to previously deprived untouchables and Muslims.' Gail Omvedt is another well-known female sociologist. Her contribution to Indian sociology is immeasurable, and she is a pioneer scholar in bringing Dalit issues to the forefront. Her most significant contribution is the identification of new social movements. *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and Social Trends in India*, her seminal book, paved the path for Dalits to be included in Indian sociology. Although the caste system's traditional economic and social links had broken down, caste had endured as a method of gaining access to a range of resources, according to M.N.Srinivas, a researcher who studied how social change happened. He coined the term Sanskritization in his works, which is perfectly suited to Indian society.

The Indian authors mentioned above have made significant contributions in their own right. Even though they have theorized, the caste phenomenon has yet to be fully developed. Academic sociology, in the words of Gail Omvedt, is responsible for a lot of nonsense, but my impression is that the nonsense element is less prevalent in India than it is in countries like the United States. When Indian social scientists begin to address the realities of their society, they have demonstrated that they are capable of utilizing some of the positive aspects of academic sociology to produce studies that provide critical analysis and raise important issues. In India, a new era of relevant and committed sociology may be on the horizon.

Societies cannot function without social movements. While they are more pronounced and visible in some societies, they are less so in others. Others have them dormant. The study of social movements is primarily concerned with the social or cultural changes that occur within a social order, as well as the values and norms that accompany these changes. Herbert Blumer describes social movements in this way: "To establish new social orders of life, collective enterprises will be used. In summary, a social movement

can be defined as an organized attempt by a segment of society to effect partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on a shared ideology ". It's possible that social movements won't always succeed in accomplishing their goals. Movements, on the other hand, have had a tremendous influence on how their members see the world, as well as most societal formations, revolutions, and global order shifts.

Chapter III

Continuity in Dalit Movement

Third Chapter elucidates the Indian society has a unique character, unlike other world societies. The texture is none other than the caste system which has an ascending sense of reverence and descending sense of contempt based on birth. It has existed and been evaluated over the centuries. There are many human groups, since ancient times, that have been segregated due to historical, religious, and cultural reasons. According to Ambedkar, "he was fully aware of the complexity of a venerable institution like Caste, but he wasn't so gloomy as to reject it as unknowable since he believes it can be understood".⁷⁷ The caste issue is extensive, both conceptually and practically. It is an institution with far-reaching ramifications in practice. Because "Hindus will rarely intermarry or have any social interaction with outsiders as long as caste exists in India; and if Hindus migrate to other parts of the world, caste will become a global issue," it's a local issue with the potential to spread far and wide. Fourfold varnashrama dharma has stratified people into Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra. Out of it, there is another category called untouchability from which Chandala and Panchama have emerged.⁷⁸

There were many ideological and philosophical struggles against the caste system right from ancient times. Lokayata, Charvaka, Jaina, and Buddha Philosophers have led the relentless struggle against inhuman Hindu rituals and traditions that produced the caste system. Whereas there were many Bhakti saints in medieval India like Basaveswara, Veerabrahmam, and Vemana who disseminated their preaching in the people's language by condemning the heinous practices of caste and religion. Many Bhakti saints Nandanar, Gurunanak, Chokhamela, Ravidas, and Kabir became ideologues for the anti-untouchability. Their arguments, writings, and literature have been mighty weapons for modern Dalit fighters. As long as higher caste people, who come under the

⁷⁷ Ambedkar, B. R. (2004). Castes in India: Their mechanism, genesis, and development. *Readings in Indian Government And Politics Class, Caste, Gender*, 131-53.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 131-53.

minority, have hegemonic rights, there would not be emancipation for the oppressed. Hence anti-caste movements have continued the inheritance of the Bhakti movement.⁷⁹

In modern India, we could be seen social revolutionary Mahatma Jyothi Rao Phule who uncovered the naked truth of Hindu scriptures and challenged the caste system with his synthetic mind in his famous book called Slavery. Moreover, he paved the way for future anti-caste struggles and influenced many social revolutionaries like Ambedkar. Thus, since the dawn of history, there was a historical anti-caste struggle by Buddha in ancient times, by Kabir in medieval India, and by Phule in Modern India.

During the changing period caste system took another part to be caused by the distinct character called untouchability with which many Dalits are leading their lives tediously.

The word Dalit comes from the Sanskrit root dal, which signifies "burst, shattered, and wretched." It was employed in a new context by new Buddhist activists in Marathi. In the early 1970s, Ambedkar's supporters. It is thought to have been used for the first time in the context of tyranny by Jyothibhule, a prominent nineteenth-century reformer. It's worth noting that Ambedkar himself used the term "Dalit" in his fortnightly Bahishkrit Bharat. He gives a thorough explanation. Adulthood is a state of life marked by the upper caste Brahmanical order's social, economic, cultural, and political dominance, which results in the exploitation, suppression, and marginalization of Dalits. Dalit is a term that has been around for a long time. In the 1930s, it was used to translate depressed classes into Hindi and Marathi. This term first appeared in the Dalit Bandu, a Pune-based newspaper for the poor (Friend of Dalit). In his book *The Untouchables*, published in 1948, Ambedkar, the architect of the Indian constitution, introduced this word. Ambedkar adopted the term Broken People, an English translation of Dalit, to refer to the untouchables' forebears for reasons that must have been self-evident because he did not explain them. The Dalit Panthers' manifesto in 1973 includes scheduled tribes, Neo Buddhists, working people, landless and poor peasants, women, and all those who are exploited politically, economically, and socially in the name of faith. This word has become more extensively employed in the press and other areas where it is generally used in its original, caste-based definition, since the early 1970s. The genuine meaning of Dalit in today's society is a person of Hindu society who belongs to

⁷⁹Zelliot, E. (1981). Chokhamela and Eknath: Two Bhakti Modes of Legitimacy for Modern Change. In *Tradition and Modernity in Bhakti Movements* (pp. 136-156). Brill.

a caste that is considered polluted by the Hindu faith due to hereditary vocation. Dalits are people who belong to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and other Backward Classes (OBCs). In everyday political speech, the word is generally used to refer to SCs. Article 341 of the Constitution of India recognizes castes, which are listed in a Schedule. Anti-Sudras or Avarnas are also regarded as untouchables, and they are treated as such. The term Dalit refers to the original definition of who is a Dalit, which historians can use because it is the most empirically sound. Whom is Dalit is determined by caste, not class or faith, and caste has resulted in social stigma and a variety of disabilities. As a result, Dalits are India's socially and economically marginalized people.

Dalit emancipation is an unfinished project that began with the Mahar Dalits of the Bombay Presidency, who posed fundamental challenges to colonial and nationalist ideas of personhood and political subjectivity. Various strategies were used in their fight for rights and social recognition, ranging from the demand for separate political representation to conversion to Buddhism. Telugu Dalit poet Kalekuri Prasad, to support this argument, had thought there has to be an egalitarian society where there is no necessity for Dalit Movement which is a very hypothetical assumption. Dalits as politicized subjects embraced their history as part of their emancipation project and used the legacy of anti-caste struggles as a balm to heal the community's wounded psyche. Dalit activists under the influence of Hindu Brahmanical ideals urged untouchables to refrain from eating meat, particularly beef, drinking alcohol, and smoking and to develop habits of hygiene. Writing focusing on the deplorable conditions of untouchables and inspiring personal accounts of self-emancipation by Dalit activists are thus indispensable to a consideration of public debate in the Telugu public sphere.⁸⁰

Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are both Telugu-speaking states. Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 after nine years of independence, bringing together three ecologically distinct regions: Telangana, Rayalaseema, and coastal Andhra. The movement for Telugu-speaking people to have their own geographical administrative region glossed over various differences and divisions, eventually becoming a mass expression of Telugu patriotism. On two levels, the democratic consensus integration process took

⁸⁰Mayell, H. (2003). India's "untouchables" face violence, and discrimination. *National Geographic News*, 2.

place. Telugu-speaking inhabitants of Coastal Andhra Pradesh and Rayalaseema under the Madras presidency were the driving force behind the campaign for a separate administrative state. In 1953, it became Andhra Pradesh, a separate state from the Madras presidency. Later Telangana also merged into Andhra which became Andhra Pradesh in 1956 due to the gentlemen confederacy and states reorganization commission of 1956. Afterward, countless struggles and valuable martyrdom of Telangana youth separated Telangana in 2016 second of June.

In these two Telugu-speaking states, there are numerous castes. In Andhra Pradesh, Dalits or scheduled castes have been stratified based on caste endemics, status, and occupations. Dalits are grouped into 59 subcastes, with one neo-Buddhist caste introduced in 1990. These castes are descended from the Mala and Madiga castes, either directly or indirectly. Around 80% of the Dalit population is made up of Madigas and Malas. Dalits who have a distinct identity are referred to as Adi Andhra. In contrast to the dominating Hindu Andhra identity, Dalits adopted the Adi Andhra in the 1920s. Dalits made up 12.3 million persons in Andhra Pradesh, or 16.5 percent of the total population, according to the 2001 Indian census. Traditional Varna caste-based activities like scavenging, leatherwork, and low-wage menial labor are still practiced by the Dalits. Almost a quarter of the numerous tribes in Andhra Pradesh has a valuable role in society. A major percentage of the population of Andhra Pradesh is made up of craftsmen and other Shudra castes, often known as backward castes, as well as Muslims, Christians, and other religious minorities. According to India's Census, the SC population in 2001 was 16.66 crore or around 16% of the country's overall population. STs make up 8.20% of the Indian population, whereas non-SCs and STs make up 75.60%.

The aforesaid demography of Dalits shows that they are the majority in the Indian population but they are not having access to get all sorts of resources such as Land, water, education, and health. The state does not even consider them as part of other communities. The state is too biased towards Dalits that's how Dalits have been fighting for the resources with the state. For the Dalits, democracy is an unlettable grape even in the twenty first century. In India, Dalits have long been poor, denied basic human rights, and treated as untouchables due to caste-based economic, social, and political discrimination. The Dalit issue was viewed as a social issue by Gandhi, but it was viewed as a political and economic issue by Ambedkar. For decades, Dalits in India

have been considered second-class citizens, with menial and unpleasant occupations like cleaning dead animals and playing drums at religious events, all of which were required to be performed without remuneration. The bulk of civic sanitation workers are women and children, with leather-fraying men and agricultural workers being in second and third, respectively. To empty clogged sewers, the bulk of the 1.3 million Dalits employed as manual scavengers are lowered down manholes without protection, resulting in the death of bonded labor Dalits per year from toxic gas inhalation or drowning in feces and urine.⁸¹ Scavenging is seen as the lowest kind of Dalit activity, and those who indulge in it face discrimination within their own group.⁸² Despite the fact that untouchability was declared illegal after India's independence in 1947, caste Hindus continued to practice it in Indian society.

The transformation of outcasts from premodern to modern political subjects can be tracked within this changing political environment, but we must also recognize that the identification of untouchables has become increasingly complex over time. On the other hand, a neologism that emerged during certain historical times and is rooted in cultural dynamism signifies flexibility and opens up opportunities for characterizing the interconnection of social and political processes during colonial and postcolonial periods. Various agencies despised uniform categories that conveyed untouchables' generic identity, cutting across geographical and intra-untouchable divisions, in addition to their caste/subcaste identification, during the colonial period. Significant departures are the untouchables of Andhra's neo identity, which is built on claims to being the original sons of the soil, and the Dalit notion, which gained popularity in the late twentieth century in 1972.

The Dalit struggle in Telugu-speaking Andhra Pradesh and Telangana has a long history that mirrors India's liberal parliamentary democratic transition from caste to feudal colonial rule. The protracted metaphor of this history of democratic transition is linked to the power configuration between caste-based Indian feudalism and British imperial colonialism. The arrangement of native upper caste feudalists' continuous dominion over the destitute Dalits has politically shown the nature of that deliberate unity. Even the colonial modernization effort, which entailed reorganizing relations to

⁸¹Human Rights Watch. (2007). *No one is safe* (Vol. 19, No. 13). Human Rights Watch.

⁸²Mosse, D. (2015). Caste and the conundrum of religion and development in India. In *the Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development* (pp. 214-228). Routledge.

accommodate locals, reflected the political objectives of dominating upper-caste Hindu landlords. As a result of this deft agreement between their caste-centered feudal and British colonial masters, the Dalits were further marginalized.

The Dalit movement had been started in the state of Nizam with the activities of Madari Bagaiah who is popularly known as Bhagyareddy Varma. He literally paved the way for the Dalit movement with the influence of Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj's activities. Since BhagyaReddy Varma hails from the Dalit Background and faced many problems, he realized and thought to reform his fellow Dalits to get rid of the untouchability by educating them. There were the first-generation Dalit leaders apart from the Bhagya Reddy Varma, Arige Ramaswamy, B.S. Venkat Rao is also known as Hyderabad Ambedkar, M.L. Adeyya. The autonomous "Adi-Andhra" self-respect movement was started by Dalits in Telangana. The great 'Trinity' of the movement were Bhagya Reddy Varma, Arige Ramaswamy, and B.S. Venkat Rao. These leaders spent their entire lives trying to educate the Dalits about their identity and plight. Bhagya Reddy Varma was a natural defender of the Dalits since he was dedicated to the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity throughout his life. P.R. Venkataswamy recorded the unprivileged never-ending struggle for legitimate rights and social justice under the Nizam state of Hyderabad in his book "Our Struggle for Emancipation." Later in life, Bhagya Reddy Varma became an Ambedkarite, advocating for separate electorates for Dalits who were inspired by Buddha's philosophy.⁸³

The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh began with Gandhi and subsequently with communists. Due to the Gandhian Harijan uplift scheme, the radical nature of the Adi Andhra movement of the 1920s evaporated in the late 1930s. Congress leaders started interested in Dalit welfare initiatives following the founding of the Harijan Sevak Sangh in Vijayawada in 1932. From the 1920s, the Sangh integrated Dalit activities; for example, joint secretaries N. Devendrudu and V. Kurmayya, who had previously been part of the Adhi Andhra movement, were selected. Thousands of rupees were collected for 'Harijana Biksha' during Gandhi's trip to Andhra Pradesh, but by the 1940s, the independent Dalit movement had withered, and practically all Dalit leaders had joined the congress or the communist movement, both of which were extending their bases in the late 1930s, as indicated by the fact that by 1947, more than 90% of the region's

⁸³Venkat Swamy, P. R. (2020). *Our Struggle for Emancipation: The Dalit Movement in Hyderabad State, 1906-1953*. Hyderabad Book Trust.

Dalits had joined the congress. Starting in the mid-1930s, communists were effective in organizing the rural poor and workers through agricultural labor groups. They invaded Dalit hamlets, offering fertile ground for communists until the 1940s when many Dalits were drawn to these ideas and joined labor protection groups. Sundararayya indicated in a report to the CPI Central Committee in 1935 that the party was focusing on organizing agricultural labor rather than the peasantry, and as a result, the Alaganipadu Agricultural Labour Union was founded. Its purpose was to standardize daily earnings and establish a minimum wage through legislation. Agricultural labor movement organizations sprang up in Guntur, Nellore, Bezawada, Eelore Bandaru, and Tamil shortly after.

The actual economic domain was dominated by caste prejudices, and communist principles looked to be little more than the rhetoric of Left leaders. A case of betrayal of Dalit issues exemplifies this point. "This is not independence, we have not yet achieved independence," "Red-Flag Zindabad," and "This is not independence, we have not yet achieved independence" were among the slogans used by Dalits in a protest against the state on August 15, 1947. With the exception of the replacement of brown rulers with white lords, the life of Dalits remained unchanged after independence. On the same day, the Kamma landlords of the hamlet attacked the Dalits for supporting the communists because of their allegiance to Congress. In preparation for the attack, the Dalits fought fiercely, with even women joining in by hurling chili powder, hot water, and other materials at the landowners. Kamma communist leaders' perceptions of their role in the Dalit communists' violent course were inevitable. The Telangana movement was organized along classic communist guerilla lines, with massive land distribution and parallel village governments, under Reddy/Kamma domination. At the same time, it marked the beginning of the Dalit movement's decline in Andhra Pradesh.

At the close of the colonial period, there was a schism among the Dalit leadership. The congress as well as the region's communist opposition both contributed to the Dalit movement's anti-Ambedkar atmosphere and factionalism. Following Bhagya Reddy Varma's death in 1939, both the Hyderabad and coastal Andhra areas suffered as a result of a lack of efficient leadership. The Harijan Sevak Sangh's absorption of Dalits into the congress fold through district and local level sections significantly damaged the Adi Andhra movement in coastal Andhra. The Dalit organization in Hyderabad was divided into six distinct groups based on religious and subcaste identities until the late

1940s. The British announcement of a power transfer in February 1947 puzzled the Dalit masses even more, and Hyderabad proclaimed independence on June 11, 1947. As a result, Dalit factionalism flourished.

The SCF, led by Subbayya, and the DCA endorsed the constitutional reforms, whilst the SCF, along with the congress and communists, rejected them. P.R. Venkataswamy and Syam Sundar created a separate SCF that suggested conditional adoption of changes, in addition to disagreeing with both Subbayya and Venkata Rao's dictatorial inclinations. In addition, the Adi Hindu Social Service League, subsequently resurrected by M.B. Gautham, son of Bhagya Reddy Varma, and the Dalits gathered under the Congress led by Arigay Ramaswamy, both rejected the reforms, while an Arundahtiya Mahasabha, mostly formed of Madigas, fought for a separate electorate and conditional acceptance. Only Venkat Rao and Syamsundar were elected in the real election, with five others nominated.

Both of these elected leaders repeated their pro-Muslim attitude, asking Dalits in Hyderabad to arm Muslims, maintain political power, and launch an open war on caste Hindus. By that time, Hyderabad's Ambedarite state had weakened both organizationally and politically. The Dalit masses were pulled in numerous directions by this political and factional upheaval, with no clear purpose in sight. If the coastal Andhra Dalit movement was put to rest in the 1940s with the formation of the Brahmins-led Congress hegemony, the Hyderabad movement was split apart by factional leadership, culminating in a 'police action against the Telangana movement and Hyderabad's forced incorporation into the Indian union in 1951.

The Karamchedu event in Andhra Pradesh has altered the nature and character of the Dalit struggle, which intended to weaken and modify the dominant caste power bestowed and defended by them. Many prior atrocities by the ruling castes against Dalits attracted conventional sympathy from political groups and ordinary apathy from governmental institutions. As a consequence, the Dalits lost trust in the established system and rejected earlier experiences of inactivity that had confined them to irregular activism. Dalits in Andhra Pradesh recognized that caste and its ideology were key barriers to real democracy, and also that India's democratic state, which was designed to protect all citizens equally, favored upper-caste Hindus. It finally drew every political institution into its squabbles, requiring each to take a stance on caste, gender, and class

concerns, as well as pushing for vital political coalitions to secure short- and lengthy political and social reform. The Dalit movement's essence and character have evolved in terms of conscious future political motivations, component capacities, and energy to reshape the contemporary face of democracy and democratization in Andhra Pradesh, which is undergoing rapid political upheaval.

Cleansing the stigma: Untouchability:

Dalits were labeled as untouchables in pre-colonial India as Chandalas, Panchamas, Asprushyas, and Antyajas, as well as Malas, Madigas, Pariahs, Mahars, Matangas, Chamars, Chindus, and Dheds in everyday life. A slew of other derogatory caste labels was also used. Caste is more than merely a division of labor, according to B.R. Ambedkar. It's also the segregation of workers into an airtight compartment with a caste-based hierarchy and graded inequity, with an escalating sense of reverence and a lowering sense of contempt.

When it comes to education for the poor, Mahatma Jyothi Rao Phule famously said, "Without education, wisdom was lost, without wisdom, morals were lost, without morals, development was lost, without development wealth was lost, and without wealth, Sudras were ruined⁸⁴." So much has occurred as a result of a lack of education." Caste hierarchy was used to divide people into watertight compartments in pre-colonial caste-based social structures prescribed by Brahmanical ideology. Caste stigma, as a powerful marker of social identity, determines a person's worth in terms of respectability and dignity, not just in terms of material wealth. According to American sociologist Erving Goffman, stigma is a situation in which an individual is socially disqualified.⁸⁵ non-recognition or misrecognition, according to Charles Taylor, can cause harm and be a form of oppression. Taylor also argued that misrecognition demonstrates more than just a lack of due respect. It has the ability to inflict a vengeful wound on its victims, leaving them with crippling self-hatred.⁸⁶

Vivekanand Jha methodically collected and evaluated a genuinely astounding range of data and arguments in his Ph.D. thesis "Untouchables in Ancient Indian History," organizing them into a systematic narrative of the origins and evolution of

⁸⁴Dharani, J. T., & Farahatabad, T. (2021). *ModernPhilosopher Mahatma JyothibaPhule: A critique*.

⁸⁵Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon and schuster.

⁸⁶Taylor, C. (1992). *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity*. Harvard University Press.

untouchability in ancient India.⁸⁷ This event evolved as part of a broader process that saw a number of aboriginal tribes (such as the Chandalas) turned into caste society, as well as the progressive deterioration of the standing of a number of professional groups including washermen and handmaidens, as well as leather workers. During the process, some approved concepts were criticized and eliminated, as they must be (starting with the pet Brahminical idea that untouchability resulted from the "mixture" of castes). A different timeline for the emergence of untouchability was devised, severing Ambedkar's causal link between beef consumption and untouchability.

Hindu civil society which was dominated by Brahmanical notions of purity and pollution stigmatized untouchables for eating beef. Accordingly, Dalit intellectuals seized on the issue of eating habits as another means to promote social advancement and gain acceptability. In addition to relinquishing the consumption of beef, there was also the banning of animal sacrifice on the eve of festivals and on other ceremonial occasions. Dalits and other stigmatized communities did not adopt without arguing oppression and inequality. In fact, their situation was actively contested by untouchables. Who used creative means of opposition such as folk narratives, ritual performances, protest songs, and routine insubordination, as works of Michel de Certeau and James Scott have shown.⁸⁸

. Water is the minimum need for Dalits to survive but it was untouchable for the untouchables on this pious Indian soil. The best example of this was the Mahad tank struggle led by Ambedkar. Despite the community's overwhelming enthusiasm, an iconic Dalit struggle in Mahad, in modern-day Maharashtra, had to take a step back in 1927. Thus, from Phule to Ambedkar history that happened so far is against untouchability. Even after the demise of Ambedkar untouchability can be noticed and continues. Right from the Mahatma Phule, there were many rehabilitation activities for the untouchables. Savitri Bhai Phule with the help of his spouse Phule established separate schools for the untouchables in Pune and dug drinking water wells for the Dalits who are alienated from the natural resources of the *Savarna* Hindu people.

⁸⁷Jha, V. (1997). Caste, untouchability and social justice: Early North Indian perspective. *Social Scientist*, 19-30.

⁸⁸Bourdieu, P., Coleman, J., Certeau, M. D., Edwards, B., Fowley, M., Gamio, M., ... & Wilson, J. (2016). Gender, social capital and political participation in the barrio.

For the first time in the Telugu Land of Nizam state of Hyderabad, Dalit intellectual Bhagya Reddy Verma stood up to untouchability. He was also kept up to date on current events in India and around the world. He became heavily involved in the operations of the Jagan Mitra Mandali (Friends of Peoples Society), which was created in 1916, while still working in his patron's house. The Dalits in Andhra Pradesh may have created the first Dalit popular organization. In 1921, Bhagya Reddy Varma established the Manya Sangham, afterward renamed the Adi Hindu Social Service League. The League's aims were to remove Hinduism's social traditions enforced on Dalits. "Our emancipation fight" P.R. Venkatasamy detailed the history of the poor struggling for their rightful rights and social justice in the Nizam state of Hyderabad, where they were compelled to participate in bonded labor such as *vetti*, leather work, and scavenging.

The Adi Hindu social reformers awoke the untouchables' social consciousness, and a number of social and political organizations were founded to address societal problems such as child marriage and devadasi or Jogini (dedication of young Dalit girls to the temple). The Mandali's major efforts were to arrange harikatha (untouchable folk acts) and bhajans in order to motivate the untouchables to fight social injustice. In 1917, the first provincial Panchama Mahajana Sabha convention was held in Vijayawada, with Bhagya Reddy Verma as president and Sundry Venkaiah as chairman. Verma argued in his presidential address that Dalits should be referred to as Adi Andhra's instead of Panchamas, and the conference was renamed Adi Andhra Mahajana Sabha in his honor.

Historically, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, a Brahmin from Rajahmundry was the synthesizer of the caste Hindu reformist position in Telugu country. In coastal Andhra, the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries attracted untouchables and other marginalized communities such as the criminal tribes Erukula and Yanadhis. On the shores of the Krishna River in Pedapalem village, Guntur District, various reformers, notably Nallapati Hanumantha Rao, founded the Sri Krishna Ashram in January 1918. The other significant Ashram was Anandhanikethanamu, which was founded in 1923 by Thallapragada Narasimha Sharma and his wife, Viswasundaramma, at Chagallu hamlet near Rajahmundry by Thallapragada Narasimha Sharma and his wife, Viswasundaramma. Dalit intellectuals including Kusuma Dharmanna, Jala Ranga Swamy and Jala Mangamma stayed in these ashrams. In these Ashrams, the groundwork for the mobilization of large numbers of untouchables across the Telugu-

speaking areas was led by Dalit intellectuals. Also, some Dalits were recruited by reformist Hindu organizations such as the Arya Samaj activist and were deeply involved in reconverting Christian untouchables back to Hinduism.

His reconversion activities or Suddhi was reported widely in many of the Telugu newspapers and magazines such as Andhra Patrika, Krishna Patrika, Golconda Patrika, and Gruhalakshmi. In this way, a significant majority of Dalit intellectuals and activists were strongly influenced and trained by organizations and institutions led by caste Hindus and went to propagate Hindu reformist ideas and practices. However, many reformist activities have been carried away by the social visionaries in Telugu country they could not combat these atrocities. There is a number of atrocities have been recorded in the history of Andhra Pradesh starting with the infamous atrocity on Dalits in Karamchedu, afterward Chundur, and later Laximpet in Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh.⁸⁹

From a gruesome killing of six Dalits in Karamchedu in 1985 to a newly married Madiga couple being denied entry into the village temple in Pathapalli, Telangana in 2015. Nearly nine decades later, in Pathapally, Telangana, India's newest state, the Madigas, a Dalit community, forced the administration to accept their demands after a three-month struggle. Pathapalli has been declared the Mahad of the twenty-first century by Anand Teltumde, a well-known human rights activist from Maharashtra. The Pathapally Dalit Baditha Nyaya Porata Samiti (PDBNPS), a coalition of 11 organizations formed to lead the Dalit struggle in Pathapally village, has decided to commemorate the Tsundur Massacre¹ on August 6th. It also chose to embark on a long march from Pebber to Pathapally to urge its demands, which the administration had disregarded for more than two months despite the organization's demonstrations, which included a relay fast beginning on July 8 near the Ambedkar statue, not too far from the Pebber Mandal Office. After the formation of the Telangana state, the Pathapally struggle was the first Dalit struggle. It demonstrates that, despite its long history of radical movements dating back to pre-independence times, Telangana is not immune to caste atrocities. However, the significance of the village's struggle is not limited to

⁸⁹Dabas, M. (11). Major Incidents of Violence Against Dalits Which Show How Badly We Treat Them. Retrieved April 21, 2017; Rao, K. P. (2011). History of Karamchedu and what actually happened. *Round Table India*. <https://roundtableindia.co.in/index.php>.

Telangana. The Pathapally struggle could be regarded as the Mahad of the twenty-first century. It could signal the beginning of a new Dalit movement.

Many Dalits lives were ruptured by the upper caste people and one more honor killing happened in the Karimnagar district of Telangana. The suspicious death of Dalit youth, Manthani Madhukar twenty-five years old belonging to Kathalapur village in the district has created public outrage with leaders of Dalit associations terming it as an “honor killing” since the boy had a love affair with a girl belonging to upper caste. Madhukar of Kathalapur fell in love with a girl from Venkatapur and they decided to get married. But as they belonged to different castes, their parents rejected their proposal. Following this, they tried to commit suicide. However, both survived and the girl recovered at a hospital. However, two days later Madhukar was found dead on the village outskirts on March 14, 2017.⁹⁰

Recently in the Nalgonda district of the Newly formed state Telangana a Dalit man was hacked to death brutally on 14 September 2018 in front of his pregnant wife who is Vaishya by caste and whose father Maruthi Rao was being accused of her husband’s death which shook the entire nation and termed honor killing as caste pride killing. The murder was captured in chilling CCTV footage that showed Pranay Kumar twenty-three years old leaving the hospital flanked by his pregnant wife. When an unknown man suddenly attacked him with a machete from behind and killed him brutally. Immediately protest ruptured in Nalgonda on Saturday. The death of Pranay has disturbed the masses of most humans. It has been sphered head and disseminated on social media. And Dalit masses have declared it is not at all honor killing but it is caste pride killing. Besides above said organizations, Dalit Mahasabha, Kulavivaksha Porata Samiti (KVPS) of the Communist Party of India, Kulanirmulana Samiti (KNPS) of the Communist Party of India (M.L) have been fighting relentlessly against the atrocities on the Dalits of these reorganizations KNPS has a distinct place in the history of Dalit struggle. It had only been instrumental in bringing justice to the Pathapalli Dalits of Mahaboobnagar District in Telangana. Apart from the Pathapalli, KNPS supported the Garugaparru Dalits in Andhra Pradesh where Dalits were denied and alienated from daily wage works offered by the upper caste just because they installed the statue of Ambedkar in the center of their village in June 2017.

⁹⁰ Ashok, G., & Rupavath, R. (2022). The Biopolitics of Caste: Analysing the (Dis) honour Killings in South India. *Contemporary Voice of Dalit*, 2455328X221076657.

Dalit Stree Shakti is the most powerful organization which has been working in Andhra Pradesh and brought many unnoticed atrocities into the limelight since its inception. It often releases an annual report every year in which innumerable violence against Dalit women and men can be seen. Thus, untouchability has been prevailing and been protected by Savarna Hindu upper caste per se right from the beginning to till now, however, the Indian constitution has provided Article 17 which prohibits untouchability in India.⁹¹

Education as an emancipatory tool for the Dalits:

The Indian constitution guarantees that everyone in the country has an equal chance at a good life and development. The caste system, which has existed for centuries and has denied the Dalit community equal access to opportunities and development, has exacerbated social inequality and injustice. The Dalit community is denied social, economic, and political rights as a result of societal inequality. India's constitution declares the country to be a democratic republic with equal social and political rights for all citizens. Everyone has fundamental rights related to equality, freedom, expression, and development under Article 14 to 32 of the Constitution, but the Dalit community has been deprived of these fundamental rights over the last 70 years.

For centuries, India's Dalit population has been denied access to education. Denying Dalits access to conventional education, which was traditionally solely accessible to upper castes, was done to avoid them from improving their standard of life and also to highlight caste divides. Until the British acquired control of India, Indian society had little motivation to pick who should oversee social programmes since it was embroiled in a colonial battle between European powers. Then, in the 1850s, the British began a long process of making education more accessible to all Indian citizens. The Dalits benefited greatly from the colonial government's pro movement of modern education. Sir Thomas Munro began the process of spreading modern education in the Madras Presidency in 1826. Provincial schools were established from 1853 onwards. In 1854, Rajahmundry became the first provincial school in a Telugu-speaking area. At his administrative headquarters in Narsapur, G.N. Taylor, the sub collector of the Rajahmundry division, established an Anglo vernacular school. Because of the annual rate paid by the farmers for their upkeep, these schools became very popular and were

⁹¹Galanter, M. (1969). Untouchability and the Law. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 131-170.

dubbed “Rate School.” These schools were supported through the development of agricultural surplus entry into these Rate Schools was confined to the agricultural castes, merchants and Brahmans who had the capacity to pay the annual life.

Untouchable castes were excluded due to their poverty and the existing caste prejudice against them. their entry was never raised as a possibility. The superstitions and bigotry of villagers placed many obstacles in the government’s way. It was only in the government owned and government founded schools that untouchables' right to education was discussed. For example, the Rajahmundry provincial school which was solely supported by the government, had witnessed tussles over the admission of untouchable children. The Madras missionary conference had a considerable influence on the government of madras. Madras missionaries conference memorial, on firstFebruary 1893 the education department issued orders for special actions to be taken for the educational benefit of the untouchables.⁹²

The 1893 government order was a landmark in terms of shaping a policy with respect to the education of untouchables in the Madras Presidency. In 1909, Mallana Samuel, a Mala Christian, was admitted into the medical school at Royapuram as a student whose education would be completely funded by the government. In 1925, as part of the government’s attempt to encourage Adi Andhras to pursue higher education, it opened a boarding house and hostel at Masulipatnam for fifty boys. Vemuri Ramjee Rao of the Andhra Deena Seva Sangham (Andhra Society in the Service of the oppressed) was the honorary superintendent. From Charles Wood's despatch of May 5, 1854, outlining the concept that no lad should be denied entry to a government college or school purely because of caste, until the end of colonialism on August 15, 1947, the connection among Dalit education and the rest of the world evolved in meaning and practical possibilities. Thus, the Dalit story of education in colonial India was a mixed bag of hope and despair initiated under the influence of the half hatred religious (Christian) and secular (Liberal humanism) guilt of colonial elites.

Bhagya Reddy Verma started 32 schools for the dalits in the nizam state of Hyderabad for the first time. Likewise, many Dalit pioneers Arige Ramaswamy, B.S.Venkat rao and M.L. Adaiah followed to promote many schools for the upliftment of the Dalits.

⁹²Radhakrishnan, P. (1993). Communal representation in Tamil Nadu, 1850-1916: the pre-non-Brahmin movement phase. *Economic and Political weekly*, 1585-1597.

Adaiah had an immense contribution for establishing many schools for the Dalits⁹³. He allotted his own lands to Dalit education. He perceived education as indispensable for the development of the Dalits; he met then British viceroy sir William Barter and convinced him to build schools and temples for the Dalits. Adaiah established a school named after William Barter. Afterwards Adaiah started one more primary school at his home in 1916. Later primary school became district parishad school with its popularity by 1930.

After the demise of the Adaiah the school had to be run by the local scheduled caste trust fund and it became a college in 1949. By 1950, it had gained widespread support from all communities, regardless of caste, creed, or faith. In Secunderabad, the college is now known as Adaiah Memorial School. B.S. Venkat Rao, sometimes known as “Hyderabad Ambedkar,” was the Minister of Education in Nizam's Hyderabad state. Venkat Rao played a key role in achieving Dalit inclusion in some of the most significant lower-level jobs in the Nizam administration, notably in the sectors of public works, income railroads, defense, and education. He was also crucial in collecting a big budget from the Nizam administration of Rs. one crore (10 million rupees) for the development of destitute schools and hostels. In Andhra region Dalits could get modern education due to Christian missionaries. Of them Kusuma Dharmanna was a prominent educationist and poet. He could awaken many uneducated dalit through his infamous poem called we don't want this black feudal landlordism (Maakoddee nalla doratanamu).⁹⁴

Following the Karamchedu massacre in Andhra Pradesh in 1985, the Dalit movements took place which led to dramatic change in Dalit education. Access to education in India improved between 1985 and 2000. Over a seventeen-year period, Dalit boys' enrolment rates increased from 47.7% to a pitiful 63.25 percent. Enrollment rates for upper caste men increased from 73.22 percent to 82.92 percent when compared to lower caste males. When comparing the female Dalit enrolment rate, which climbed from 15.72 percent to 32.61 percent, to their upper-caste counterparts, whose enrolment rate

⁹³ Ramesh Babu P. (2018): Education and Empowerment: A Study on Dalits in Nizams Hyderabad and Coastal Andhra Pradesh 1906-1956, an unpublished thesis submitted to University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.

⁹⁴ Madari, G. B. (1991). Bhagyodayam—Madari Bhagya Reddy Varma (Life Sketch and Mission of Bhagya Reddy Varma). *Hyderabad: Adi-Hindu Social Service League Trust*.

increased from 43.56 percent to 59.15 percent, the results were much worse.⁹⁵ With low ratios of Dalit to non-Dalit achievement in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education, the education gap may also be seen as extending across the educational system. Despite tremendous progress in boosting enrolment rates in India, statistics reveal that the education gap between castes has remained relatively unchanged. The failure of numerous attempts to achieve social equality within the Indian Caste system over the last 150 years may be observed in the Dalit primary enrolment rate.

"The purpose of primary education is to guarantee that every child who attends an elementary school does not leave it just when he becomes literate, but also for the rest of his life," according to primary education. However, data show that just eighteen out of every hundred children who enroll in a 61 primary school get it to the fourth grade, while the rest, or eighty-two out of one hundred, are illiterate. He believes the government must invest sufficient funds to ensure that "each kid that enrolls in an elementary school needs to complete the fourth grade."⁹⁶ Dalit children in impacted countries have a greater prevalence of primary school illiteracy than other children. Despite recent improvements in Dalit literacy rates, there is still a considerable literacy gap between them and other youngsters. Bangladeshi research claims that 96 percent of the country's estimated 5.5 million Dalits are illiterate.⁹⁷ Aside from prohibiting Dalits from receiving an education, pervasive illiteracy also makes it difficult for them to find work.⁹⁸ According to a UNICEF assessment from 2006, pupils "robotically go through 5 years of primary school and emerge hardly educated."⁹⁹ Poor educational quality, according to the same study, is a crucial factor in explaining the low primary school completion rates. Dalit children, particularly in elementary school, have a significant dropout rate. The primary school dropout rate among Dalits in India is 44.27 percent, this has been recorded in the UNICEF report, according to Nepalese data, the Dalit population's proportion of illiteracy and enrollment rates are significantly different. Although the general dropout rate has dropped, in some nations the gap between Dalits and other children has risen. The dropout rate disparity between Dalit and non-Dalit

⁹⁵Desai, M., & Goel, S. (2018). Rights of Dalit and Tribal Children to Non-discrimination and Inclusion. In *Child Rights Education for Inclusion and Protection* (pp. 67-103). Springer, Singapore.

⁹⁶Ambedkar, B. R., & Moon, V. (1979). Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches.

⁹⁷Glasius, M., & Pleyers, G. (2013). The global moment of 2011: Democracy, social justice and dignity. *Development and change*, 44(3), 547-567.

⁹⁸Human Rights Watch. (2007). *Hidden Apartheid Caste Discrimination against India's "Untouchables"* (Vol. 19, No. 3). Human Rights Watch.

⁹⁹UNICEF. (2006). *The state of the world's children 2007: women and children: the double dividend of gender equality* (Vol. 7). UNICEF.

youth in India has grown from 4.39 percent in 1989 to 16.21 percent in 2008.¹⁰⁰ Dalit children face severe humiliating structural discrimination, estrangement, and abuse in schools that they are usually forced to drop out.

One of the most serious issues is teachers' discriminatory behavior. "Teachers have been known to declare that Dalit pupils cannot learn unless they are beaten," wrote the Special Rapporteur on the right to education in 2006.¹⁰¹ Teachers' discriminatory practices against Dalit children include corporal punishment, restriction of access to school water supplies, separation in classrooms, and forcing Dalit children to undertake manual scavenging on and around school premises.¹⁰² Indirect discrimination by teachers, such as neglect, repeated blaming, and labelling Dalit students as poor performers, leads to the social exclusion of Dalit students in schools, according to a Nepalese study on caste-based discrimination in schools. As a result, students had irregular attendance in class, were less focused in class, were less involved in extracurricular activities, had lower grades, were more likely to fail, and were more likely to drop out of school.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Dalit students suffer from discrimination from their peers and the community in general, notably from members of upper castes who regard Dalit schooling as a waste of time and a danger. This is linked to a belief among some higher castes that educated Dalits pose a threat to village hierarchies and power dynamics, and that Dalits are inherently incapable of learning.¹⁰⁴ A range of different reasons lead to high drop-out rates. The low educational level of Dalits is caused by a mix of social and physiological causes. Another underlying reason for Dalit children's high dropout rate is the extreme poverty in which most Dalit families live. Many parents simply cannot afford to send their children to school and rely on their employment to support their families. The distance to schools is also seen as a significant barrier for Dalit children, and one of the reasons for their low enrolment and high dropout rates. Dalit families frequently live in remote areas, away from the main

¹⁰⁰Subramanian, M. (2016). Educational Status of Dalit girls in India: An evaluative study. *Journal of Innovative Education Strategies*, 5(1), 30.

¹⁰¹Bob, C. (2007). "Dalit rights are human rights": Caste discrimination, international activism, and the construction of a new human rights issue. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 29, 167.

¹⁰²Subramanian, M. (2016). Educational Status of Dalit girls in India: An evaluative study. *Journal of Innovative Education Strategies*, 5(1), 30.

¹⁰³Muniraju, M. Dalits Educational Status in Karnataka: An Overview. *New Horizons of Dalit Culture And Literature*, 17.

¹⁰⁴Vasavi, A. R., Chand, P. V. S., & Shukla, S. R. (1997). Blueprint for rural primary education how viable? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3181-3184.

villages and schools, due to the unwillingness of higher caste groups to live alongside Dalits.

There are two major implications of this residential pattern. For starters, due to caste tensions, schools are located within the main villages, and thus within higher caste areas, making it difficult for Dalit children to gain access to schools. Second, Dalit children frequently drop out of school due to the great physical distance, which is simply too great to walk on a daily basis.¹⁰⁵ Migrant labour is another aspect that contributes to the high dropout rates. Many Dalits are impoverished and are compelled to work as migratory laborers since it is frequently the only option for their family to live financially. Dalit children's schooling is frequently disrupted as a result of continual relocation in pursuit of jobs, and they are still unable keep up with other student's school growth.¹⁰⁶ Finally, many schools suffer from a lack of suitable facilities. Many public schools have substandard facilities, such as a lack of classrooms, basic infrastructure, qualified teachers, and instructional materials. Dr. Ambedkar always encouraged the oppressed masses to improve their circumstances and make progress in all areas of life. He believed that unless Primary Education was made compulsory and strictly enforced, conditions for the Backward Classes' educational advancement would not exist.

Higher education discrimination Intolerance, prejudice, and harassment against Dalits are not limited to elementary schools. Several incidents of discrimination by senior upper-caste students, teachers, faculties, and administrations have occurred in higher education institutions. Teachers ignore Dalit students and unfairly fail them in exams, social exclusion and physical abuse, and the university administration's unwillingness to assist and support Dalits are all examples of caste bias. A disproportionate number of Dalit students have committed suicide as a result of this harassment.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, between 2008 and 2011, 18 Dalit students in India committed suicide in one of the country's top institutions, with Rohith Vemula's death at Hyderabad Central University being the most egregious example of discrimination against Dalit students in Indian universities. This figure only includes the official cases. The number of Dalit students who

¹⁰⁵UNICEF. (2006). *The state of the world's children 2007: women and children: the double dividend of gender equality* (Vol. 7). UNICEF.

¹⁰⁶Bob, C. (2007). "Dalit rights are human rights": Caste discrimination, international activism, and the construction of a new human rights issue. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 29, 167.

¹⁰⁷TheDeathofMerit': A.DocumentarytheDeathofMerit.wordpress.com

committed suicide as a result of incessant discrimination is likely to be much higher if their families did not protest.¹⁰⁸

In relation to Dalit higher education, Babasaheb emphasized the importance of self-respect and self-elevation in the minds of his people. He urged them to pursue higher education in order to advance. He believed that a community's progress was always determined by how well its members progressed in school. As a result, he prioritized higher education over primary education. Dr. Ambedkar advocated for giving teachers the necessary freedom to create their own syllabi and assess their students' performance in higher education.

He founded the People's Education Society (P.E.S.) in 1945, and on June 20, 1946, he inaugurated a college. He established the institution in order to promote higher education among the lower middle classes, particularly the scheduled castes. P.E.S. later established high schools, night high schools, hostels, colleges, and other educational institutions. Despite the fact that he founded the People's Education Society, he believed that the government should bear the greater responsibility for providing educational opportunities. "University education in India is in crisis," remarked noted Indian economist and Nobel Laureate Prof. Amartya Sen, addressing delegates at the four-day South Asian conference on Education held at Delhi University from November 14, 1999. It is not a resource shortage crisis. It is a deterioration of quality. If it comes to higher education, there is also no way around pursuing the finest quality possible. His single-point strategy for reviving university life in a country was to improve quality. There is substantial concern about the quality of higher education across the country. Almost every week, stories about the lamentable status of not just higher education but also primary education can be found in major newspapers, journals, and magazines. In an interview with one of Jawaharlal Nehru University's students in April 2006, Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat, who comes from a Dalit family and is the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, noted that "The University Grants Commission's objective is to provide education that is relevant to society and individuals, while also maintaining quality and promoting human values.

The University Grants Commission is committed to maintaining the quality and standard of higher education research in order to meet worldwide standards," Both

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

experts are adamant that the quality of higher education must be enhanced. Quality should be improved at all levels, especially colleges and universities. By preserving the quality of education, higher education in India must be capable of meeting the global convention. There is now a competition to increase the quality of higher education throughout India. Keep in mind that in 1995, there were just 27 universities and 568 colleges, but in 2006, there were 343 institutions and 16,865 colleges catering to a booming population of approximately one billion people. Every year, the number of colleges and institutions grows.

Caste discrimination is expressly outlawed in several of the afflicted nations' constitutions. However, most of these countries fail to take specific legislative action to address the issue. India is an exception, and throughout the years, many legal measures and affirmative action measures, such as reservation regulations and quotas, were implemented to protect the rights of the country's significant Dalit community. There are several examples of how affirmative action policies have benefited the most vulnerable. For Scheduled Caste students, for example, the elementary school tuition price has been removed, and incentives like as free textbooks, uniforms, and stationery have been offered. Out of 43,000 scholarships for talented children from rural areas, 13,000 have been given to Scheduled Caste children.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, implementation of such measures continues to be highly inadequate. Below are examples of the non-enforcement of special measures and barriers to effectively improving the educational status of the Dalits in India:

1. In India, reservation regulations and criteria for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes only apply to public institutions, not private schools. Furthermore, Dalits who've already converted to Christianity or Islam, for example, are not eligible for these laws.
2. 15% of seats in higher education are designated for Scheduled Castes. This is also true of technical education schools. However, certain reserved places in higher education technical and professional courses remain empty.
3. Universities often fail to adapt to the University Grant Commission's (UGC) guidelines for Dalit students (Government of India).

¹⁰⁹Thresia, C. U. (2018). Health inequalities in South Asia at the launch of sustainable development goals: Exclusions in health in Kerala, India need political interventions. *International Journal of Health Services*, 48(1), 57-80.

The widespread discrimination against Dalits throughout the entire educational system indicate that more needs to be done by affected governments to ensure implementation of laws, programmes and quotas. And still, due to the poverty that has been rampant in the lives of Dalits and social prejudices that have been imposed, Dalits are still lagging behind the access of primary and higher education as well. Although, as stated by Gramsci, the intellectual class which means, people who came from elite backgrounds or creators of the education system were changed as social despotic and agents of rulers. These rulers have used education system as mighty weapon to establish their present economic and political power, Ambedkar saw it as powerful weapon not only for lively hood and it would definitely support to change the society. Whatever the efforts either by government or by social visionaries like Ambedkar, the volume of Dalit education has been intensified from the past decades.

Celebration of Ambedkar Jayanthi as a festival for the Dalits:

For the establishment of human values and egalitarian society, from Buddha to Ambedkar had fought against the Brahmanical hegemony which created the caste system. The inspiration of their struggles is what we are building the statues of social revolutionaries. Celebration of Ambedkar Jayanthi in entire India is Dalit identity and symbol of self-respect for the Dalits. Since Ambedkar's death, tens of thousands of people have been commemorating his tireless efforts to help disadvantaged people by erecting monuments of him in the center of every hamlet and town in India. The pointing finger on Ambedkar monuments represents instructing or teaching the nation about democracy and fraternity.

The politics of spreading Dalit imagery is one of visibility and expressing one's right to use public places. Conflicts over such imagery, however, arise on a regular basis because of the higher castes' fear of losing their authority. Installation of the Ambedkar statue led to atrocities against the Dalits. For instance, Clashes between the Thakurs and Dalits of Shabbirpur village, 25 kms away from Saharanpur city in western UP, began on 14 April 2017 over the proposed installation of a statue of Ambedkar, an icon of Dalit pride, as part of the annual Ambedkar Jayanti celebrations. The Thakurs raised an objection to the same citing the lack of administrative permission. This first confrontation raised communitarian tensions in the village. Soon after, when the Thakurs took out a procession memorializing medieval Rajput ruler Maharana Pratap,

they were stalled by the Dalits citing the same reason of lack of administrative consent. This second confrontation escalated to systematic acts of violence against the Dalits and their property, who soon fled enmasse from the village. The third round of clashes took place when Mayawati visited Shabbirpur on 23 May 2017 resulting in the death of one Dalit and grave injury to many. Reports suggest that one person was shot and five sustained sword injuries during the violent clash. Two of the injured were in a critical state.

In the 1970s, Dalit communities began to install Ambedkar sculptures. The political procedures accompanying such acts of declaration by Dalits were as problematic as they are presently in Shabbirpur. On 14 April 1978 in Agra, the Ambedkar Jayanti procession of the Jatavs (Chamars), which was carrying an Ambedkar statue on an elephant, was attacked while passing through an upper-caste neighborhood, according to Owen M Lynch¹¹⁰ the consequent turmoil was used by the upper castes to pressure the authorities to change the route of the annual Dalit parade. In response to the government's surrender, the Jatavs attacked government buildings and clashed with high castes and police, resulting in a lot of arrests and ten deaths. Peace was restored only after the army interfered and the administration heeded the aspirations of the Scheduled Castes.

As an icon, Ambedkar has come to symbolize Dalit identity. The spread of his iconography in caste-ridden public spaces as a vehicle for Dalit sociopolitical aspirations and assertions reveals a process of "deep politicization" in Indian society.¹¹¹ It is a process that installs in Dalits both self-confidence and pride in themselves, as well as tolerance for upper castes. The emergence of Dalit visibility in politics is not seen as a democratization or expansion of the sphere of dignity of Dalits in the Indian polity. These assertions are seen by the affronted upper castes as a threat to their social dominance, which has been historically legitimized and justified by village society. Thus, in the context of proliferating Dalit iconography in the villages of north India, there are two types of political movements at work: I Dalit movement of self-pride at rising social visibility, and (ii) upper castes' fear of threatened hegemonic control. As a

¹¹⁰Lynch, O. M. (1981). Rioting as rational action: An interpretation of the April 1978 riots in Agra. *Economic and Political weekly*, 1951-1956.

¹¹¹Rock, C. L., Dechert, R. E., Khilnani, R., Parker, R. S., & Rodriguez, J. L. (1997). Carotenoids and antioxidant vitamins in patients after burn injury. *The Journal of burn care & rehabilitation*, 18(3), 269-278.

result of these two political movements engendered in the face of Dalit art and politics, violence is the result.

Every year, since Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was chief minister of united Andhra Pradesh, Ambedkar's owning people, most likely dalits and minorities, have been celebrating his birth anniversary at Tank Bund in an unprecedented manner. Ravindra Bharathi, on the other hand, had celebrated during Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao's reign. On the one hand, a large number of people will participate in cultural activities and folk dances, while on the other hand, distinguished lectures will be held in front of the Ambedkar statue by the government of Andhra Pradesh. It appears to be a colorful Dalit festival held across India. Dalits in Maharashtra march in the streets in honor of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. During Ambedkar's birthday celebrations, Dalits consume intoxicants for their amusement, believing that this is their small tribute to his torchbearer. The upper castes do not want to see the Ambedkar caravan pass through their pious streets, so they do not want to see him in procession. There have been numerous instances where atrocities have occurred.¹¹²

The 125th anniversary of Ambedkar's birth has prompted commemoration, celebration, and commentary in the days leading up to April 14, 2016. The commemoration of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar has drawn a larger crowd than in the past. Most notably, there was a concerted effort on the part of the Hindu right to appropriate him, while the parliamentary left has recently reawakened interest in him. Student politics at Indian colleges are increasingly embracing Ambedkar's persona. On the one hand, the BJP administration appropriates current icons such as Sardar Patel and Bhimrao Ambedkar, who have no historical ties to the party, while labeling students who advocate for Ambedkar as "subversive" and "anti-national. Moreover, the prime minister made repeated emotive allusions to Ambedkar in his talks, and costly structures were being constructed in Delhi and London near Ambedkar's home (primrose).

The over four-month-long Bhim Yatra, which ended a day before B R Ambedkar's 125th birthday celebrations, brought to light the plight of the Dalits' most downtrodden members, the manual scavengers. While there are a number of laws in place to prevent manual scavenging, they are mostly on paper. On the one hand, the BJP administration appropriates modern symbols like Sardar Patel and Bhimrao Ambedkar, who have no

¹¹² https://www.mea.gov.in/Images/attach/amb/Volume_05.pdf

historical ties to the party, while branding students who promote Ambedkar as "subversive" and "anti-national" on another. A group of Dalits who work as manual scavengers gathered in the capital as the world prepared for the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar. They had marched 3,500 kilometers since beginning their journey in Dibrugarh, Assam, more than four months ago. The Bhim Yatra, a 125-day manual scavengers' march that crossed 500 districts in 30 states, arrived at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi on April 13, 2016. The Dalits had assembled under the name of the Safai Karmachari Andolan (SKA), and their shouts of agony, "Do Not Kill Us," related to the approximately 22,000 unsung killings of sanitation workers each year, which had been recognized just a month before by BJP Parliament member Tarun Vijay in the Rajya Sabha. Several children narrated horrifying tales of their relatives succumbing to this heinous practice, tears streaming down their cheeks and their voices choking. The stories exemplified a terrible contradiction. While Ambedkar is being hailed as a hero, the people for whom he lived and fought must scrounge for survival. While Ambedkar was an imposing presence as an inspiring icon during the Bhim Yatra, the "Ambedkarites" were noticeably absent. The struggle of the poor scavengers was supported by prominent progressives, but the self-proclaimed Ambedkarites were conspicuous by their absence. Ambedkar's birthday has been widely commemorated in other countries. Ambedkar's 127th birthday was recently commemorated by the Ambedkar International Mission. The Jayanti celebration drew more than 250 people. These attendees came from all over the world, including Australia and India, as well as states in the United States such as Maryland, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Connecticut, Delaware, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. The Jayanti celebration began with flowers being placed on the photo of emancipator Dr. Babasaheb and candles being lit in front of the statue of Lord Buddha. One of our AIM members wrote and composed a Jayanti celebration song, which was played at the end of the event. This uplifting music set the tone for the celebration, which was followed by venerable Bhante Rewata's Dhamma discourse.

A mesmerizing "Bharatanatyam Welcome Dance" performance by a well-known professional dance group followed. People from various cultural backgrounds came forward to salute Nation Builder Ambedkar, demonstrating inclusivity and expansion in the representation. The AIM Kids panel discussion was one of the highlights of the event, demonstrating how our cultural platform is fostering the next generation of

scholars. The participants in the AIM Kids Panel Discussion shared their thoughts and opinions on the topic of stress management in the context of studies and homework. I'm also proud to have written those. AIM Kids also presented a high-quality PowerPoint presentation for their age group on various topics related to Dr. Ambedkar and Buddhism. Ms. Cynthia Stephen, a guest speaker, emphasized Dr. Ambedkar's significant contribution to the development of modern India. She also mentioned a few of her upcoming social empowerment initiatives.

Mr. Jayant Cherian, the distinguished Speaker, informed them about the Dalit movement in Kerala and its challenges, as well as the importance of digital technology in the process change. While giving an overview of AIM's origins, Mr. Raju Kamble also shared the organization's founding principles and emphasized the importance of cultural activities in such events. This encourages children to participate and introduces them to Ambedkarism and Buddhism, which aids in the development of future activists and leaders. This is evidenced by the high quality of the children's panel discussion and PowerPoint presentation we saw at the event. The event continued with professional-level performances by AIM members that created a festive ambiance that kept the audience engaged. Senior AIM members discussed a variety of programmes, such as the Global Emancipation Network, and how AIM was always vital in campaigning for the rights given in the Indian constitution by its key creator, Dr. BR Ambedkar, across the political spectrum. Prof. Jayashree Kamble spoke on AIM's student mentoring initiatives and urged the crowd to support AIM's efforts to maintain student mentorship.

Mr. Suraj Yengde, a Harvard University fellow gave a brief glance at impressive statistical data on inequality and lacking representation of weaker section in all major institutions educational, judiciary, bureaucracy etc. Every year AIM team is demonstrating par excellence in organizing events with the manifest to continue spreading the legacy of Babasaheb. It is not least to mention that it was a professionally organized event right from a time punctuality to keep attendees engaged till the end of the program. There are many organizations and institutions in the name of Ambedkar that celebrate his birth anniversaries every year in grand manner across the world.

Thus, the celebrations of Indian architect of the constitution Dr. B.R.Ambedkar has been continuing in a huge manner right from his demise by upholding his thoughts and contributions. Gradually the importance of the Ambedkar came into limelight to gain

Dalit votes for mainstream political parties. AIM's senior member spoke about the organization's various projects, including the Global Empowerment Network, and how AIM has been instrumental in advocating for the rights guaranteed in the Indian constitution by its chief architect, Dr. BR Ambedkar, across the political spectrum. Prof. Jayashree Kamble gave a presentation on AIM's student mentoring activities and appealed for continued support for AIM.

Poverty and the Dalits:

AIM's senior members spoke about their various projects, including the Global Empowerment Network, and how AIM has been instrumental in advocating for the rights guaranteed in the Indian constitution by its chief architect, Dr. BR Ambedkar, across the spectrum. Prof. Jayashree Kamble gave a presentation on AIM's student mentoring activities and appealed for continued support for AIM's student mentoring activities. The government began distributing lands to Dalits in all of Madras presidency's districts in 1930. Agriculture provides a living for the vast majority of SC families, mostly as agricultural laborers and some from farming operations. A significant portion of SCs work in allied occupations such as dairy, piggery, sheep and goat rearing, poultry, and so on. According to the 2001 census, the state of A.P. has nearly 1,23,39,496 SC residents, accounting for 16.2 percent of the total population of 7,62,100,007 people. According to an analysis of the distribution of Government waste lands, a total of 10,15,424 acres were distributed to 7,84,217 SC beneficiaries out of a total of 48,30,712 acres distributed to 33,79,699 beneficiaries under the Government lands distribution programme. Only 21% of the land distributed to SCs under the above programme is owned by them. So far, a total of Ac. 2,32,221 has been distributed to 1,88,086 SC beneficiaries under the ceiling surplus land distribution programme, out of a total of Ac. 5,85,670 distributed to 4,58,271 beneficiaries. The proportion of ceiling surplus lands distributed to SCs amounts to 40%¹¹³ The average size of SC holdings has decreased significantly from 1.19 hectare to 0.83 hectare between 1976-77 and 2000-2001.¹¹⁴ Despite land distribution and crash initiatives, 89% of Dalits still lack land or have tiny properties of less than an acre. As a result, despite 68 years of government efforts and many lands reform laws, access to land for the economically

¹¹³Yonglin, F. (2000). Cultural Interflow at the Age of Multiculturalism—A Report on CCLA 99 Annual Conference and International Symposium on Comparative Literature and Cross-Cultural Communications. *Comparative Literature: East & West*, 1(1), 168-174.

¹¹⁴Kumar, C. K. Landholding pattern of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

excluded has not increased. One of the most difficult tasks facing today's policymakers is ensuring that the advantages of social welfare programmes reach their intended beneficiaries. The Society for the Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP) in Andhra Pradesh has developed the Unnathi-POP plan to solve this issue and ensure that the poorest of the poor in disadvantaged communities receive enough benefits. The Unnathi Niru Pedala Samagra Abhivrudhi, as the initiative is known in Telugu, was launched in March 2010 with the goal of providing help in the form of better living that will secure an annual income of Rs. 60,000 for each impoverished family for three years the length that SERP thinks is adequate for a home to emerge from poverty. SERP is a self-governing entity within the Andhra Pradesh government's rural development department. Its goal is to reduce poverty and enhance the quality of life for the rural poor by giving a variety of livelihood options. Unnati addresses the ultra-poor in Andhra Pradesh's rural societies and gives assistance in the form of livelihoods. "The lowest 20% of the population is currently the poorest and most vulnerable in respect of access to basic privileges, livelihoods, and human development," says H. Subbaraju, head of the Unnati initiative. "More than 80% of them are from Dalit and tribal groups. Both communities have huge gaps in development. Rural Andhra Pradesh has 4.2 million scheduled caste and tribe (SC and ST) households, with another million in the cities. Government officials can also use the technology to get a more accurate picture of who is eligible for ration cards, job cards, pensions, government health insurance, and housing. SERP implemented stringent validation and control mechanisms to ensure the accuracy of information in its database, which is critical to the project's success. Prior to field visits, information from as many as 14 government databases is compiled and cross-checked on the ground by 11,344 community activists selected from poor families.

Initially, the project covered 620,000 SC and ST families in 3,163-gram panchayats (village councils) from 339 mandals (sub-districts) across 22 rural districts of the state. Family member details, health status, assets and liabilities of a family, as well as access to drinking water, toilets, housing, gas connections, banking services, and government schemes and entitlements are all verified through household surveys (ration cards, etc.). The questionnaire is made up of 162 fields and spans ten pages. The baseline data is collected in both English and Telugu. A web application developed by Infosys Ltd, a provider of information technology services, is used to upload the data to a database. In

2011, the partnership came to an end. It's fascinating to see what SERP does with the data. On the basis of parameters such as land ownership, livestock ownership, livelihood choices, credit linkages, skill sets, and employment status, software developed by Visakhapatnam-based technology provider blue frog analyzes the data and automatically shortlists the poorest of the poor among the disadvantaged communities. Households with higher incomes receive higher scores, while those with lower incomes receive lower scores. Families with the lowest scores are first considered for government-sponsored livelihood development programmes. Widowed women, single mothers, illiterate families, primitive tribal groups, bonded laborers, and people with disabilities or chronic illnesses are all given negative marks, putting them higher on the priority list. The computerized rankings are sent to the village organizations for final verification at a public meeting to avoid machine-made errors. Poor households are gaining confidence as a result of the transparency. SERP has expanded Unnati to cover 1.02 million families across 22,000-gram panchayats in 621 mandals in its third phase. The project has identified 180,000 families who are eligible for assistance, but only 110,000 families have chosen to participate. This is because, according to M. Senthil Rajan, a SERP consultant, the programme does not disburse direct cash in an attempt to prevent money misuse. While SERP distributes funds to village organizations in the form of grants, poor families are responsible for reimbursing these organizations for the costs incurred in the acquisition of assets. The money is used to help other poor families in the village who are on the waiting list. Sixty-six percent of the beneficiaries choose livestock as a source of income, while the rest prefer to start small businesses or receive farming assistance in the form of seeds, land leases, and fertilizers.

Livelihood assets provide a source of income for poor families, improving their living standards and resulting in higher human development indices among the rural population. "Social inequities will reduce as disadvantaged families improve their financial status," argues Subbaraju. SERP keeps track of how the assets are being used through community activists, who also assist the households and keep track of their progress for three years or until they are no longer poor. Unnathi is entirely reliant on ICT due to its effective use of mobile technologies and web-based software (information and communication technology). SERP also ensures that members of a

household receive the benefits of various government schemes to which they are entitled as part of the initiative.

Andhra Pradesh's tribal welfare and social welfare departments are collaborating with SERP to help implement their programmes among tribal and scheduled caste POP families, following their success with poor households. To cover an additional 120,000 households, the social welfare and tribal welfare departments have committed to disbursing Rs.120 crore and Rs.50 crore, respectively. The platform also aids officials at the district and mandal levels in tracking fund flow throughout the ecosystem, from fund status to final recipients. The precise micro-level data is also assisting district administration in identifying underperforming mandals and taking corrective action. The data is currently being integrated with databases containing land information for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, bank linkages, and health and nutrition information. SERP is collecting data from another 3.2 million Dalit and tribal families in rural Andhra Pradesh after completing its initial goal of assessing a million families. According to Subbaraju, about 60% of the work has been completed.

Illiterate of Dalit Women:

The Dalit women's socioeconomic profile graphically illustrates the effects of patriarchy and caste oppression on Dalit women. In a caste-based society, the exploitation of dalit women has been a constant feature. Dalit women face numerous disadvantages as a result of their status as Dalits and women, as well as the triple oppression of caste, class, and gender. In India, Dalit women are a highly volatile and sensitive topic. Indeed, this theme is very much relevant in current times, especially in the context of current debate on deregulation and liberalization of the Indian economy. Unlike Adivasi culture Dalit culture is not seen as a thing of beauty. While Adivasis are exoticized as the nature loving guardians of a unique tribal culture, the differences that distinguish Dalits are highly stigmatizing. At the heart of Dalit stigma is their consumption of beef, their residence in the most degraded space of the village and their connection with death, blackness and pollution. These inhibit a romanticization of Dalits way of life and have prevented Dalits from making claims about any kind of culture in the same way as Adivasis. But this is now changing. Dalit women are unlike their dominant caste counterparts in many ways. The main distinction is, of course, labor force participation rates. Dalit women work outside the home and are the primary

breadwinners in some cases. Dalit women are exploited as a result of their "caste, class, gender, and faith" and are "subjected to multiple forms of oppression." Historically, Dalit women were forced into legalized prostitution as god's maid servants as dancers, singers, and prostitutes in the name of Hindu faith. They refer to them as Joginies, Basavies, and Devadasis.

The growth of a rich agrarian elite, led by that of the Kammas and Reddys, coincided with the Dalits' electoral ascendancy; it was closely tied to it. Dalits account for approximately thirteen million people in Andhra Pradesh, or 16 percent of the state's population, but the majority are Malas and Madigas. Madigas are the largest Dalit caste, accounting for 42 percent of the population, with a population of over six million. Both castes are found throughout the state, with a higher concentration of Malas in coastal Andhra and Madigas in Telangana.

Fifty Years after independence, ritual pollution, caste exploitation, and all the other legacies of Indian civilization that those who oppose affirmative action in the name of efficiency choose to ignore, and that those who oppose it for more prejudiced motives would like to perpetuate, are still alive and well, cheering up the nation's less polluting 'citizens.' The images of all of this were graphically displayed at the All-India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA Convention)'s against Untouchability and Dalit Women's Oppression on December 20, 1998 in Delhi¹¹⁵. All of the events at the convention highlighted the need to address the specific issue of caste oppression, which exacerbates the burdens imposed by patriarchal exploitation in general. The convention brought together thousands of Dalit women from Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh, as well as several guest speakers and AIDWA activists and sympathizers. The attendance of over a thousand people was impressive. A purely Dalit or purely feminist movement will not be sufficient to assist Dalit women. But it doesn't matter. The Dalit women who attended the Convention Against Untouchability and Dalit Women's Oppression were eager to assist one another. There was pride in a new identity, in being able to withstand hardships, and in having the strength and courage to wage attrition battles, even as they narrated their problems and humiliations.

¹¹⁵Agnihotri, I. (2011). Gender, Identity and Politics: Addressing Commonalty with Difference. *Women and Politics in Asia: A Springboard for Democracy?*, 15, 123.

Dalit Women's Movements delves into the emergence of Dalit Bahujan women as a political collectivity that requires separate organization and theorization from both an elite feminist movement and a masculinist Dalit movement. An essay by Meenakshi Moon and Urmila Pawar, which documents the extensive and transformative role of women in the Dalit liberation movement from the early twentieth century, opens the collection. Following this work of historical recovery, a series of essays examine the need for a separate Dalit Bahujan women's movement, particularly in relation to the elite feminist movement that has dominated the definition of women's issues since the early twentieth century. The essays in this section are concerned with issues of experience, authenticity, representation, and voice – specifically, how 'Dalit Women Talk Differently' from elite women, Dalit men, and each other, as Gopal Guru's essay title suggests. A provocative excerpt on 'Man-Woman Relations' from Kancha Ilaiah's important book, *Why I Am Not a Hindu*, emphasizes the stark difference between Dalit and caste Hindu sexual-social relationships, claiming that “manwoman relations among Dalit-Bahujans do not go beyond 'natural' relationships,” whereas such relationships among Hindus are "conditioned by manipulations and deception.”¹¹⁶

Despite significant women's movements in Andhra Pradesh, Dalit women were hampered; indeed, the untouchables in Indian women's movement were a weak weapon, denying Dalit women equal status with women from higher castes. Unfortunately, most of the literature on women's movements focuses on the participation of women from higher castes. In reality, they were relegated to second place as women. In the Indian women's movement, there is no leadership of Dalit women at the local, regional, national, or international levels. Higher caste women fight for gender equality in order to reclaim and expand space, whereas Dalit women fight not only patriarchy but also caste and class. The Karamchedu incident in 1985 is remembered as a watershed moment for Dalit women, as it was the catalyst for a proliferation of critical mobilization of Dalit women on issues of caste and patriarchy both within and outside the community. The age of Dalit women is rapidly approaching. In the Karamchedu movement, it was Suvartamma's simple refusal to obey the dominant caste that triggered a storm of retaliation against the Dalits by the dominant caste, with the chief minister refusing to offer assistance. Alisamma, a key witness to the Karamchedu

¹¹⁶Shepherd, K. I. (2019). *Why I am not a Hindu: A Sudra critique of Hindutva philosophy, culture and political economy*. SAGE Publications India.

massacre, was assassinated by upper caste landlords for her graphic account of the entire incident. Dalit women who took part in the Karamchedu movement mustered their support in subsequent Dalit struggles and played a key role in a variety of struggles over land, livelihood, patriarchy, and caste oppression and atrocities. Malnourished, afflicted, and lonely rural Dalit women began the well-known anti-liquor agitation in Andhra Pradesh in 1992, which was backed by ruling caste educated women. Dalit women formed a land and rights movement. In 2003, under the banner of Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahila Sangham, which was founded by Katti Padma Rao, a massive mass rally called for the land. The Dalit Women Literary Parishad was founded in 1989 by B.M Leela Kumari, a lawyer by profession and activist, to raise awareness of Dalit women's hidden realities¹¹⁷. During the Karmchedu and Chundur movements, she was one of the most progressive Dalit women activists. Gaddam Jhansi, a dalit woman activist, founded Dalit Stree Shakthi. The literary creativity of Dalit women was largely unknown in the mainstream literary world, but a few dalit women writers took the initiative to express their literary creativity. In the name of Nallapoddu, Gogu Shyamala published an outstanding creative anthology of Dalit women writers and activists. B.Vijaya Bharathi, Sharat Jyotsna Rani, Jupaka Subhadra, Vinodini M.M., and Chandra stree have established themselves as some of the most popular Dalit women writers and activists.

Due to their shrinking space in democracy, Dalit women's issues are critical in the context of the Dalit movement. Despite strong women's movements since the 1970s, Dalit women's voices have gone unheard. Dalit women are the worst of the Dalit periphery. Interestingly, movement leaders like K.G. Satyamurty, Bojja Tarakam, Katti Padma Rao, and Gaddar, Masterji have elevated the issue of Dalit women to the forefront of their practical political and intellectual work. They stressed that the fight for Dalit emancipation must include issues such as Dalit women's equality and commitment to their rights and freedom. They enthusiastically supported Dalit women's transitions from the kitchens to the factory modern world. The Dalit women's enthusiastic participation in the Dalit movement was widespread, and they occupied prominent positions in agitation rallies and procession.

¹¹⁷Kumari, B. L. (2009). The Untouchable” Dalits” of India and their Spiritual Destiny. *Another World is Possible: Spiritualities and Religions of Global Darker Peoples*, 9-30.

In caste society, violence against Dalit women is a common occurrence. Several instances have been documented by feminist organizations. Women associated with reformers or nationalists, primarily upper caste amendments to Hindu marriage law, were the first wave of feminists in India. Rather than focusing on survival, these first-wave feminists were preoccupied with issues of status. The issue of violence against women, both inside and outside the home, was politicized by India's second wave feminists, who formed autonomous groups. In metropolitan areas, free legal offices and counseling clubs were formed, and street performances and posters were used to raise awareness on the issue of violence. The law against rape and the Dowry Prohibition Act were amended as a result of several such campaigns. Because upper caste men have had customary access to Dalit women's sexuality, rape of Dalit women may not be considered rape at all in several cases. The word for rape in almost all regional languages in India is equivalent to the phrase stealing the honor of, and because lower caste women have no honor to speak of as a result of their severe oppression, their right to redress is frequently denied. As a result of the ongoing caste conflicts, Dalit women are raped. In rural India, Dalit defiance of caste restrictions has frequently resulted in arson and gang rapes of lower caste women. Lower caste women in Andhra Pradesh have organized anti-arrack movements at the local level, posing a threat to the state because arrack accounts for the majority of the state's revenue.

STATES:

Rank	States	Total Number of Crimes (%)	Murder	Crime against Women	SC/ST*	Minor IPC Crimes**
1	Uttar Pradesh	10426 (26%)	271	3117	1065	5401
2	Bihar	5701 (14%)	54	45	253	5080
3	Rajasthan	5134 (13%)	66	641	106	4353
4	MP	4922 (12%)	81	1833	4	3369
5	Andhra Pradesh	2335 (6%)	25	748	446	1320

Source: Dalit Stree Shakti report, 2016.

*(Prevention of atrocities) act only (without IPC)

** May include cases under Simple hurt, Trespass, Mischief, Use of Abuse Language/ Act and Criminal Intimidation etc.

The burden of the institutionalized oppressive system falls primarily on the shoulders of Dalit women. Sexual violence against Dalit women is a systemic way of maintaining the Dalit status quo. Due to multiple forms of discrimination, Dalit women and girls are disproportionately vulnerable to violence and rape. They are denied all rights, and Dalit girl children are denied basic education, according to various national and international reports and agencies. Dalit girls have alarmingly high dropout rates when compared to the national average. Discrimination and segregation in schools are well known for forcing Dalit girls out of school and forcing them into child labor and modern slavery. Similarly, discrimination based on caste and gender in the delivery of health care, water, sanitation, and other basic services is a major barrier for Dalit women, severely limiting their welfare and opportunities. UN agencies and major international human rights and development NGOs have repeatedly documented this discrimination. Despite

numerous studies, and the visible oppression practiced on Dalit women, there was none to give voice to them. DSS (Dalit Stree Shakti) was born in the context of this utter neglect of the sections at the bottom of the yoke caste hierarchy. Since its start in January 2006, DSS has provided a forum for Dalit women and successfully tackled all problems affecting Dalit women and girls in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, including recording and raising awareness about inter and intracommunity violence against Dalit women, gender inequities, and denial of socioeconomic and political rights. DSS has succeeded in providing voice to the hopeless Dalit women and facilities them to identify oneself and be eloquent over its tough but successful journey over the past decade. It has led the Dalit women to think about their role as an individual, in the family and society. This made them shift their thinking towards what is available to them and what is being not given or denied to them and the reasons for denial. Thus, DSS has been navigating the atrocities year wise and decade wise in every nook of the Telugu state. Given below are the decade wise cases taken up by the Dalitha Stree Shakti.

Atrocities addressed by DSS during the past decade:

The graphs and diagrams below give the figures of various atrocities committed on Dalit women and girl children, year wise, crime wise that were taken up by DSS.

Total number of cases against women violence

Years	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Rapes	48	70	41	50	37	86	77	51	44	45

The above figures are of only major atrocities. During the decade that passed by DSS had addressed a total number of 549 incidents, of which 209 i.e., 38% atrocities are sex related (rape, gang rape rape and murder, cheating in the name of love, sexual harassment). It is well known that members of dominant castes have since ages been Sexual violence against Dalit women and girls is used as a form of punishment, humiliation, and power assertion. In the olden times, till about two decades ago this phenomenon could go unquestioned due to utter dependence of the Dalit families on the landlords, as wage laborer's, bonded labor etc. but of late with the rise of the Dalit movement s and assertion, this could go on silently. However, the assertion by Dalits is

so enraging to the dominant castes that they seek to re in force and try to establish their authority and superiority by subjecting the Dalit women to indecent and inhuman treatment.

Even during the Nirbhaya movement, the so-called outbursts and debates were more instrumental. That movement, which was exaggerated by the press, had undertones of expressing sentiments of vengeance against a few persons and a class, instead of a rational discussion of why and how such things are happening, and how to cure society's ailments and eliminate the source of the problem. Though, few intellectuals like Arundhati roy tried to explain the phenomenon, there was none to reflect on it. Everyone was only with one demand, 'hanging them' that's all, as if hanging juvenile stops all rapes in future. Almost none raised the demand to ban porno or sexualizing women in films and media. No one discussed about the regular rape of Dalit women in the country side, thereby exposing the partial perspectives of the movement.

Dalit Sthree Sakthi while participating in the Nirbhaya movement, raised all relevant questions like the growing rape cult routine and regular rapes of Dalit women and girls the question of corrupting the youth and children with porno culture, the role of Media, administrative and judicial attitudes etc.

Wherever, DSS takes up as an issue of atrocity it is followed up from F.I.R to until conviction. This involves monitoring investigation, meeting investigation officers and other officials, presenting cases to higher officials in the districts and at state level, raising the issue in vigilance and monitoring committee meetings, meeting the public prosecutors, ensuring sanctions of compensation, appointing advocates for training the victims and witnesses, follow of trial process and see that the case is successful and the accused get conviction.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸2022 Trafficking in Persons Report - United States Department of State

Year wise Conviction:

Total number of cases crime wise

Type of Case	No. of. Cases	Type of Case	No. of. Cases
Rapes	75	Abetment to suicide	19
Gang rape	19	Land Dispute	10
Cheating in the name of Love	69	Sexual Harassment	38
Caste Abuse	60	Attempt to Murder	10
Murder	48	DV	75
Mass attack	40	Cheating	25
Rape and Murder	8	Attack	53

Source: united states department of state, 2022.

Only if the impureness is destroyed and the perpetrators are unmasked can violence be curbed. Actually, if rule of law is implemented in the minimal level, there is no scope for any criminal to escape, whatever be the crime. But, strangely and shamefully, in our country rule of law exists only for academic purposes and almost none in the administration of justice (revenue, police, prosecutors, judiciary etc.) believe that rule of law is for implementation towards all. Invoking a law or implanting it is never automatic; it is always influenced by caste, class, corruption, political pressure and the like. Because the actual power is now in the hands of the dominant caste, who control the highest echelons of the police, revenue, and other institutions, legislation in favor of scheduled castes/tribes are never executed, although laws against them are. In other words, in India, law never takes its own course, it always takes the course as directed by the dominant caste/class, in a bronze and unashamed manner. For a long time, criminal law meant only IPC and it was always implemented against the Dalits. Whenever a complaint is there against to a Dalit true or false, and even without a complaint, the police jumped into action to implement various sections of IPC against a Dalit, but never against a dominant caste person for what a did to a Dalit. A Dalit never had the status of a complain under IPC. Powerful Dalit movements of the 1980s but a change from this accused status under IPC to that of complaint status under the SC, ST (prevention of atrocities) act in 1989. The age old oppressive and humiliation practices that were normal and were regarded as crimes under IPC, now became crimes and a

Dalit acquired the status of a complaint. The passage of the act brought about real life to article 17 of the Indian constitution.¹¹⁹

Dalit voting Pattern:

The post-Bhimrao Ambedkar era's narrative on Dalit politics is more often constrained to the dichotomy of "identity affirmation" or "opportunistic politics." Scholars who have attempted to explain Dalit participation in electoral politics have frequently treated the community as a homogeneous group without dissecting the demographic details and inter-state variations. Pertaining to the Andhra Pradesh Dalit politics, Malas and Madigas were in favor of Congress party holder by the dominant Reddy caste till emergence of Telugu Desam party in 1983 founded by Kamma Telugu film Actor N.T.Rama Rao. With his charismatic leadership, he has the potential to sway all community votes, including Dalit votes, away from the Congress party. When the Karamchedu incident happened in 1985, Dalits tried to come under a single umbrella which did not exist at that time. They then decided to vote in Congress again until 1995. Madigas have gathered at TDP since the formation of MRPS (Madiga reservation Porata Samithi), which has separated the Dalits by categorizing them, for which MRPS has been battling. Malas, on the other hand, has gravitated towards Congress. Since then, Madigas remained for TDP whereas Malas remained as traditional vote bank for Congress party until Kanshiram had arrived in Andhra Pradesh politics.

The entry of Kanshi Ram is unquestionably crucial in the unfolding of the political process in Andhra Pradesh. Kanshi Ram's arrival in the state following the UP-election victory has given new life to the BSP by attempting to unite the Dalit-Bahujan forces. The interest sparked in the BSP was evident in the spontaneous gathering of over one lakh people at a public meeting in Hyderabad on January 23. The enthusiasm and composition of the melas were qualitatively different from the usual ruling class party melas, with a preponderance of rural youth, middle class employed section, and party activists from Telangana and coastal Andhra districts. As some sections of the press candidly reported, this appears to have thrown the dominant political parties and their leadership into disarray. The arousal of BC and SC sections of different parties from diffidence and complacency is more significant in the immediate context. Rallies organized by major backward communities bring the issue of greater political

¹¹⁹Hidden Apartheid | Caste Discrimination against India's "Untouchables" | HRW

representation to the forefront in the upcoming elections, allowing them to demand a significant share of political power. Though there isn't much to speculate about the BSP's electoral prospects just yet, its critical role in polarizing the social base and, in particular, the leadership in the dominant parties, which will determine the terms of the political process in the coming months, is self-evident. By excluding Kanshi Ram from the above-mentioned comic political spectacle, we are forced to consider his subversive potential in state politics.

Kanshi Ram's travel to Andhra Pradesh, and his attempts to bring together publicly visible Dalit leaders such as Kathi Padma Rao and K G Satyamurthi, who work in various BSP-affiliated organizations, constituted a watershed point. The public demonstrations staged in January and February in Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam, and Nalgonda, apparently to assess popular mood, were a rousing success. Despite the favorable ground situation in the state as a result of widespread dissatisfaction with the Congress(I) and TDP's politics and styles of operation, as well as the euphoria generated by the Dalit Bahujan experimentation in UP, the BSP has serious limitations in terms of its organizational structure, leadership projection, caste and region-specific identity, and, most importantly, ideological specificity that should distinguish it from the other parties. The BSP's organizational network resembles the Congress(I) Party's centralized command structure. As a result, in popular parlance, BSP stands for Kanshi Ram and vice versa. This has given the vernacular press, which has generally been hostile to the BSP, the opportunity to harp on the idea that it is an outsider's party with no roots. The absence of projected state leaders, in stark contrast to the skirmishes and ideological differences among them, which were given disproportionate propaganda by the local press, appears to have given credence to this viewpoint.' Furthermore, the fact that the state leadership is primarily drawn from coastal Andhra, specifically from Malas, to the exclusion of another major Dalit group east of Madigas, as well as the conspicuous absence of OBCs, may pose an organizational challenge in the future. It is important to note that the state's regional disparities (between backward Telangana and prosperous coastal Andhra) are not only a historical fact that sparked a violent political movement for a separate Telangana state in the late 1960s, but they have also remained politically relevant in the subsequent period.

Chiranjeevi, a popular Telugu film actor, founded the PRP (Praja Rajyam Party) in August 2008, on the birth anniversary of Mother Teresa, one of his claimed role

models. He is not the first actor to engage in active politics, as is well known. He is, in fact, a continuation of a long tradition in southern India of actors becoming politicians. Tamil Nadu's elected rulers have a long history of coming from the state's thriving film industry. Three of the country's five chief ministers were actors, while the other two wrote screenplays. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, the TDP was founded by actor-turned-politician Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao (popularly known as NTR), who became the state's chief minister in less than nine months after entering politics. Now, Chiranjeevi, who aspires to follow in NTR's footsteps, has entered the political arena with the help of members of his caste group, the Kapus. What makes the PRP noteworthy, especially for our purposes, is the state's unique context for Dalit politics, as well as the support and opposition it receives from the state's two major Dalit castes, the Malas and Madigas, respectively. Three consequences of the Madigas and Malas' caste-based mobilizations around the issue of categorization must be clearly recognized here. First, as the economic divide between the dominant and marginalized Dalit castes (Malas and Madigas in our case) widens, the former becomes increasingly dominant among Dalits, while the latter becomes increasingly marginalized. Second, because every Dalit caste is affected by the categorization issue, the social community of Dalits has been divided against itself for the past 15 years, wasting valuable human and material resources. Third, caste-based conflicts have dealt a serious political blow to Dalit unity. While Dalits have historically been a downtrodden group in AP politics, caste-based rivalries really have fragmented Dalit politics, thereby "delivering" Dalits to upper caste-led political groups. The TDP absorbed the Madigas by supporting the demand for categorization, while the Congress absorbed the Malas by putting them in positions of power. Jupudi Prabhakara Rao, the leader of the Mala Mahanadu, was appointed to the state's legislative council, for example. These developments lead one to believe that such integration and accommodation have returned Dalit politics to its pre-1980s phase, transforming the Dalits into vote-banks for upper caste-led political parties once more. In this context, the migration of Dalit leaders to the PRP appears to be a major setback for both caste-based politics (such as the MRPS) and the SC-based Dalit movement in general. Is the PRP, on the other hand, a supporter of social justice and thus a partner in Dalit emancipation? These are lofty claims for any political party to make (including the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which is based on Dalits). According to Krishna Madiga, the leader of the MRPS movement, the PRP is neither a champion of social justice nor a liberator of Dalits. ³ It's nothing more than a political ploy by the Kapus to

gain power. However, rather than dismissing the PRP completely, it would like to see certain negotiating spaces open up for Dalit groups in AP politics as a result of its emergence.

Dalits and drinking water:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar led the Mahad satyagraha for drinking water from the Chavdar tank at Mahad ninety-one years ago, on March 20, 1927. This was the Dalit movement's "foundational struggle," a movement for water and caste annihilation. Dr. Ambedkar put the movement in the broadest possible context in his statement at the time. He inquired as to why we fight. It isn't just for drinking water; drinking water won't provide us with much. Though we fight to establish the right to drink water, it is not just a matter of our human rights. Our goal, however, is similar to that of the French Revolution. This was fought for the reconstruction of society, the abolition of a feudal society and the establishment of a new society based on liberty, equality, and fraternity. Similarly, we want to put an end to the old inhuman caste society based on inequality and rebuild the world and society around liberty, equality, and fraternity. This is our goal. Dalits from all across Maharashtra go to Mahad on the 19th and 20th of March each year to meet at Chavdar pond, where BR Ambedkar switched to Buddhism in 1956. Despite the fact that Ambedkar fought many battles and included equal rights in the constitution, Dalits continue to be denied drinking water due to the stigmatization of Dalits by Hindu Savarna Society. In 2016, a Maharashtra Dalit woman was vehemently denied the right to draw water from the village well, which is located in the heart of the village.

A Dalit laborer from a village in Washim district in Maharashtra's drought-stricken Vidarbha toiled for hours to dig his own well after being denied access to water by upper caste people.

Villagers forbade Bapurao Tajne's wife, a resident of Kolambeswar village in Malegaon taluka, from fetching water from a well. Tajne dug a well in his village to exact his vengeance on a social environment that still discriminates large sections of the population, and it now serves to quench the thirst of the entire Dalit population of the area. He completed the digging in just forty days and was ecstatic to discover water. He told the Press Trust of India that he had been mocked by his family and others, but he

was unfazed. Immediately upon receiving the news, the district administration praised him for his determination and strong willpower.

The coverage rate of drinking water fell from 89 percent in 1990 to 86 percent in 2011, according to the UN's Millennium Development Goals Report 2013, with Asia experiencing the greatest drop. The majority of people's time is spent collecting drinking water. The most vulnerable people are the ones who suffer the most.¹²⁰ It should be noted that the Dalits' water sources are more unreliable and subject to unavailability during dry seasons. When the impact of ecological stress is greater, their problems become much more severe. The Dalits are reliant on communal water sources. 'Not only is access to scarce natural resources unequal, but it is also influenced by the village's sociopolitical dynamics.' Because they fetch water from a long distance, Dalit women spend a lot of their productive time fetching water. To avoid this plight, the Dalits were forced to rely on polluted water sources on a regular basis. Dalit women must spend four to five hours per day collecting water for daily consumption. Though Dalits have access to water from public sources, they must either queue separately or wait a long time. The amount of water available is insufficient, and their water storage capacity is extremely limited. As a result, they are subjected to hardships and discrimination.¹²¹

¹²⁰Ki-Moon, B. (2013). The millennium development goals report 2013. *United Nations Pubns*, 365, 366.

¹²¹Johns, H. (2012). Stigmatization of Dalits in access to water and sanitation in India. *It was submitted at the Human Rights Council in September.*

Chapter-IV

Change in Dalit Movement of Andhra Pradesh

The fourth chapter discusses the changes in the Dalit movement right from the Ambedkar to the emergence of the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti. To delineate the change that occurred in the Dalit movement the change needs to be discussed theoretically then only the change could be understood in the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. Although many sociologists have postulated multiple theories on social movements so far, M.S.A.Rao is a phenomenal Indian sociologist who has given immense contributions to the Indian social movements.¹²² He claims that in recent years, Indian sociologists and social anthropologists have shown a growing interest in the study of social movements, which was previously thought to be the domain of historians. Without a doubt, the study of any social movement entails a long- or short-time span, a series of events, and a collection of written documents, the analysis of which necessitates historian skills. The theoretical foundation for analysis and interpretation for a sociologist, on the other hand, will be sociological. As a result, sociology of social movements makes sense. A set of ideas has been developed that allows a scholar to decipher the origins of movements that 1. The process of ideology formation. 2. Identity, organization, and leadership come from a variety of places. 3. The sequence of events. 4. Internal dynamics and social ramifications social movements logically fall under the category of processes involving structure and change. If we define a social movement as a concerted effort by a segment of the population to change the social system through collective mobilization based on a shared ideology, then We must consider social processes as a collection of interconnected social activities, interactions, and events that are linked to ideology on the one hand and social and cultural changes on the other.

A social movement's role as a tool for social change differs significantly from that of an imitative or emulative process of mobility and change. Social mobility and change prompted by social movements result in social transformation, shifting the traditional

¹²²Rao, M. S. (1970). Urbanization and social change. A study of a rural community on a metropolitan fringe. *Urbanization and social change. A study of a rural community on a metropolitan fringe.*

power balance. As a result, protest-based social movements result in qualitative changes in the traditional structure of social relationships. A counterpoint to the simplistic explanation of the emulative process of mobility and change is the study of change through social movements centered on contradiction and conflict.

M.S.A. Rao distinguishes three levels of structural change when discussing the nature of social changes brought about by social movements: 1. Make changes. 2. Modifications 3. Upheaval. While reform aims to change the members of a group's belief systems and lifestyles, revolutionary changes aim to make drastic and total changes to all aspects of society. Changes in the traditional balance of power, affecting economic and political superiority and subordination relationships, are referred to as transformative changes. The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh has not changed suddenly because any social movement cannot bring change overnight. It has sporadically been changing. However, it's not a full reformation movement that has socio-political changes. It is beyond the transformation movement. Thus, the change in the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh could be interpreted socially, economically, politically, culturally, and ideologically.¹²³

Ideological change:

The Andhra Pradesh Dalit movement has received widespread intellectual support. Its support base reflects the diversity of the Dalit situation; it includes middle-class employed people, educated unemployed people, and urban political and social activists. The Dalit movement drew activists from a variety of backgrounds, including rationalist/atheist activists, traditional Ambedkarite youths, and youths with distinctly Marxist backgrounds. However, the movement has now attracted a large number of like-minded young people. While the movement's leadership was largely based on rationalist/atheist and Marxist traditions, the movement's support was largely based on movement. As a result, the Dalit movement reflected these two ideological strands.

It should be noted that the rationalist/atheist leadership had asserted itself fairly and forcefully over the upper castes against untouchability and the bonded labor system. The entire scenario has now been transformed into a critique of Brahmanical faith, its

¹²³Wankhede, H. S. (2008). The political and the social in the Dalit movement today. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50-57.

irrational practices, gods and goddesses, and, ultimately, the caste system. Now Marxists have come forward to support Dalits against the social and economic evils which are hindrances for the Dalits right from the beginning. Even Dalit society also contemplated amalgamating Karl Marx into the movement in a broader sense so that it could include major support from non-Dalits too and easy to gain rights and self-respect.¹²⁴

The Dalit movement brought about bringing the issue of caste to the forefront of political debate in the state. Now not only caste questions but also class and gender questions came into the limelight. Earlier in the Dalit movement, Ambedkar was considered a symbol of self-respect, but in a modern environment, Ambedkar is seen as a radical who is fearless to confront society's unfairness. There has been an ending a number of debates taking place on Ambedkar's ideology. There is an organization called Ambedkar Dharma Porata Samiti which emerged in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh in 1995 and took the firm initiative to widespread writings and speeches of Ambedkar through conducting political classes by the founder members extensively. This organization the way in which radicalize the Dalits by penetrating Ambedkar's ideology into the minds of Dalit youth and fighting against the upper caste land lords.¹²⁵

There is The Dalit movement, particularly the Karamchedu massacre, caused a schism in the radical left. Many Dalit-left writers and singers like kalekuri Prasad and dapper Prakash have come out of the radical left and embraced Ambedkar as their emancipator. Now Dalit movement has absorbed Karl Marx too to fight against class hegemony. Marx also envisaged an equal society. Ambedkar wrote a piece on Buddha and Karl Marx in which Ambedkar praised Marx as a social revolutionary while critiquing his idea of despotism which would provide rights rather than duties. Hence Dalit movement could notice the exigency of Marx as a social visionary. Ambedkar was born eight years after Marx died, according to D.Raja and Muthu Mohan. Ambedkar wrote annihilation of caste eighty years after Marx's celebrated work, the communist manifesto. In their opinion, if Marx could have traveled to the twentieth century and had a one-on-one conversation with Ambedkar, it would have sparked a lively debate between them.

¹²⁴Private Property and Communism, Marx, 1844 (marxists.org)

¹²⁵Omvedt, G. (1994). *Dalits and the democratic revolution: Dr Ambedkar and the Dalit movement in colonial India*. SAGE Publications India; How the Decision to Name a District After Ambedkar Led to Violent Protests in Coastal Andhra (thewire.in).

Thus, Karl Marx too became essential for the Dalit movement in present times. Eight years after Karl Marx's death, B.R. Ambedkar was born. Ambedkar wrote *Annihilation of Caste* 88 years after Marx's seminal work, *The Communist Manifesto*. It would have been a fascinating debate if Marx could have traveled to the twentieth century and had a one-on-one conversation with Ambedkar.¹²⁶

Apparently, other backward caste people also acted against the Dalits since the caste system emerged in India. Earlier they were also very arrogant towards Dalits and they practiced untouchability but later some of the educated OBC people who could understand the caste society are trying to know the contribution of Mahatma Phule since he hails from a backward caste. Eventually, they try to understand the presence of Ambedkar and appropriate him as their emancipatory person. Kanshi Ram saw that in Indian democracy, the rule of the religious majority was being enacted under the garb of the rule of the political majority. For a communal minority like Dalits, the only road to democracy was to knead their way into the forces which made up the political majority in electoral politics. The social majority of Baniyas, Thakurs, and Brahmins could not include Dalits because "the door to the communal majority is blocked," as Ambedkar puts it. They may, nevertheless, join the political majority, as the composition of the political majority's class and caste may alter. This was an issue that might be handled by the formation of coalitions. Under Kanshi Ram's leadership, the BSP showed what Ambedkar had conceptually outlined. In this approach, Kanshi Ram reinterpreted and enlarged the scope of Indian parliamentary democracy. If he didn't have an ally, Kanshi Ram partnered with the Left. Of course, in Uttar Pradesh, the Left was almost non-existent. At the national level, the CPI and CPI (M) chose to conduct business with the secular' Mulayam, Karunanidhi, or even Jayalalitha, but not with the BSP.

Kanshi Ram regretfully realised that Phule's Bahujan concept will collapse under Dalit rule. Kanshi Ram was able to effectively integrate Phule's Bahujan activism with the Ambedkarite notion of creating room for a religious minority in a political majority as a consequence. With this foundation, he was able to construct a national party that, within a decade, had become the lone alternative to the Congress and the BJP in the Hindi heartland. Through Kanshi Ram, the word Bahujan came into prominence. Many OBC

¹²⁶Sinha, A. (2017, April). Caste question, Marxism, and the political legacy of BR Ambedkar. In *a seminar organized by 'The Marx Circle', Calicut on April 5.*

intellectuals, such as Kancha Ilaiah, embraced Ambedkar with Phule in this regard. All of this occurred solely as a result of the Dalit movement's growth. The Dalit movement is now in a position to combine Ambedkar and Phule's ideas. The movement has become more radicalized and is attempting to establish an egalitarian society as a result of incorporating Phule into it.¹²⁷

Patil was well-known for his groundbreaking work combining Marxism with the anti-caste radicalism of Phule and Ambedkar. Since its inception in 1978, Patil's philosophical position (Marxism-Phule-Ambedkarism) has sparked a lot of discussion and debate. Over the years, his efforts have influenced a large number of intellectuals and activists in Maharashtra, both within and outside the communist movement. His critique of both Indian Marxism and the Dalit anti-nation. The critique informed his theory of this synthesis. He saw Indian history as a grand debate between Brahmanism and anti-Brahmanism, i.e. the Vedic Darshanas and Buddhist, Jain, and Lokayata anti-Vedic philosophies. The main dialectics in Indian history, according to Patil's framework, is between Brahmanism and anti-Brahminism in philosophical terms, which translates into caste and anti-caste in sociological terms. In Andhra Pradesh, too, the Dalit movement took the initiative to bring Ambedkar and Marx together. Andhra Pradesh's current CPI general secretary also discussed combining Marxism with the anti-caste movement. He says it would be great if Marxists and Ambedkarism come together and fight against the upper caste hegemony.¹²⁸ He further says the communist party has taken only economic struggle hitherto and would now like to uphold the social struggle too in the villages. That is how the cpi party has started social rights forums to address social issues. He has confessed that communist parties have kept Ambedkar away from the party. Thus, communists also noticed Ambedkar as essential for their struggle and contemplated that social revolution in India would not be possible without taking Ambedkar's social struggle with Marx's class struggle. Due to synthesizing Marx and Ambedkar in the state of Andhra Pradesh scheduled caste people and other backward caste people could come together and fight against social and economic evils. The Dalit movement has expanded Ambedkar with Mahatma Jyothi Rao Phule who is their guru of him. Mahatma Jyothi Rao Phule and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's theories, struggles, and practices must be incorporated into the movement. The Dalit movement

¹²⁷Ratnam, K. Y. (2008). The Dalit movement and democratization in Andhra Pradesh.

¹²⁸Babu, P. R., and Rao, R. S. Human Capital Theory and Education: A Dalit Perspective.

got expanded from mass mobilization to intellectual mobilization. Synthetization of Ambedkar, Marx, Ambedkar, and Phule denotes a clear amalgamation of mainstream people into the Dalit movement.

Appropriation of Ambedkar:

For many years Ambedkar had to be clung only to the Dalit community but changing the current situation he is being appropriated by many mainstream communities for their political benefits. Appropriation is being done so that a person's personality has a lot of power and can profit from it. Appropriation deceives individuals by claiming to support them when it actually does not. Appropriation is the act of distorting or purposely misrepresenting anything - such as an idea, a historic artifact, or a person - in order to forward your own goal. On the occasion of Ambedkar's 125th birthday, the Bharatiya Janata Party, an offshoot of the RSS, which Ambedkar was an outspoken opponent of, held a rally. Modi's government recently assumed control of a lot of modern political heroes, such as Gandhi and Patel, that have no historical links to the BJP or Hindu doctrine. Prime minister and his ministers adopted a strategy of appropriation as a means to neutralize the ideological threat posed by the legacy of such modern national leaders. They are now claiming Ambedkar as a Hindu hero.¹²⁹

Dalit feminism:

Dalit feminism focuses on the plight of Dalit women rather than mainstream women, as well as caste and gender roles. The majority of Dalit women live in India. Women from lower castes in India face different challenges than women from higher castes. They are poorer, uneducated, and socially marginalized than mainstream women. Early Dalit feminists fought for Dalit women's equal rights based on their gender, caste, and other factors. They've spoken at conferences, founded organizations, and assisted in the election of other Dalit women to political office.

In India, Dalit women are referred to as scheduled caste women. They've been living in poverty for a long time. Many people are illiterate. Dalit women continue to be oppressed by men from higher castes as well as other Dalit men. Dalit groups have a hierarchy, with some being treated as higher and others as lower. Dalit women are

¹²⁹Guru, G. (1991). Appropriating Ambedkar. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp1697-1699.

subjected to more heinous acts of violence, which are perpetrated specifically against Dalit women. In India, several types of forced prostitution, such as the devadasi or Jogini system, are specifically reserved for Dalit women. Furthermore, many Dalit victims are unaware of their legal rights. No police officer is willing to assist victims, and no police officer is willing to take up a case involving Dalit women. They were always on the side of the majority. Sexual violence against Dalit women is now a common occurrence. Dalit sexuality is viewed as deviant by the mainstream because of their lower caste status. Their bodies were thought to be sexually accessible.

Historically, the Dalit rights movement has focused primarily on Dalit men, while mainstream Indian feminism has largely ignored Dalit women's issues. Dalit feminism has criticized the mainstream women's movement, which is led by middle and upper-class women. In India, feminist academicians have largely ignored the caste issue that Dalit women face on a regular basis. They have always been on the side of the establishment. Against Dalit women, sexual violence has become commonplace. Dalit sexuality is regarded as deviant by the general public due to their lower caste status. Their bodies were regarded as having sexual potential.

The Dalit rights movement has traditionally focused on Dalit men, while mainstream Indian feminism has largely ignored Dalit women's issues. Dalit feminism has chastised the mainstream women's movement, which is led by women from the middle and upper classes. In India, feminist academics have largely ignored the issue of caste, which Dalit women face on a regular basis. The All-India Depressed Classes Women Conference was held in Nagpur in 1942, and Dalit women were present. Sulochanabai Dongre was the congress's president. Resolutions advocating for women's right to divorce, denouncing polygamy, improving labor conditions, women's involvement in politics, and better education for women in lower classes were passed during the conference.

Dalit women were also active in 1970s social movements. In the early 1970s. The publication of autobiographies of Dalit women's lives and experiences began. Ambedkar influenced many of these women.

In 1987, Bangalore hosted the first national gathering of Dalit women. The National Federation of Dalit Women and the All-India Dalit Women Forum are two of the Dalit women's organizations that have emerged. Dalit women were careful to emphasize that such organisations for Dalit women were not intended to be divisive or separatist, and

that continued alliances with Dalit men and non-Dalit women were necessary. Dalit women, on the other hand, felt compelled to speak up for themselves.

Dalit women sent delegates to the 1993 World Conference Against Racism, and Dalit women advocated for the inclusion of caste discrimination in the language against racism at the 2001 World Conference Against Racism. Including language like this would put international pressure on India's government. In 2001, however, the clause prohibiting discrimination against Dalit women was dropped as part of a deal with the United States. Despite the removal of the clause, international coverage meant that caste discrimination was finally acknowledged globally.¹³⁰

According to two pioneers of Dalit emancipation, Jyotiba Phule and Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Dalit organizations seldom tackled the exploitation of their women in the home and society. Meanwhile, Dalit women face everyday violence that has impacted their lives by overlapping caste, gender, and class classifications. As a result, throughout the second part of the twentieth century, their accents became livelier. Despite their participation in Indian women's movements, Dalit women activists soon realized that these were exclusive and felt compelled to fight on their own. They must contend with poverty, caste stigma, and violence unique to their location, where caste, class, and gender collide. The same patriarchy that enslaved and oppressed upper-caste women have enslaved and oppressed Dalit women to pollution. However, questioning the tradition that oppressed upper-caste women did not always lead to a questioning of pollution and Dalit women's marginalization. As a result, as Telugu Dalit writer Vinodini exclaims, feminism of sexual freedom is strange to women like her, and they do not experience it in the same way that Rajeswari, the heroine of Chalam's (popular Telugu Novelist) novel Maidanam.

According to Swaroopa Rani¹³¹, a Dalit feminist, and writer, "For the feminist movement in India, all women are the same and, therefore, their problems are the same." However, this is not the case. The problems of one group are not the same as those of another in our society, which is divided by caste, faith, class, and region. Although there are some similarities, there are also many differences. Because each of these groups has its own identity, their problems will be unique to their circumstances.

¹³⁰Human Rights Watch. (2007). *Hidden Apartheid Caste Discrimination against India's "Untouchables"* (Vol. 19, No. 3). Human Rights Watch.

¹³¹Rani, C. S. (1998). Dalit women's writing in Telugu. *Economic and Political Weekly*, WS21-WS24.

Despite the fact that the slogan 'All Women Are One' appears to be very liberal, it does not allow feminist reflections to go even one step further.

Telugu Dalit Women Writers:

Indeed, the Telugu Dalit women writers, who have since become a polemical group, began to take a stand against both upper caste dominance and domestic oppression. Telugu Dalit Literature arose from the simmering Dalit consciousness that erupted in various Dalit movements in Andhra Pradesh during colonial times.¹ It was reformist in both form and content prior to the 1980s. For the emancipation of Dalits, pioneers such as Bheemanna (Paleru-Bonded Laborer), Joshua (Gabbilam-A Bat), and others explored progressive/ reformist ideology. Though there is a strong satiric element in these works, it is never rebellious in advocating radical solutions to the untouchables' problems in the 'Varna' system.¹³² However, in the 1980s, a series of atrocities against Dalits in coastal villages of Andhra Pradesh (karamchedu, Tsundur, Neerukonda, etc.) transformed this literature into one of rebellion and rage. Many Dalits took up writing, resulting in anthologies such as Chikkanavithunna Pata (1995). These anthologies, however, did not include Dalit women writers. Dalit women's issues did not receive attention until the turn of the century, despite the fact that Dalit women writers existed before India's independence. Telugu Dalit women authors employed poetry, short tales, essays, and even literary criticism to resist oppression in many forms, such as discrimination, sex abuse, and unfavorable portrayal of Dalit women, among other things. To better comprehend how Dalit women battled caste oppression, the short tales "A Bloody Mess in the Bathroom" by Gogu Shyamala, "A Bloody Mess in the Bathroom" by Joopaka Subhadra, and "The Parable of the Lost Daughter" by M.M. Vinodini are examined. They are analyzed in a chronological order that narrates Dalit women's long journey from being victims of upper caste exploitation in rural India to the struggle for education in government welfare hostels, and finally, the realization that the stigma of caste persists even after education. The short stories "A Bloody Mess in the Bathroom" by Gogu Shyamala, "A Bloody Mess in the Bathroom" by Joopaka Subhadra, and "The Parable of the Lost Daughter" by M.M. Vinodini are studied to learn about the various ways Dalit women fought caste discrimination. They are analyzed in a chronological

¹³²Satyanarayana, A. (1995). Dalit protest literature in Telugu: A historical perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 171-175.

order that depicts Dalit women's long journey from being victims of upper caste exploitation in rural India to the struggle for education in government welfare hostels, and finally, the realization that the stigma of caste persists even after education.

Apart from the issue of caste that these writers addressed in their writings, another Dalit writer/poet, Swaroopa Rani, addresses the issue of Dalit male chauvinism in her poem *Mankena Puvvu*: when have I lived my life myself? Male ego has slapped me on the cheek at home. She also criticizes irresponsible husbands who spend their wives' hard-earned money on alcohol. She writes in *Matti Chetulu*, "When she arrives home, all eager to fill the stomachs of the little ones, there sits the husband, ready to drink her sweat like arrack." They must venture upon the construction of formidable Dalit women's voices based on the ideological stances of Phule, Periyar, and Ambedkar. To deconstruct the misrepresentations, silences, and stereotyping of Dalit women, a re-reading of mainstream Indian literature (both in vernacular and now in English) and Dalit Literature (men) should be undertaken. The 'passive' and submissive' figures can certainly speak volumes about their struggle and perseverance in the face of numerous obstacles at home and in the community. Rather than being an afterthought to Indian feminist literature or Dalit men's literature, Dalit women's literature can forge its own path, developing genres of writing and aesthetics based on the orator. Dalit utterances (in vernacular) can be studied and theorized for their distinct rhetorical strategies, tropes, and linguistic cadences, as well as their gendered inflections.¹³³

1. Social change:

The early phase of the social base of the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh was based on urban-based employees and educated groups. No activists from the rural village could come forward to head the movement. However, very few people who have conscious of caste atrocities have joined the movement. But now the entire scenario has been changed.¹³⁴ current Dalit movement was occupied with the majority of rural people educated, uneducated, employees, and unemployed. Earlier there was a lack of women's participation in the movement, now many Dalit women have been involved in the movement and heading some Dalit women organizations like Dalita Stree Shakthi. (DSS). However, many Dalit women will have to come forward and take the movement

¹³³Rani, C. S., & Chandramouli, T. S. (2017). A Dream. *Indian Literature*, 61(6 (302), 101-102.

¹³⁴Ratnam, K. Y. (2008). The Dalit movement and democratization in Andhra Pradesh.

forward adequate participation of Dalit women is lacking in the movement now. Gradually their number has been increasing. Due to a lack of education and awareness of caste atrocities and lack of Ambedkar ideology they could not participate in the movement. It's because the leader's failure caused the women's non-participation. They were not guided well. Patriarchy too played a major role in it.¹³⁵

According to the above accounts, Dalits in various parts of the country have organized a variety of movements relating to their self-respect, new social identity, and realization of their constitutional and state-mandated rights, though several of these movements have failed to achieve their objectives. It is also true that, especially in modern times, most of their movements have not directly and exclusively addressed the abolition of caste or the caste system. Instead, they have frequently focused on getting a better deal within the system of socioeconomic resources and power positions that exist at any given time. In a nutshell, these have emphasized Dalits' upward social and economic mobility within the existing social system, while also articulating, in the broadest sense, their desire to achieve social equality with others. This is not to say that Dalit movements across the country haven't made a dent in India's ever-changing social reality, or that they haven't had a qualitative and quantitative impact on the country's existing power structure and social relations among various segments of the population. Previously, the Dalit movement was based solely on untouchability, which is a form of discrimination. In today's society, many forms of social discrimination are prevalent. Discrimination in education can now be seen in Indian universities. Many Dalit students have raised their voices against the discrimination they face on a daily basis in the classroom, as well as the cultural humiliation they have suffered at the hands of mainstream culture. Students from prominent universities such as Osmania, Central University of Hyderabad, and Jawaharlal Nehru University are protesting against the administration's discrimination and injustice.¹³⁶

Dalit Activism on Indian University Campuses:

Since 1950, the Indian Constitution has guaranteed Scheduled Castes reserved seats in government-run educational institutions; however, their visibility within universities

¹³⁵Sarvesh, T., Shanker Singh, R., & Alam, T. (2021). Dalit Women in History: Struggles, Voices, and Counter publics. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 22(10), 91-105.

¹³⁶Yengde, S. (2019). *Caste matters*. Penguin Random House India Private Limited; Chrispal, S., Bapuji, H., & Zietsma, C. (2021). Caste and organization studies: Our silence makes us complicit. *Organization Studies*, 42(9), 1501-1515. Sukumar, N. (2022). *Caste Discrimination and Exclusion in Indian Universities: A Critical Reflection*. Taylor & Francis.

has gradually increased. While other student political organizations date back to the Indian independence movement, Dalits as political actors with distinct political identities began mobilizing on college campuses in the 1990s, when India's society and politics underwent significant systemic changes. In reaction to these larger trends, a number of Dalit and other lower-caste student groups developed, organizing around caste identity and fighting to reform the political atmosphere on several Indian university campuses. These new caste identity-based organizations began and continue to defend ex-untouchables' constitutional rights to education, lobby against caste discrimination, and fight for public representation as a newly recognized and defined group.¹³⁷

Emergency of the Atrocity Act: 1989.

With the efforts of the Dalit movement, the prevention of atrocity act has been enacted by the parliament to facilitate safeguards for the Dalit legally. If the Dalit movement had not been in practice the Atrocity Act would not have been possible. All these efforts were because of the struggles of the relentless Dalit activists only. Mainly this act has been enforced after the gruesome massacre of karamchedu in 1985. Though the act is enforced, caste atrocities are not diminishing. When BJP came into power in central, atrocities on Dalits have been increasing day by day for instance Dalits in the Una district of Gujarat were brutally beaten up by the BJP Karyakartas for slaughtering cows, a Muslim old man was brutally murdered for consuming meat in his home, a brilliant Dalit scholar Rohit vemula's suicide which triggered and ignited entire India and the world.¹³⁸

One flaw in the country's approach to Dalit welfare is that atrocities are mostly treated as a law-and-order issue, separating them from the larger social justice strategy. Atrocities are a significant impediment to the community's socioeconomic mobility. Instead of assuming that redistributive policies will end violence and discrimination against Dalits, policymakers should consider that ending violence against Dalits is a basic requirement for success. According to the evidence, violence is directed at

¹³⁷Bob, C. (2007). "Dalit rights are human rights": Caste discrimination, international activism, and the construction of a new human rights issue. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 29, 167.

¹³⁸Educated Dalits Are Mobilising Against Upper Caste Antagonism, Rise of Hindutva Forces' - Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

relatively better-off Dalits, and atrocities are, to some extent, societal responses to Dalit mobility. Atrocities are perpetrated not only against the better-off Dalits but also in districts where their population exceeds the national average. For example, 24 of the 28 problem districts have a Dalit population ranging from 17.4% to 31.9 percent. The majority of atrocities in southern states fall into this category, and policy and implementation improvements are needed. It is now de facto up to the police to decide whether to file an atrocity case under the SC/ST or PCR Act, with the latter clearly preferred because it is seen as less stringent than the former. There is no reason to continue to have two laws for the same crime. Another issue, which is not documented and thus difficult to prove, is that instead of filing an atrocity case under one of these two acts, an IPC case is filed, implying a group clash. It's difficult to explain why there are fewer atrocities in western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Tamil Nadu, all of which are known for oppressive conditions. In the same way, zero cases in West Bengal and Assam cannot be mistaken for peaceful relations between Dalits and others. Furthermore, it is past time to acknowledge that a high charge-sheeting rate does not imply that justice has been served. The need to expedite the resolution of SC/ST Act-related cases stems from the fact that the likelihood of obtaining conclusive evidence diminishes with the passage of time. Furthermore, as happened in the case of the Andhra Pradesh Thunder atrocity, keeping a case pending indefinitely is likely to taint the local atmosphere. Appropriate judicial reform is urgently needed to reduce the proportion of pending trials in this category. It's past time for policymakers to recognize that atrocities are society's response to Dalit mobility, and to account for it in all welfare policies.¹³⁹

Inter-caste marriages and Violence:

With the efforts of the Dalit movement, the prevention of atrocity act has been enacted by the parliament to facilitate safeguards for the Dalit legally. If the Dalit movement had not been in practice the Atrocity Act would not have been possible. All these efforts were because of the struggles by the relentless Dalit activists only. Mainly this act has been enforced after the gruesome massacre of karamchedu in 1985. Though the act is enforced, caste atrocities are not diminishing. When it comes to the institution of marriage in India, the near-universal practice of arranged marriage and strict adherence

¹³⁹Chakraborty, D., Babu, D. S., & Chakravorty, M. (2006). Atrocities on dalits: What the district level data say on society-state complicity. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2478-2481.

to caste endogamy stand out. Endogamy is thought to be the cornerstone of the caste system, ensuring both caste purity and social stratification based on caste. Caste endogamy has sustained, perpetuated, and reinforced the caste system even in cosmopolitan cities where there are no caste restrictions in social interactions and where caste practices must be limited to the home. According to Ambedkar, caste is the gravitational force of the Hindu social world, and the first step the caste took to ensure its continuity was to tighten its circle through caste endogamy, which prohibited intermarriages. Arranged marriages are an effective mechanism for ensuring that marriages take place within the caste and that romantic interests do not interfere with the endogamous principle, preserving caste stratification. Inter-Caste marriages, as proposed by Ambedkar, are one of the factors that are annihilating caste, and according to Arundhati Roy, intercaste marriages are becoming a form of violence for Dalits. Consider the sensational murder case of Pranay, a Dalit youth who was murdered in broad daylight. The girl's father, Maruthi Rao, uncle Shravan, and two hired killers are among those arrested. The assassination of young Pranay in front of his pregnant wife Amrutha shocked the entire state of Telangana. When he was attacked and killed, they were returning from a visit to her gynecologist for a check-up.¹⁴⁰

According to reports, the girl's father had the honor killing carried out by paid killers because he believed his "honor" was more valuable and important than his daughter's. He told the police that he killed Pranay because the young Dalit engineer married a woman from a higher caste. Furthermore, her father is said to have been unrepentant about his callous decision to assassinate the Dalit boy. Pranay and Amrutha had been in a close relationship since they were in ninth grade, according to her father, who told the police he had known about it since they were in school. According to reports, the girl's father had the honor killing carried out by paid killers because he believed his "honor" was more valuable and important than his daughter's. He told the police that he killed Pranay because the young Dalit engineer married a woman from a higher caste. Furthermore, her father is said to have been unrepentant about his callous decision to assassinate the Dalit boy. Pranay and Amrutha had been in a close relationship since they were in ninth grade, according to her father, who told the police he had known

¹⁴⁰Choudhuri, T. D. (2020). Honour Killing: Socio-Legal Issue. *Supremo Amicus*, 22, 30.

about it since they were in school. As a result, there has been a significant shift in the Dalit movement in recent years.¹⁴¹

Political Change:

In the history of the Dalit movement, the political change took place after the Poona pact was ratified by the British government in the colonial government. 1932 September 24. Till then Dalits have had no political representation. Forget about the political representation, they did not have the right to vote after many struggles led by Ambedkarite Dalits got the right to vote. Though they voted, the majority of Dalits were influenced by Gandhi and supported the congress. After Ambedkar came into the limelight and political sphere Dalits realized that they should have their own political representation. Late in life, they discovered that Ambedkar was the only person fighting for their grievances, which had been ignored by the upper caste for centuries.

Dalits have remained as a vote bank for congress for many years due to a lack of awareness of the heinous plight they are facing for many years, that too they don't have a staunch leader to represent them in public however some unpopular Dalit leaders were there they all were being part of congress. Being a vote bank for the congress and being minorities, they could not open their voice to resolve their problems and obtain their rights. Hence, they had to side with some political parties like the Indian national congress for many centuries. Now the messiah of Dalits has arrived on the mainstream political scene. When Simon's commission came to India Ambedkar gave Dalit representation to get a separate electorate for the Dalits since they were inhabiting the outside of the Hindu fold. He had attended the round table conferences and fought with Gandhi for separate representation for the Dalits. As everyone knows Gandhi did not agree with Ambedkar and proclaimed that he was the sole representative of the untouchables. Ramsey MacDonald immediately announced the community honor for the untouchables, which included distinct electorates for the lowest caste. After knowing this fact Gandhi sat for past unto death in Yerrawada jail against the communal award. When he sat on hunger strike, the entire nation was triggered and gave a signal that the nation's leader is going to die just because of Dr. BR Ambedkar. This has become popular in the history of the Indian struggle as the Poona pact in

¹⁴¹Who Are the Dalits? (thoughtco.com)

1932.¹⁴² Ambedkar too had immense pressure from all over India. Later Ambedkar had to submit his compromise and signed the Poona pact in 1932. Poona pact provides reserved constituencies from 71 to 148. Historians analyze the Poona pact by focusing on Gandhi and Ambedkar as two representatives in two streams while others see Gandhi as a savior of the nation and victory for the Dalits in Ambedkar's stand.¹⁴³

After Ambedkar came into politics from the social movement, Dalits could learn a lot about political safeguards. He advocated equality, liberty, and fraternity. He has asserted that every citizen has a right to get social, political, and economic equality. That's how Dalits primarily urge for social rights and social democracy. Ambedkar clearly said that "political democracy will not be possible without social and economic democracy". Many years later Ambedkar contested for the legislative assembly from Mumbai but was defeated by the congress party and again contested from the Bengal constituency this time Muslim league supported and won the election. With the Dalit participation in electoral politics, mainstream politics had shaken a bit and also it caused political instability in the Indian political system.

After the independence major political change occurred with the formation of the Bahujan samaj party (BSP) in 1984 for the Bahujan in general Dalits in particular by Manyashri kanshiram who have shaken Indian politics and created a new path to politics of entire India. Many political parties have followed the steps taken by kanshiram. Bahujan samaj party gave braveness to the Dalits. Till then Dalits acted as voters now emerged into power politics and tasted political power all this because of the struggles of Ambedkar who paved the way for Dalit emancipation for centuries and generations. Hitherto all mainstream political parties gained a full majority when Dalits entered into the political system the entire situation has been changed and other political parties started getting less majority and failed to get deposit seats for some time. This is the major political impact and change that Dalits could see in the current situation due to the Dalit movement. In Andhra Pradesh, too Dalit voters have become deciding factors in the particular party they support in winning the elections. In case any party fails to get Dalit, votes will possibly be defeated in the elections. All these changes

¹⁴²Poona Pact History, Significance, & Facts Britannica

¹⁴³Basu, S. (2000, January). *The Poona pact and the issue of Dalit representation*. In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Vol. 61, pp. 986-998). Indian History Congress.

were made only by the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh and the sacrifices of Dalit leaders who took part in this movement.¹⁴⁴

Spreading political ideas of Ambedkar:

The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh has changed the perspective from observing the ideas of Ambedkar to spreading political ideas. In this regard, many Dalit journals and leaders could try to disseminate political ideas advocated by Ambedkar through the state. From the nizam state to the present, various Dalit publications have played an important part in disseminating Ambedkar's ideals. Bagya Nagar Patrika of Bhagya reddy Varma, stories of Jala Ramaswamy, and works of Kusuma Dharamanna have all helped to enlighten the Dalit society. The political ideas of Ambedkar are to get enter into the legislative and get power rather than being slaves and vote bank for mainstream politics, and women's representation in the legislative and parliament. Ambedkar pushed for women's freedom through the Hindu Code Bill, which Congress vehemently opposed. Despite being denied, it was propagated by Dalit officials and publications. The role of Dalit journals was very limited to spreading its ideas but after the Karamchedu massacre, its role has been expanded many Dalit journals have emerged. One of the most significant Dalit journals called Bahujana Kerataalu which is a socio-political journal has been carrying the Ambedkar caravan for nearly 30 years. It focuses mainly on the political ideas of Ambedkar, the dignity of Dalita Bahujan, atrocities on Dalits, and the empowerment of women. Mainly political power for the Dalits. Apart from this journal, Neeli Zenda, Samantara, Basa, Kula Nirmulana, etc., are spreading continuously the ideas of Ambedkar.¹⁴⁵

The role of Dalit leaders in Andhra Pradesh is more significant and worth mentioning that they have sacrificed their lives for Dalits and Ambedkarism. After the Karamchedu movement, many Dalit youths were inspired and decided to assert their identity. In these circumstances, Kathi Padma Rao a prominent Dalit leader emerged from the Karamchedu movement he was then a lecturer and resigned from the job and could lead the movement. He is the general secretary of a new organization called the Dalit

¹⁴⁴Pushpendra. (1999). Dalit assertion through electoral politics. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2609-2618.

¹⁴⁵Ratnam, K. Y. (2008). The Dalit movement and democratization in Andhra Pradesh; Berg, D. E. (2014). Karamchedu and the Dalit subject in Andhra Pradesh. *Contributions to Indian sociology*, 48(3), 383-408.

Mahasabha. Next, a Dalit public prosecutor from the high court, Bojja Tarakam, resigned for the Dalit movement's sake. He was the founder and president of Dalita Mahasabha. This organization popularised the word Dalit in a radical way. He was the only one who looked at the Ambedkar Yuvajana Sangham Ambedkar student groups. He participated first in the Nizamabad district then it speeded through the United States of Andhra Pradesh.

Through his tireless activism, Ambedkar statues have been installed in villages of the state. Bojja Tarakam ran a journal called Neeli Zenda (Blue Flag). Through this journal, he advocated making Dalit people know mainly the legal safeguards for the Dalit. He wrote a popular book called 'Poleesulu arrest cheste' (what could be done if police arrest you) this book denotes the details of criminal sections of the constitution. He combined caste and social status. As he was Marxist and Ambedkarite, many Dalits chastised him for allying with leftist groups. Though he had undergone surgery for a brain tumor he participated in the Laximpet massacre where six Dalits were killed brutally in 20014. He wrote another popular book Kulamu, Vargamu (caste and class), through this text he delves into the significance of caste and class in societal transformation. This text was written in the form of a story to appeal to a wider audience. This text has historical significance in terms of ideological perspectives that widened during democratic struggles. This highlights the distinctions between the radical left and the Dalit movements in terms of comprehending Indian social reality. It could be a beneficial program for both camps in the reconstruction of Indian society. Because Indian society is based on a caste system. People's sociopolitical, economic, and cultural identities are solely determined by caste. Furthermore, he posed the question of how caste and class can be abolished at the same time. He goes on to say that revolution is made up of two elements: caste and class. The abolition of caste is as revolutionary as the abolition of class. Caste is a mental materialistic revolution, whereas class is more limited in its considerations. The caste issue was not taken into account in the armed struggles in Srikakulam and Telangana. According to Tarakam, caste and class are political necessities that must be met immediately. Both Dalits and communists share responsibility for bringing about a revolution. Tarakan dreamed of bringing India's social revolution to fruition with conviction and vigor.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶Caste, Class and the Dalit Question (cpiml.org)

He fought and struggled for the weaker sections of the united state of Andhra Pradesh until his last breath. These two prominent figures have the potential to establish an autonomous Dalit organization. After churning his mind with Babasaheb Ambedkar's writings, Ingilala Ramchandra Rao, who came from a Naxalite background, realized and accepted that castes existed and played a dominant role in every sphere of Indian society. He left the Naxalite movement after that and joined the Dalit Mahasabha; later, in 1994, he founded the Ambedkar Dharma Porata Samithi, which is still fighting for the Dalit cause. It is the only organization that has continued Ambedkar's writings and speeches by holding political classes in almost all of Andhra Pradesh's districts. It has the potential to raise Dalit awareness and help them transition from slave to assertive behavior.¹⁴⁷

Representation and consciousness through the 73rd Amendment:

Panchayats were once viewed solely as a means of achieving village unity and solidarity, but freedom movements saw them as a structure for local self-government and gave them a political hue. In order to decentralize power and to group people with local administrative tasks, an effort should be made to form and develop village panchayats to manage village affairs. Some provisions for establishing local self-government were enacted through administrative reforms in 1919 and provincial legislation in 1935. Lord Rippon proposed that local bodies be established in India to promote the well-being and development of rural people. Mohan das Karamchand Gandhi, who strongly advocated village administration to empower people, provided a concrete conceptualization of the panchayat system. Under the five-tier system of village panchayats, taluka panchayats, district panchayats, provincial panchayats, and all-India panchayats, his vision of a village republic was to give villages more autonomy. Through panchayat raj institutions, Jawaharlal Nehru advocated for a socialist model of government.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, on the other hand, was opposed to the idea of panchayat raj, in which village lords who would become panchayat sarpanches would be unaccountable. Villages were places of violence, discrimination, and communalism for Ambedkar. Human rights are repeatedly violated when Dalits are left at the mercy of upper castes,

¹⁴⁷Godard, B. J., Mukherjee, A. P., & Mukherjee, A. (2006). Translating minoritized cultures: Issues of caste, class and gender. *Postcolonial Text*, 2(3).

as Dalits continue to witness caste-based prejudice for years and years. Ambedkar voiced his opinion. "Can it be expected of a population influenced by ancient prejudices: a population that disregards equality of status and is dominated by notions of life gradations: a population that believes some are high and some are low to have the right notions even to discharge basic justice? Sir, I disagree with that assertion and believe it is unreasonable to expect us to hand over our lives, liberty, and property to their panchayats.

The 73rd amendment to the Indian constitution has become a significant mechanism for power devolution and democratic decentralization. This amendment was enacted on December 23, 1992, to address differences in local government administration and to strengthen the governance process at the grassroots level. The panchayat raj reforms were implemented to improve efficiency, openness, and accessibility of quality public services, as well as to promote development through inclusion. It was also a response to the growing demand for an institution to bring marginalized communities and groups into the mainstream. In the panchayat raj institutions, it has drawn the representation of discriminated and marginalized communities such as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, as well as women. Certain percentages of seats are set aside for these groups in the constitution to ensure their representation and participation in the decision-making process. However, the performative nature of these institutions has revealed the selective exclusion of elected representatives based on caste, ethnicity, and gender. This is safeguarded under India's constitution. Although marginalized groups are represented, their effective and inclusive participation is not guaranteed. As a result, elected representatives from marginalized communities and groups are denied access to a variety of development programs administered by panchayat raj institutions.

The 73rd constitutional amendment, passed in 1992, marked the beginning of the era of marginalized groups' inclusion and representation in Panchayati raj institutions, as well as the end of any specific group's monopoly in local governance bodies. Women have shown a keen interest in occupying Panchayati offices and performing functions for the people following the 73rd amendment to panchayat raj. With the 74th amendment to the constitution, Dalits were able to gain political consciousness and begin participating in local government. Previously, they were denied such opportunities, but the constitution provided them with political power. Despite the fact that they are capable of performing their duties on their own, upper-caste political parties continue to be a hindrance to the

Dalits. They were not even allowed to sit in their assigned sarpanch chairs in some panchayat offices. However, due to the Ambedkarite caste movement, Dalits in some villages closer to towns have been able to assert their identity in front of upper-caste people.¹⁴⁸

The emergence of MRPS Movement:

The Madigas, particularly the urban and educated youth, are becoming increasingly dissatisfied. Despite the fact that the Madigas had unequal access to reservations, there was a passive, mild response, and they were unable to pool their interests for a long time for various reasons. However, it was for the first time in the early 1990s that it was expressed as a mass upsurge through "Dandora."

On July 7, 1994, at Edumudi village in Prakasam district, the Madiga youth who spearheaded the political campaign known as "Madiga Dandora" founded the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS). It was a mass expression of genuine public dissatisfaction that drew the most innocent and pure supporters. Manda Krishna and Ponuganti Krupakar, two new, young, dynamic, and enthusiastic leaders, are leading this movement. The caste Hindus considered the term Madiga to be an abusive utterance. The Dandora movement has elevated the term Madiga and raised awareness of its historical significance. Madigas have begun to express their political identity by adding the suffix Madiga to their names.

The Dandora movement's main observation was that there is an imbalance in the equality of opportunity in receiving the benefits of reservation policy. The Madigas were unable to benefit from reservations in proportion to their population among the Dalits because of their social position, so the reservation quota had to be divided and each properly constituted sub-group given its due. While requesting the Malas as an image of the oppressive, cunning, and selfish Mala who, through craft and deception, took away all of the benefits bestowed by the state on the scheduled castes, it was also stated that no Brahmin is more dangerous than the Malas, and thus the mala is the greater foe. As a reaction, the Mala Mahanadu was created, led by P.V. Rao, a former leader of the Ambedkar Yuvajana Snagham who took a strong stand. Instead of fighting

¹⁴⁸Narula, S. (1999). *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's "untouchables"*. Human Rights Watch; see also Caste Violence Against "Untouchables" In India (ambedkaritetoday.com)

among the Madigas and Malas for reservation division, Mala Mahanadu argued that Dalits should band together to increase the percentage of reservations proportionate to the increase in the Dalit population. It also demanded that reservations be properly implemented, including the backlog of unfilled vacancies in government departments. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi held two large public rallies and meetings after its formation. On May 31st, 1995, one was in Ongole town, which had 70,000 people. On November 27, 2016, the second one was held at the parade grounds in Secunderabad, with 2500,000 people in attendance. As a result, the movement elicited a massive response and grew in strength, gaining support from all sectors of society, particularly political parties and civil society organizations. The Andhra Pradesh government appointed two one-man commissions to look into this issue as a result of the MRPS's organized strength and dynamism. The first was by Justice Ramachandra Raju on September 10, 1996, and the second was by Justice Usha Mehra in 2007 to look into all aspects of reservations and their impact on Dalit development in the areas of education and employment. According to the commission, the Mala and Adi Andhra communities have a significantly higher share of public appointments and educational institutions than their respective populations. The then-TDP government acted quickly in response to the commission's recommendations, issuing orders 68 and 69 classifying scheduled caste reservations into A, B, C, and D groups, as recommended by the Justice Ramachandra Raju commission.(The report of the Usha Mehra Commission).

Economic Changes

Dalit Education:

The Indian caste system, according to Baba sahib Ambedkar, is a serious impediment to the development of a democratic system. The caste system is an Indian expression of institutionalized inequality and indignity, with some people being elevated while others are degraded, and untouchability is a curse of the caste system. The abolition of untouchability was a crucial constitutional provision for ensuring Dalit human dignity and a significant step toward equality and social justice. The Preamble of the Indian Constitution, which contains the Constitution's basic philosophy, could not be more eloquent. The primary goal of the organization is to achieve social justice. It is a tribute to the government's commitment to ensuring JUSTICE for all of its residents. Liberty of opinion, speech, religion, faith, and worship on a social, economic, and political level;

equality of position and opportunity; brotherhood ensuring human dignity. Some of these goals are protected by fundamental rights. It was during the freedom movement; the aspirations of the oppressed people rose up and Ambedkar symbolized and stimulated these growing aspirations. Given the balance of the social forces at the time of the drafting the Indian Constitution, providing education had come to be accepted as an obligation of the state. If only the democratic forces were far stronger, education, perhaps, would have been a fundamental right and got incorporated in part III of the Constitution.¹⁴⁹

Hence education provides employment for the Dalits. When they get employment, they would have the possibility to get rid of poverty in which they have been living for several centuries. Christian missionaries were first messiahs for the Dalits in India. The Madras government and addressed sporadically until the 1980s, issues relating to the exclusion of untouchable children from schools did not have a consistent policy.¹⁵⁰ In May 1891, the Madras Missionaries' Conference presented the governor with a comprehensive memorial detailing the deplorable conditions and suffering of untouchables and other low castes in the Madras presidency's towns and villages. On the basis of the madras presidency and noted that the whole of these peoples stands entirely apart from the other Hindu castes, who regard contact with them as pollution and who have for many centuries despised and degraded them. While drawing the government's attention to the miserable conditions of the untouchable, the memorial mentioned certain facets to support the need for special intervention on behalf of the Parish community (Scheduled caste community in present Tamilnadu).¹⁵¹

Empowerment through Employment:

Increased Dalit freedom, which reduced reliance on upper-caste employers such as Reddies and Kapus, was discovered as an important empowerment mechanism during fieldwork. These are undeniably the results of long-term processes of change, including education, exposure to democracy, and equality before the law, but which have accelerated due to social protection policies like MGNREGA and have repercussions on

¹⁴⁹The Grammar of Anarchy' (outlookindia.com); Mehra, A. K. (2007). The Indian Parliament and the "Grammar of Anarchy". *National Social Watch India. Citizens' Report on Governance and Development, New Delhi: Sage.*

¹⁵⁰Galanter, M. (1969). Untouchability and the Law. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 131-170.

¹⁵¹Mayell, H. (2003). India's "untouchables" face violence, discrimination. *National Geographic News*, 2.

both the community and market domains, while a survey shows that signs of deference by Dalits were common, encapsulated in the notion of internalized subordination or fear, which has been historically instilled in them by the upper castes. First, non-farm job opportunities, such as the ability to commute to nearby urban centers and migrate seasonally to larger cities, help to reduce lower castes' reliance on landowners while simultaneously increasing landed farmers' reliance on Dalit laborers, particularly in areas where farm labor is scarce. The Dalit's reliance on landowners is dwindling.

The speed of development is quickening. The Reddys' influence has waned significantly. We used to be completely reliant on them for all of our needs. People are now better educated, and they are getting jobs in the united Telugu states, thanks to government assistance such as subsidies, loans, and the MGNREGA program. For the Dalits, waged labor combined with the security of a regular income often translates into more freedom. A Dalit expresses their joy in a village where the scheme is proving to be extremely successful. Reddies decided a few years ago that we would not be allowed to work in their fields because they were being punished for their disrespect. The Reddys employed workers from outside the community. It was difficult for them at times. But something like this can no longer happen. Finally, Dalits have a job guarantee through MGNREGA. Dalits have become less reliant and more self-assured.¹⁵²

When Dalits refuse to accept the subhuman existence that the traditional social order has reserved for them for many years, dominant castes use words like insolence, arrogance, and disrespect to describe their behavior. In a social setting where Dalits are expected to be completed at the disposal of upper dominating castes or upwardly mobile backward castes, the capacity of farm laborers to negotiate their job with landlords amounts to anything but a challenge to the social order, and significantly, this shift in power relations boosts impoverished people's confidence and feeling of dignity.

Within the same framework, there are processes of empowerment and oppression. As a result of the research, the following conclusions can be drawn: first MNREGA undoubtedly provides income security and an independent source of income, reducing people's reliance on more powerful actors such as upper or intermediate caste

¹⁵²Dutta, S. (2015). *An uneven path to accountability: A comparative study of MGNREGA in two states of India* (No. SP I 2015-201). WZB discussion paper.

landowners' husbands and moneylenders unintentionally. Reduced dependency, on the other hand, does not always imply greater freedom or empowerment; in some cases, reduced dependency has paradoxical effects that worsen the situation, particularly in terms of intra-household relations. Second, the significance of gender and caste norms must be emphasized. MGNREGA provides a minimum level of independence and income security, allowing Dalit women and men to make decisions that challenge social norms. Because acts of defiance are usually quite visible in a small context like a village, when a debt-free Dalit agricultural laborer dares not to stand up when an upper caste landowner approaches, others may follow suit, gradually making it the new normal. Similarly, as more women refuse to pay their alcoholic husbands their MGNREGA wages, this may encourage other women to do the same.

Finally, it is clear that social norms continue to be a powerful source of disempowerment, influencing what people perceive to be desirable, possible, or even thinkable in their lives, while policies like MGNREGA can help to change those norms. Poverty, which still affects the majority of Dalit people, is clearly a major weakness in the fight against oppressive social hierarchies.¹⁵³

Dalits and land demand:

Land distribution is arguably the most important determinant of the nature of socioeconomic and power relations in an agrarian economy.

In the four-tiered Hindu society of India, caste plays a critical role in social dynamics. The upper castes in the caste hierarchy reaped all of the economic, social, and political benefits, while the lower castes were denied even a semblance of equality with the upper castes. Dalits, also known as Panchmas or Harijans, were socially, economically, and politically oppressed in traditional Hindu hierarchical societies. Scavenging and leatherwork were the primary sources of income for the Dalits. Furthermore, they were not permitted to own land or lease land. This pattern persisted until the British took over. The socioeconomic conditions of Dalits changed dramatically during the British period. During the British period in India, Dalits were granted land rights for the first time, but for different reasons. The Madras Presidency appointed a commission in 1891

¹⁵³Babu, C. V., & Sudhakar, G. (2014). MGNREGA: Making Way for Social Change in Women's: A Case Study of Musunuru Mandal in Andhra Pradesh. *International Journal of Engineering and Management Research (IJEMR)*, 4(6), 1-5.

to study the conditions of the Pariahs (Dalits in Tamil Nadu) and received a positive report to assign lands to Dalits.

The policy of assigning land to Pariahs began in every Ryotwari village in 1918. These depressed groups were given land not only for cultivation, but also for the construction of houses, the establishment of schools, and the formation of small Pariah settlements. The amount of land set aside for agriculture increased from 19,251 acres in 1920-21 to 3, 42,611 acres in 1931. The Permanent Settlement Act of 1793, on the other hand, made significant changes in the land revenue system and created new intermediaries between the State and cultivators, namely Zamindars, Ryotwaris, and Inamdars.

In light of the land situation shortly after independence, the State's commitment to land reforms was, in a sense, enshrined in the Constitution itself. The state shall direct its policy toward securing the ownership and control of the community's material in such a way that they are distributed best to serve the common good, according to Article 39 of the Constitution, which is part of the Directive Principles of State Policy. In addition, Article 38 of the Constitution envisioned a social order in which inequalities in status and opportunities were eliminated and income disparities were minimized. The Indian Constitution's first amendment was enacted, among other things, to validate the Bihar Land Reforms Act of 1950. The government at the federal level developed a land reform policy in the early 1950s. In the first Five Year Plan, 1951-1956, the first authoritative outline of a national policy on land reforms, including a ceiling on agricultural holdings, was clearly laid out. This plan emphasized the goal of land reforms in terms of the social aspect of land policy, such as reducing wealth and income disparities, eliminating exploitation, providing tenants and workers with security of tenure, and, finally, providing equal status and opportunity to different sections of the rural population over time.

The subsequent Five-Year Plans continued to emphasize land reforms, leading to the development of a comprehensive land policy that included the elimination of intermediaries, tenancy reforms, imposition of landholding ceilings, distribution of surplus land, allotment of government land, consolidation of holdings, and protection of SC/ST lands. This is because, following the formation of the then-Andhra Pradesh State, the Reddys, Kammas, Velamas, and Kshatriyas emerged as economically, socially, and politically powerful people because they controlled nearly 90% of the

land, whereas the SCs and STs remained landless agricultural laborers due to land denial. To close this gap, the government of Andhra Pradesh took steps to redistribute land among the landless poor. In this paper, an attempt has been made to present the patterns of land distribution among the landless poor by the Government of Andhra Pradesh from 01-11-1969 to 25-01-2005 in four phases. Table 6 shows that between 1969 and 2005, about 9,88,474 acres of land were distributed to 6,87,018 SC families, while about 12,46,839 acres of land were distributed to 8,52,972 ST families.

A significant extent of land was distributed in Anantapur 1, 37,311 acres among the SCs and 1, 71,846 acres among the ST and Nellore 1, 00,338 acres among the SCs and 1, 17,921 acres among the STs, while a lesser extent of land was distributed in the irrigated delta regions such as East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, and Ranga Reddy districts the extent of distributed land was less in Ranga Reddy District because of urbanization.¹⁵⁴

Distribution of land continues to be a major issue in our country, especially in rural areas, where a large section of the population subsists on agriculture or agriculture-related activities. It is rather ironic that despite successive rulers including the British being seized of the problem, uneven distribution of land continues to be a major area of concern. The framers of our Constitution did speak about ensuring equitable justice to all citizens and there has been a spate of legislation aimed at bringing about comprehensive land reforms. Conscious efforts were made to distribute surplus land to the landless, especially those who have previously been excluded from society.¹⁵⁵ However, the land ownership pattern continues to be rather skewed in favor of the powerful sections of society. Even in cases where the Dalits are, on paper, the owners of the land in question, there is every possibility that the actual benefits are being reaped by someone else. There have also been instances of uncultivable or barren land being handed over to the beneficiaries. The situation is no different in the erstwhile State of Andhra Pradesh, which had always prided itself on being termed the 'rice bowl' of India. True there have been a number of legislations and statistics to highlight the extent of land made available to the legitimate claimants but have these successfully addressed the issue of equitable distribution of land? Have there not been sufficient

¹⁵⁴Anand, I. (2016). Dalit emancipation and the land question. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Pp12-14.

¹⁵⁵Daley, E., Flower, C., Miggiano, L., & Pallas, S. (2013). Women's land rights and gender justice in land governance: pillars in the promotion and protection of women's human rights in rural areas. *International Land Coalition Network, Rome*, 1-21.

loopholes to enable vested interests to circumvent the provisions with impunity? The lawmakers especially in the two new States need to address these issues on priority. They need to remember that merely passing legislation is not enough.¹⁵⁶

Bhopal declaration:

A conference of Dalit and tribal intellectuals and activists was recently held in Bhopal. They issued the Bhopal Declaration, which charted a new course for Dalits and tribal people in the twenty-first century. Following a call for the implementation of the policies enshrined in our Constitution for their development, the Declaration emphasizes the importance of providing representation for these deprived classes not only in government and public institutions but also in private corporations and enterprises that benefit from government funds and facilities, particularly in this era of privatization. Indeed, in the present and future economic models, the private industry must implement progressive and more equitable social policy in order for these marginalized groups to be raised out of poverty and homelessness and given fundamental freedoms and civil human beings. The Bhopal Conference held on January 12-13, 2002, is a shining example of how government and people can work together to chart a new path for Dalit socioeconomic development. Despite the fact that the conference was held under the auspices of the Madhya Pradesh government, it has piqued the interest of Dalits all over the world. The Bhopal Conference and Declaration sparked heated debate in India, and the Honourable President of India acknowledged and endorsed the initiative in his Republic Day Address in 2002. The first recipient of the now-historic Bhopal Declaration was the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Shri. Digvijay Singh. The Chief Minister made two significant announcements shortly after receiving the Declaration at the Conference's closing ceremony on January 13:¹⁵⁷ Beginning in the fiscal year 2002-2003, the government of Madhya Pradesh will implement Supplier Diversity, with 30 percent of government purchases coming from SC and ST traders and businessmen. He stated that the Supplier Diversity program would be implemented first in the Department of SC and ST Welfare. A Task Force on the Bhopal Declaration would be established, with the Chief Minister as its

¹⁵⁶Reddy, M. G., Kumar, K. A., Rao, P. T., Springate-Baginski, O., Rao, M. P. T., & District, E. G. (2010). The Making of Andhra's Forest Underclass: An Historical Institutional Analysis of Forest Rights Deprivations. *Manchester: University of Manchester, Institutions and Pro-Poor Growth Program (Discussion Paper 42)*.

¹⁵⁷Jaffrelot, C. (2010). Abhinav Bharat, the Malegaon blast and Hindu nationalism: Resisting and emulating Islamist terrorism. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51-58.

Chairman, to make recommendations to the government on the implementation of the Bhopal Declaration's 21-Point Agenda. when it comes to Andhra Pradesh, a former advocate of the High court Bojjatarakam became a member of the Bhopal declaration and he contributed to the Dalit community becoming entrepreneurs. As part of it, the Andhra Pradesh segment of DICCI has emerged.¹⁵⁸

Reservations in the Private Sector:

Article 16(4) of the Constitution provides for employment reservations for people who are socially and educationally disadvantaged. Neither the private nor the public sectors are mentioned. The government is only required to make reservations. Faced with severe group-structured inequalities, deprivation associated with untouchability, caste-based discrimination, and the pressing need to address these inequalities, the Indian state has made explicit use of a variety of anti-discrimination remedies in the areas of employment, education, politics, and civil rights. Such policies, on the other hand, are limited to a small government and public sector, while the vast private sector, which includes agriculture, industry, and the service sector, is exempt from the reservation policy.

Other countries, on the other hand, have implemented similar policies in both the public and private sectors. Following the privatization of an already small public sector and the State's selective withdrawal under the liberalization policy, serious concerns have been expressed about the significance of the public sector reservation policy. Both inside and outside the Indian Parliament, there has been a growing demand, particularly among Dalits, for some kind of private-sector reservation policy. 1 Government initiatives have been taken in response to such demands. The first such initiative was the state of Madhya Pradesh's decision in 2002 to give SC/STs a share of government contracts. 2 In addition, the Maharashtra government went one step further and passed a law allowing for reservation in private sector jobs. More importantly, the current United Progressive Alliance UPA government's Common Minimum Program approves private sector reservations. The current UPA administration has established a Standing Committee to develop a policy for extending reservation to the private sector in India. However, before making any such 2 Indian Institute of Dalit Studies Volume I, Number 01 decision, the government has called for a national dialogue to reach a common

¹⁵⁸Bojja Tharakam : A biographical note · Dalit Camera

understanding on the issue. 3 Since the government announced the need for a dialogue on private sector reservation, various segments of Indian civil society, academics, corporate executives, the media, and political leaders have expressed opposing viewpoints, which are frequently at odds with one another. In a short period of time, a large body of literature has emerged that reveals the inner workings of Indian civil society on one of the most pressing issues it faces, namely, finding solutions to the historical deprivation and ongoing discrimination of marginalized communities. The liberalization and privatization policies reduced the number of job opportunities in the public sector, resulting in fewer jobs for SC/STs and OBCs in government administration and government-owned enterprises. According to the report of the National Commission on Scheduled Castes' Working Group on Empowering SCs, the SCs lost about 1,13,430 job opportunities in the central government between 1992 and 1997, a decrease of 10.07 percent. Following the revelation of reduced job opportunities in the public sector, some political parties and their leaders pushed for reservations to be extended to the growing private sector.

This demand makes the implicit assumption that job opportunities are growing in the private sector simply because it is expanding. The reservation issue has been under close scrutiny since it was first discussed in the Constitution Assembly. However, in the last two decades, the debate has broadened to include the demand for reservation in the private sector. Surprisingly, the issue gained international attention during the 2000 World Conference Against Racism in Durban.¹⁵⁹

Following the 2004 parliamentary elections, the Congress, which did not receive the expected level of support from the SC/STs and Muslims, decided to join the Left in order to make the vocal demand a reality. The United Progressive Alliance government promised to enact a law to implement reservations in the private sector as part of its Common Minimum Programme. In his address to the joint session of parliament, the president mentioned the country's policy goals.¹⁶⁰ "The government is attentive to the subject of affirmative action, includes reservations in the private sector," the president said, "and it is devoted to fostering the socioeconomic and educational growth of the

¹⁵⁹Tremblay, K., Lalancette, D., & Roseveare, D. (2012). *Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes: Feasibility Study Report, Volume 1—Design and Implementation*. Paris, France: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1.

¹⁶⁰Mendy, M., Caboux, E., Lawlor, R. T., Wright, J., & Wild, C. P. (2017). *Common minimum technical standards and protocols for biobanks dedicated to cancer research*. Lyon, France: International Agency for Research on Cancer.

SC/STs." My administration will convene a meeting with political parties, business, and other organizations to discuss how the private sector can better meet the needs of SCs and STs." In one of his public speeches, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh declared, "No one can halt an idea whose time has come. "Those who are opposed to the move will be unable to do so once a national policy is implemented." He assured the industrialists, however, that such a policy would not be imposed and that the private sector should take the initiative. The Left parties, however, were not willing to accept such a passive approach and forced the UPA government to form a Group of Ministers under the chairmanship of agriculture minister Sharad Pawar, with members including finance minister P Chidambaram, commerce minister Kamal Nath, and communications minister Dayanidhi Maran, and convenor Meira Kumar, minister of employment and social justice. When structural economic reforms began in the 1990s, Manmohan Singh was the finance minister. Government controls and economically unjustifiable regulations on the private sector were dismantled as part of the liberalization process. However, since becoming Prime Minister, he has championed reservations in the private sector, which is a form of regulation governing the private sector's workforce selection. The Private Sector's Response Before we look into the implications of the proposed policy, it would be useful to know what the private sector has to say about it. The captains of the industry's initial reaction were Implications of Reservations in the Private Sector. The idea of extending reservations to the private sector has sparked a debate.

The private sector has mixed feelings about the idea. The case could end up in front of the Supreme Court once more. The proposal's implications could be that labor productivity in the private sector declines, the undeserving among the SC/STs and OBCs get most of the benefits as they have in the public sector in the past, and reservations may not mean much for the truly marginalized SC/STs because they are not equipped to take advantage of the benefits. It is unwise and a setback to economic liberalization to oppose it. For example, Rahul Bajaj, the chairman of Bajaj Auto, published an article in The Times of India opposing any reservation policy imposed on the private sector. He argued that it would be detrimental to merit, and that the private sector has already given one-third of jobs to SC/STs and OBCs on the basis of merit, with no discrimination. The president of the CII, Sunil Kumar Munjal, opposed the move, claiming that they cannot be forced to hire people who lack the necessary skills.

We can't afford to take shortcuts when it comes to efficiency. This would have an impact on our ability to compete. On merit, we cannot make any concessions. The corporate sector does not discriminate based on skin color, caste, or last name. "I am not against reservations, but they should be based on economics, not caste," said N R Narayana Murthy, chairman of Infosys. If a person is financially disadvantaged, he believes that they should be given priority.

Emergence of DICCI:

Due to the results of Bhopal declaration, Dalit entrepreneurs have been emerged. Andhra Pradesh has created its own dalit businessman, Mannam Madhusudhan Rao, from the Prakasham District. In India, recent developments in and around the issue of neoliberalism and its ability to ensure the inclusive development of marginalized groups have sparked a heated debate. The Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI), which was founded in 2005, spearheaded the capitalist school's arguments, which were modified to meet the needs of the Dalit movement in India. Within the Dalit movement, there were doubts and arguments about capitalism and its associated concepts such as globalization and neo-liberalization in terms of developing the country's marginalized sections. The issues raised and proposed by the DICCI and its chief mentor Chandra Bhanu Prasad are critically evaluated in this article. The DICCI relied on the thought and theory of Dalit emancipation messiah Baba Saheb Ambedkar to bolster its arguments.¹⁶¹ Gopal Guru (2012) used Guy Debord's theory in his article on Dalit capitalism of spectacle to outline the Dalit millionaire's emergence as a low intense spectacle.¹⁶² He argues that the money-printing industry was never a feature of the Ambedkar movement and that Dalits must refrain from congratulating individuals on their financial achievements. Ambedkar, it was noted, never succumbed to profit-making ideologies and was a staunch opponent of capitalism. "With caste neatly entwined in modern secular institutions, the odds have therefore doubled against the great majority of Dalits." Citing sporadic cases of Dalit small capitalists as the hallmark of development in the midst of this dismal Dalit reality is really nothing less of a cruel joke," he continues. Criticizing Indian socialists who, like their European counterparts, strive to understand everything through the lens of economics, believing that "man is an

¹⁶¹Ideas of India: On Ambedkarism, Caste and Dalit Capitalism - Discourse (discoursemagazine.com)

¹⁶²Prakash, A. (2018). Dalit capital and markets: A case of unfavorable inclusion. *Journal of Social Inclusion Studies*, 4(1), 51-61.

economic creature" and that "property seems to be the only source of power." Ambedkar states that socialists look upon social and political reforms as massive illusions and that the "equalization of property" has to precede every other reform.¹⁶³ He makes it clear that it is not only the economic motive which drives human beings but a number of others too such as the socio-religious and political ones. The social status of an individual can be a source of power and authority over common people as can be seen in the case of the mahatmas. And faith too acts as a source of power where the "penniless Sadhus and Fakirs" have more power than the millionaires¹⁶⁴. The Dalit small entrepreneur's failure stories show that their caste excluded them from the market and they failed to get support from state mechanisms such as banks and other funding bodies because of this. Similarly, job applicants with names similar to Dalit names got rejected while that of applicants with names similar to that of the upper-caste ones were called for interviews even though their qualifications were much lower. The Dalit capitalist's method of taking the help of capitalism to counter inequalities and exclusions is doomed to failure as Ambedkar said, without removing the social handicaps.¹⁶⁵

SC, ST Sub-Plan:

The state of Andhra Pradesh approved the "Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation, and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act. No. 1 of 2013" in 2013. Andhra Pradesh is the first state in the country to take such action through legislation. The Act aims to ensure accelerated development of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), with a focus on achieving equality through economic, educational, and human development, as well as ensuring security and social dignity, and promoting equity among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, by allocating a portion of the State's budget to each of these groups in proportion to their population. The Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP)/Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) of Andhra Pradesh receives a portion of the state's total plan outlay. According to the Act, schemes included in the SCSP/TSP should provide direct and quantifiable benefits to Scheduled Caste individuals, Scheduled Caste households, and Scheduled

¹⁶³Das, D. (2021). The Untouchability of Dalits: The Economic and Social Exclusion of Dalits in the Post-Independence Era.

¹⁶⁴Srivatsan, R. (2008). From Ambedkar to Thakkar and Beyond: towards a Genealogy of Our activism. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 96-102.

¹⁶⁵Ideas of India: On Ambedkarism, Caste and Dalit Capitalism - Discourse (discoursemagazine.com)

Caste habitations, as well as close the development gap between SCs and STs when compared to state averages. The Act also ensures that the Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan/Tribal Sub-Plan is implemented through effective institutional mechanisms. As a result, the Minister of Social Welfare chairs the Nodal Agency for the Implementation of the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP).

The Nodal Department for the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan is the Social Welfare Department. The Nodal Agency for SCSP recommends that schemes that meet the criteria, particularly in terms of direct and quantifiable benefits and bridging the development indicators gap, be included in the Annual Plan proposals of the respective departments and aggregated for presentation to the State Council for SCs and STs for consideration and approval as part of the pre-budget process. The SCSP creates social equity and strengthens the Scheduled Castes by moving away from the traditional practices of allocating nominal appropriations to each sector on an algebraic basis to one of the distributions that give direct and measurable benefits and may bridge the infrastructure gaps across sectors to achieve equitably. The State Council for Development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, chaired by the hon'ble Chief minister, was established by the Government to exercise conferred powers and perform functions related to the Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and the Tribal Sub-Plan. The State Council advises the State government on all policy matters relating to SCSP/TSP and recommends measures to ensure proper planning, implementation of the schemes by the Departments, and approval of the Departments' Annual SCSP proposals. According to the 2011 Population Census, the SCSP outlay for the year 2015-16 shall be 17.08 percent of the total outlay, in proportion to the total population of Scheduled Castes in the state. The funds available under the SCSP are not allocated to the two departments based on arithmetic, but rather on investing in sectors/habitations that will close the development gap. Depending on the need assessment, department allocations range from less than 17.08 percent to more than 17.08 percent equal to 17.08 percent and no outlays. There will be no allocations in some departments because they do not provide any specific or non-specific quantifiable or even indirect benefit to SC/ST beneficiaries. More precisely, there are two forms of reporting for SCSPs that benefit SCs: those that give direct and quantitative advantages and those that are not divisible. When indicating Scheduled Castes Sub Plan allocation, the Nodal Agency follows the following

guidelines. SC Tt sub plan was dubbed "Garibi Hatao" (Remove Poverty) during the prime ministership of Indhira Gandhi, according to Dalit activist Bojja Tarakam.¹⁶⁶

Cultural Change:

The Dalit social movement was a reclamation of Dalit spaces by declaring their identity in cultural public spheres that had long been controlled by privileged castes and groups. Gopal Guru refers to this phenomenon as the "re-emergence" of Dalit culture, asserting the validity of their tradition that had been hijacked by the higher castes. The Dalits had nothing in ancient India's tradition that they could be proud of, so they had to look to their own culture to develop myths, and they had to reject religious texts to create their own culture, so they created their own poetry, folk songs, and musical instruments "to satisfy their cultural needs and aspirations." The social and cultural life of the Dalits was very heinous in earlier times. Historically Dalits in Andhra Pradesh are called Malas and Madigas. The Malas and Madigas were the lowest castes in the caste system. The ancient Hindu book Manusmriti is regarded as a source of caste inequalities in India. Individuals are assigned a hierarchical status by the caste system. The caste system is described in Hindu religious texts as a system of four varnas. The Hindu society is divided into Brahmins, who are priests, Kshatriyas, who are warriors, Vaishyas, who are traders, and Shudras, who are servants.

The untouchables, or varnas, exist outside of these four varnas. These rigid caste groups are thought to have originated with the Hindu god Brahma. Brahmins were created from Brahma's mouth, Kshatriyas from his arms, Vaishyas from his thighs, and Sudras from his feet, according to legend. The castes at the top of the hierarchy were thought to be pure, whereas the castes at the bottom were thought to be polluted. Manusmriti defends the caste system as the foundation for social order. Furthermore, as can be seen in the following verses, the book enshrined the violence to be meted out to lower castes: A low-caste man who tries to sit in the same seat as a high-caste man is scolded shall have his hip branded and be expelled If he mentions the names and castes of the with contumely, a ten-finger long iron nail will be thrust into his mouth red-hot. The Manusmriti's structural cruelty prevented Malas and Madigas from living a dignified life. They had been despised and degraded for centuries, and they were in a miserable state as a result of antaranitanam (untouchability) and chudaranitanam (discrimination)

¹⁶⁶Srinivas, N., Pradesh, A., & Ashok, T. Literature as a Vehicle for Social Transformation.

(unseenability). Other castes despised their presence and approach because they were thought to be impure; even their shadow was thought to be a pollutant. Their social value was not recognised by the caste system, and they were not treated as human beings.

The Madigas and Malas were denied access to public places such as temples, schools, and wells for drinking water. From 1851 to 1860, there were several instances of community-based conversion movements. After three decades of missionary work and mass conversions in the 1850s, a visible public Christian community emerged. Through mass conversion movements, Dalits joined the mission and became Christians. The humanitarian and charitable activities of missionaries will be examined in the following section, as well as their social interactions with Dalits and the Reddys, who were the dominant peasant caste in the coastal Andhra region. They made up half of the region's population. They were the owners of lands, monopolizers of resources, and rulers of villages. Village magistrates were typically drawn from this caste. Dalits were referred to as pariahs, low castes, non-castes, outcastes, untouchables, panchamas, depressed classes, Malas, and Madigas in missionary texts and colonial administrative records of the districts. Wherever possible, specific caste names are used. In 1927, Dr. Ambedkar publicly burned the text of Manusmriti as a political act to reject the religious foundation for untouchability. To learn more about Madigas and Malas' daily lives, as well as their social and religious lives. Wada or pallid religious gestures of sharing food and living space (Dalit colony). They also transformed Wada or Palli into a new spatiality in which social relations were transformed and a Christian community arose.¹⁶⁷

Creating a Social Space in Palem:

In Rayalaseema society, the villages were geographically separated. A village's social structure was inscribed with the Hindu caste system, complete with all of Manu's requirements. There were two types of habitats in the village: savarnas' houses and avarnas' huts, which were separated by a distance. The Brahmanical Hindu caste society forbade Malas and Madigas from living in the village amid the savarnas' dwellings to avoid defilement from lower castes even through the breeze. They weren't thought to be

¹⁶⁷Chandra Sekhar, C. (2019). In Search of a Touchable Body: Christian Mission and Dalit Conversions. *Religions*, 10(12), 644.

ooru (village). They resided on the edges of the settlement in a ghetto known as geri or palem. Unlike other classes who lived in mud-roofed homes, the Malas were more concerned with missions and empire. In Hindu mythology, Manu is considered the founder of the human race. He was a poet and the author of the book Manusmriti.

In Tamil, it's known as ceri, while in Kannada, it's known as keri. Benaiah Cole coined the name "Wada" or "Palli." Villagers thought Dalit communities were filthy and unclean. Palem was shunned by the people. Missionaries who were considered as strong and powerful by the village people, on the other hand, came to Palem, remained there, and engaged with Dalits. They also turned this area into a social center by providing additional public meeting facilities like churches and schools. This new spatiality was the epicenter of social revolution. It demonstrates how particular missionary activities served to challenge established caste conventions and build new social interactions in the community to support this assertion. The villages avoided Palem. Missionaries who were considered as strong and powerful by the village people, on the other hand, came to Palem, remained there, and engaged with Dalits. They also turned this space into a social center by providing additional public meeting facilities like churches and schools. This new spatiality was the epicenter of social revolution. Demonstrate this by showing how the missionaries' efforts aided in challenging traditional caste conventions and forming new social relationships in the hamlet. Dalits and missionaries engage in Palem. Source. Communication with others It's vital to investigate missionaries' relationships with Dalits on a social level.

The "white angel" and the "lower castes," or the mighty and the powerless, collided in this meeting. This was likely the very first time a foreigner engaged with Dalits; hence it was crucial in their life. Unlike the ruling castes, who considered Dalits as slaves, missionaries recognised them as fellow humans with a body, souls, sentiments, and emotions. By mingling with Dalits, missionaries disproved the popular belief that Dalits were the poorest of the poor who polluted the environment. During their talk, the preachers told Dalits about their encounters with missionaries in Palem. Communication with others It is critical to investigate the social contacts of missionaries with Dalits. This confrontation was depicted as between one of the white angels and the lower castes, as well as the powerful and helpless religions. This was likely the first occasion a foreigner engaged with Dalits; hence it was crucial in their life. Unlike the ruling castes, who considered Dalits as laborers, missionaries

recognised them as fellow humans with a body, soul, sentiments, and emotions. The missionary challenged the common assumption that Dalits were the poorest of the poor whose presence degraded the environment by mingling with them.

During their chat, the preachers told the Dalit, "You are the child of God. "He made you, adores you, and wishes to just save you," he says. ¹⁰ Until that time, Hindu culture taught Dalits that they had been cursed, lower castes, and Chandalas, and so unworthy of worshiping God. The preachers, on the other hand, told them that they would be God's creation, that people, too, had been made by God, and that God was watching over them. These words were intriguing and illuminating to the Dalits. During their time in Palem, missionaries visited every Dalit family and enquired about their issues.

Act of touching and role of Christian missionaries:

The act of touching played an important role in the relationship between the missionaries and the Dalits. Derrida considers 'touch' in Christianity, observing that salvation saves through touching, and that the Saviour, namely the Toucher, is touched as well. Jesus, the savior, is the One who touches, and he does so most often with his hand, and most often to save us. As a result, touch is extremely important in Christianity. The concept of touch is central to the discussion of untouchability. Manu's codification of the Hindu way of life conditioned Dalits' minds to believe that touching caste Hindus was a grave sin. Furthermore, touching untouchables was considered a sin according to Manu's laws. Caste society regarded and treated the Dalit individual's body as untouchable, unclean, and polluted. It wasn't just the untouchable's body that was considered impure; even their shadow was considered impure. As a result, they were only allowed to walk through the village at certain times. The majority of the time, they were forced to stay in the *ceri*. According to political theorist Gopal Guru, an untouchable person's body and shadow work in a circle to create a humiliating experience for them. The taboo of the shadow of the untouchables made physical closeness impossible, removing the possibility of human beings ever touching each other. As a result, the real and the reflected were entwined in the politics of eradicating untouchables from society's love and acceptance. An individual from a Dalit community was never touched by anyone outside of his own community. In this context, a missionary's touch becomes extremely significant in the history of Dalits. The missionaries acknowledged and touched the untouchable body.

Touching is more than just a physical act or a practical action. The act of touching is extremely powerful for Dalits who have been treated as untouchables because it has its own historical and cultural significance. Touching is incompatible with untouchability. The touch established a complex form of connection because it established a relationship between the missionary, who touches, and the Dalit, who is touched. An illustration from Telugu literature depicts the missionary touching a Dalit and what that meant to the Dalit. Chinnodu, a Dalit, was summoned by the Tella Dora White Missionary to come near him in the novel *The Untouchable Spring*. Chinnodu's hand was held by the missionary, who also placed his hand on his shoulder. When Chinnodu was so touched, he couldn't believe what had happened. People from outside his community had never seen him before. The missionary, on the other hand, touched him; he was not from that village, not from that region, and he was not from that land. He was touched by the missionary, who stated that his body was not impenetrable. He didn't just say it; he demonstrated it with his touch. In Andhra Pradesh, the American Baptist Mission was also active. Dalits were taken aback when missionaries told them that their bodies could be touched. It could be argued that the missionaries' touch provided Dalits with comfort, empowerment, acknowledgment, and affirmation of humanity. "Touching reintroduced human dignity to a body that was before hated, detested, and feared," Christopher contends¹⁶⁸. For Dalits, who'd been taught for generations that their body, presence, and presence were dirty and untouchable, the missionaries' touch was freeing and humanizing. Dalits were indoctrinated to think that even gods were defiled when they were in their presence or when they contacted them. On the other hand, the existence of Dalits had no influence on the preachers' god. The contact of the missionaries had a significant influence on Dalit life because it eliminated the prejudice that their body were undeserving of being touched. The situation of Narayanamma, a public servant in the Anantapur municipality of Andhra Pradesh, is both revolting and degrading to mankind. Her daily task is to collect feces on a metal plate with her broom and then transfer it to her basket, which she carries on her head. Even after washing or bathing, she claims that the odor of feces never leaves her body. It lingers in her hair, on her skin, in her clothes, and even in the food she consumes. Because they are powerless and unable to find alternative means, people like Narayanamma have no choice but to continue with similar occupations. However, in

¹⁶⁸Hobson, C. (2022). The Moral Untouchability of the Responsibility to Protect. *Journal of Intervention and State building*, 1-18.

order to escape these low-wage jobs and the stigma associated with them, young people migrate to towns and cities.

Inter-Dining:

Sharing a meal together drew missionaries and Dalits nearer together. A shared meal draws people together and helps them feel like they belong. The Brahmanical Hindu social organization and culture forbade inter-dining, especially with Dalit populations. Hindus found inter-dining to be disrespectful since it opposed their holy values and ideas. It is often claimed that consuming Dalit-prepared food and dining with Dalits contaminated the ruling caste. Dalits' bodies and appearance were not only seen as filthy, but their cuisine was also regarded as dirty and contaminated. In this setting, the relevance of inter-dining with Dalits becomes really clear. Missionaries fed Dalit converts in their thatched homes. Todman, a Cuddapah missionary, shared meals with Dalit converts who sat on the floor together and were spotted "eating in the indigenous way with fingers" on his travels to villages.

"Todman and his wife were asked to dine in one of the villages after their baptism by Dalits. They shared their dinner with the baptized family. Dorothea Smith, an Anantapur missionary, sat on a mat and had a supper with a Dalit family. They gathered around after lunch and discussed certain Bible texts. As Shuman put it, "community" is "the activity of eating and sharing meals with others, which not only keeps the physical body in good shape but also deepens and establishes social relationships Consuming Dalit-made food served on Dalit-made dishes was a way of bringing the community together. Missionaries dining in Dalit houses symbolised the former's membership in the Dalit society. The sentiments of love, pleasure, and camaraderie that Dalits had as a result of sharing a meal with missionaries were crucial. It also allowed them to converse as sisters and brothers.

Badi and Gudi are born:

Little thatched huts appeared in every Dalit Palem after conversion movements. During research, the Dalits claimed this thatched home was their badi and gudi (school and temple). This building served as both a school and a church, with the school operating during the day and church operating at night. The school as well as the temple are both available to the general public. In traditional Rayalaseema, caste played an important

role in acquiring access to these communal spaces. The right of Dalits to enter these spaces was denied them. The public realm of Dalit Palems, on the other hand, was built around facilities like churches and schools. Dalit students appeared at school with spotless, freshly washed garments. They were taught to read, write, and listen to stories about Jesus and Christianity. As a result, the school and the church were relocated. Men and women met here every night to learn to sing, pray, and worship God, and to hear Christian teaching. Missionaries talked about God, sin, forgiveness, redemption, and love in these cottages. Dalits oriented themselves to the Bible's teachings and engaged with its ideas, meanings, and symbols. Through what they heard during these Bible classes; they developed a new consciousness over time. These thatched huts marked the start of a new life, transformation, and empowerment for Dalits. As said by missionary William Stanton. Light is starting to shine on brains that have been imprisoned for a long time. New dreams, passions, and goals are born here. For the mission, this small thatched cottage was the Kingdom's nursery and Faith's home, but for the Dalits, it was a gateway to a fresh start and a focal point for their society. In these cottages, children and elders were introduced to a whole new universe. By residing in the Palli or Wada and building a school-cum-church there, missionaries drew this formerly banned and shunned location within the folds of the public area and converted it into a venue for knowledge and communal gathering. Wells that are open to the general public Dalits in their communities were prohibited access to public wells. Caste norms were quite stringent when it came to wells.

The act of 'trying to touch' water was associated with untouchability. When Dalits went to well, they were expected to wait for persons from other castes to give them water. If Dalits took water from a well, it was deemed filthy. They were refused access to water due to their caste. A [dominant caste] man may drive his oxen down to a water tank and give them a good wash down, or wash his soiled loincloth in it, according to Anantapur missionary Christie. People from the Mala and Madiga castes, on the other hand, were not permitted to dip their vessels in the tank to collect household water for cooking. Missionaries, from the other end, made a concerted effort to help Dalits in excavating and owning their own drinking water wells. Missionaries organized two relief initiatives for Dalits: the drilling of wells drilled and the rehabilitation of old wells.

Pattern of Dalit literature:

Through Ambedkar's ideas, Dalit society came to understand this ideological exploitation. This mute society found its hero in him, and its anguish voice in him, as he argued the case of the untouchables from village boundaries to the British Empire's Round Table conferences. For their rights, he fought powerful forces ranging from upper-caste Hindu gatekeepers to God. Ambedkar's works had an impact on the entire Dalit society. Dalit authors are also influenced by Ambedkar's eloquent writings and look for inspiration in the writings of Joytiba Pule, Kabir Das, Sant Tukaram, Sant Ravidas, and, above everything, Lord Buddha. As a result of the rejection of various traditional Brahmanical concepts, a new rebel tradition emerges. Dalit literature is the result of centuries of suffering, oppression, and exploitation by a group of people. It is not a single person's pain, nor is it a matter of a single day it is the painful voice of thousands of people over thousands of years. The anguish expressed in Dalit literature is not that of a single person, but rather that of an entire outcaste society. A non-Dalit writer will never be able to truly represent this pain and suffering. Non-Dalit writers will never be able to feel or express the Dalit dilemma accurately. As a result, they have dismissed non-Dalit writers' portrayals of Dalits as unauthentic and unbelievable. Dalit literature does not rely on the writer's ability to be imaginative. Instead, it is based on one's experiences with oppression, suffering, and discrimination throughout one's life. It takes a practical approach to humans. It can be written by someone who was born a Dalit.

It's brimming with disobedience and rejection, expressing Dalit consciousness. A non-Dalit writer will be unable to convey the caste-specific experiences of Dalits. How can a non-Dalit author describe the feelings that one has while removing and cutting the dead animals? Only a Dalit would be affected by the upper caste's inhumane behavior during and after religious ceremonies. These discriminatory feelings can never be expressed in words, only through experience, which finds expression in Dalit literature. The world of experience expressed in Dalit literature differs from the world of experience expressed previously. For the first time in literature, a new world, a new society, and a new human being have been revealed, as has a new language. It is the uncivilized and impolite language of Dalits in everyday life. This language lacks propriety, formality, and systematicity, as well as the ability to recognize cultivated gesture and grammar. It is said that language changes every twenty miles, but it does so

within a village's boundaries. One language is used in one location while another is used in another.

Dalit writers have attempted to represent the society as accurately as possible in their literature by using these local languages. Many critics have argued that the use of this language is inappropriate for a cultured society, but Dalit writers have argued that the validation of standard language is unnecessary because the Dalits' native tongue is more familiar to them than any standard language. In fact, the standard language lacks all of the Dalit lexicon's words, and it fails to present the true story of their exploitation to society. Dalit literature does not lend itself to the traditional notion of a hero. It portrays a common man as his hero and odyssey in the pursuit of a more equal society. It depicts the most heinous exploitation of a person as a result of his birth, which they believe is the result of a previous birth's sin. The general concept of love is also questioned here, because a girl or boy's love vanishes when the opposite sex, who happens to be a Dalit, is revealed. If traditional aesthetics is concerned with the pleasure and beauty that mainstream works of art and literature provide, Dalit aesthetics is concerned with the pain and suffering of a large segment of India's population.

The ideas of equality, liberty, justice, and solidarity are at the heart of this revolutionary aesthetics. Because the concept of beauty is linked to the prevailing ideas in every age and culture, Dalit writers did not believe in the traditional imaginary concept of beauty. For example, kings and emperors were once the focus of literature, but now the common man has taken center stage, and Dalit literature has aggressively addressed their issues. Dalit writers prioritize societal issues; they do not write for the sake of gaining popularity, status, or wealth. Their goal is to raise awareness of freedom, justice, love, equality, and fraternity among the people. This means that social values are just as important to them as so-called aesthetic values such as beauty and pleasure. A piece of literature should provide pleasure and beauty, but not at the expense of humanity. Upper caste critics have argued against the need for a distinct Dalit aesthetics, preferring that it be judged on the basis of eternal values, which seems impossible given that Dalit literature has different goals, which are more humanitarian and based on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. As a result, Dalit literature should be assessed in terms of its uniqueness, universal inspiratory values, and a distinct literary aesthetics that, in the true sense, is based on art for the sake of life.

Thus, the Dalit movement has paved the way for the Dalits in India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular to create alternative, rethinking, and historical culture.

Chapter-V

Findings:

1. Dalit consciousness began in the state of AP in the early 1990s under the influence of the Adi movements. The first generation of Dalit leadership was identified with the launch of the Adi Andhra movement. Leaders like Kusuma Darmana, Undru Venkaiah.etc. lead the movement.
2. The Adi Andhra Movement was self-reformist in character as well as put a check on the upper castes that were violating the Dalit's rights. Thus, it has emphasized giving up nomenclatures like Chandala, Antyaja, the untouchable, and Panchama in order to herald their self-respect. This a part of the Adi Andhra movement has emphasized education for the Dalits
3. It has also emphasized equal rights of Dalits for temple entry, drawing water from common tanks, and free movement of the Dalits in the villages.
4. Emergence of Gandhi in the national arena has influenced negatively the expansion of the Adi Andhra movement. Several Adi Andhra leaders have left their movements to join the Harijan movement of Gandhi under the impression that Gandhi's influence could help them overcome their disabilities. But Harijan movement failed to create any impact that was not done by the Adi Andhra movement
5. The impact of Dr. Ambedkar started entering the state of Andhra Pradesh only after the second-round table conference when he demanded a separate electorate for the Dalits on par with Muslims, Sikhs, and Anglo Indians. Though the spread of Ambedkar was very limited he started emerging as an undisputed Dalit leader in the Dalit circles. Bhagya Reddy Varma, B. Shyamsundar, Arige Ramaswamy, and P.R. Venkataswamy started spreading the message of Ambedkar among the Dalit masses.
6. Though Ambedkar's anti-caste ideology was spreading across Andhra Pradesh it could not hold its grip over the Dalit society. This is large because of the influence of communist parties which could help hands to the Dalit masses. As the left movement could help them in their struggle against untouchability, though few Dalits educated masses were attracted towards the communist movements.

7. The year 1968 was a landmark year as far as the literature in Telugu on Ambedkar was concerned. In that year Yendluri Chinnaiah's monumental work entitled Dr. Ambedkar Jeevita Charitra (Life History of Dr. Ambedkar) was published. It was the first book on Ambedkar's life in Telugu. This book has inspired Dalit masses to know the movement of Ambedkar for their upliftment.
8. Until the Karamchedu Massacre there was no clear demarcation between the left and Dalit movement.
9. The Karamchedu massacre of 1985 laid the foundation for a clear-cut Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. Karamchedu where six Madigas were butchered by the Kamma landlords pressurized the Dalit intellectuals to organize themselves in order to protect their lives under the leadership of Kath Padma Rao. Dalit Maha-Sabha was formed demanding protection of the lives of Dalits, dignity, respect, and their liberty. Dalit Maha-Sabha was the first of its kind to reject the involvement of the left in its own organization.
10. The Manifesto of Dalit Maha-Sabha which was declared in 1986, include 9 points.
11. The later part of the 1980s has witnessed the Madiga consciousness emphasizing on the Madiga identity which wanted the categorization of the benefits of reservations among different Dalit caste.
12. The establishment of the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS) marked a clear departure of Madigas from the united Dalit Movement in the absence of reservation benefits distribution.
13. During the same period he also witnessed the entry of the BSP into Andhra Pradesh which invoked a new aspiration among sections of Dalits in terms of political power. The ideology of Dr. Ambedkar for the master key which is political power has dominated the Dalit movement in the back drop of the politics of BSP. All most all the Dalit leaders made the political power as the primary aspect of the Dalit Movement which they believed could open the social political and economic spaces for Dalits.
14. MRPS on one hand, the Mala Mahanadu against the SC Categorization on other hand have created an unprecedented disintegration among Dalits which had failed the BSP's political prospects in Andhra Pradesh.
15. While the Mala, Madiga tussle was continuing the onset of globalization has massively impacted the Dalit movement. Declining employment opportunities

due to the globalization has started collapsing the collective nature of the Dalit Movement. The significance of individuals taking priority over the communities' priorities.

16. The study has found that as far as the features began with the initial phase of the Dalit movement and which are continuing even today include fight against untouchability, right to social, political and economic equality, self-respect, equal opportunities in the social and economic spaces demand for equal access to all public spaces.
17. This part Ambedkar's specific emphasis on conversion into Buddhism, capturing the master key hold strong with the Dalit movement. 17. There were several changes which were added to the Dalit movement include economic rights in terms of Dalit entrepreneurship and their share in the budgetary allocations in the form of SC Sub Plan. Organizations like DICCI have emerged to serve the government to get economic policies in support of Dalit masses.
18. An important addition to the Dalit Movement was Dalit feminism. Dalit women considered that their problems, experiences and sufferings were different from that of the elitist and leftist feminist movements therefore, they wanted to separate from the earlier two organizations and started their own on the basis of Ambedkar's ideology. The understanding of Dalit women that the elitist feminist organizations which largely constitute upper caste and rich women could never pay attention to their issues made them have their own organization. They often criticize the elitist feminist organization for its insensitivity towards the issue of caste and untouchability.

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Continuity in Dalit movement in Telugu states: A Historical Perspective

Seshaiah Chemudugunta*

Abstract

The state of Andhra Pradesh has a distinct place in the history of social movements in India. It has witnessed many social movements involving marginalised and disadvantaged groups and regions. There are two contemporary social movements which were fighting for their rights in the state. One is Dalit movement fighting for the socio-political and economic emancipation and the second one is the left movement fighting for the civil and political rights. Andhra Pradesh is next only to Maharashtra with regard to the development of Dalit movement. This paper deals with the historical perspective of continuity in Dalit movement in the Telugu states. It explains the how characteristics of movement is being continued after post independent India and how Ambedkar is inevitable for any social movement in Andhra Pradesh.

Keywords: Dalit, Movement, Discrimination, Mala, Madiga, Continuity, Telugu states.

Introduction

Indian society has unique character unlike other world societies. The character is none other than caste system which has ascending sense of reverence and descending sense of contempt based on birth. It has been existed and evaluating over the centuries. There are many human groups, since ancient times that are being segregated due to historical, religious and cultural reasons. There were many ideological and philosophical struggles against caste system right from the ancient times. Specially Lokayata, Charvaaka, Jaina, Buddha Philosophers have led relentless struggles against inhuman Hindu rituals and traditions which produced caste system. Whereas there were many Bhakti saints in medieval India like Basaveswara, Veerabrahmam, Vemana who have disseminated their preaching's in the people's language by condemning the heinous practices of caste and religious. There were many Bhakti saints Nandanar, Gurunanak, Chokamela, Ravidas, and Kabir who became ideologues for the anti-untouchability. Their arguments, writings and literature have been mighty weapons for the modern Dalit fighters. As long as higher caste people, who comes under minority, hegemonic rights in their hands there would not be emancipation for the downtrodden (Omvedt Gail, 2014). Hence anti caste movements have continued the inheritance of Bhakti movement.

In modern India we could be seen social revolutionary Mahatma JyothiRao Phule who had uncovered the naked truth of Hindu scriptures and challenged the caste system with his

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synthetic mind in his famous book called Slavery. Moreover he paved the way for future anti-caste struggles and influenced many social revolutionaries like Ambedkar. Thus, since the dawn of history there was a historical anti caste struggle by Buddha in ancient times, by kabir in medieval India and by Phule in Modern India. During the changing period caste system took another part to be caused for the distinct character called untouchability with which many Dalits are leading their lives tediously.

Dalit emancipation is an unfinished project, initially conceived by the Mahar Dalits of Bombay Presidency who challenged both colonial and nationalist ideas of personhood and political subjectivity in fundamental ways. Their struggle for rights and social recognition utilized diverse strategies, ranging from the demand for separate political representation to conversion to Buddhism. Dalits as politicised subjects embraced their history as part of their emancipation project and used the legacy of anti-caste struggles as balm to heal community's wounded psyche. Dalit activists under the influence of Hindu Brahmanical ideals urged untouchables to refrain from eating meat, particularly beef, drinking alcohol and smoking and to develop habits of hygiene (Omvedt Gail, 1993). Writing focusing on the deplorable conditions of untouchables and inspiring personal accounts of self-emancipation by dalit activists are thus indispensable to a consideration of public debate in the Telugu public sphere.

There are many castes in these two Telugu speaking states. Especially Dalits or schedule castes in Andhra Pradesh have been stratified into on the caste endemic related to status and occupations. There are as many as 59 sub castes within the Dalits and in 1990 one additional neo Buddhist caste was added to these sub castes were direct or indirect offshoots of two major castes namely the Mala and Madiga. Madigas and Malas together make up about 80 percent of the Dalit population. There is distinct Dalit identity calling them Adi-Andhra. The Adi-Andhra strictly is not a caste/ sub caste, but an Andhra that the Dalits adopted during the 1920s against the hegemonic Hindu Andhra identity. According to the census of India 2001 the total population of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh was 12.3 million or 16.5 percent of the total population. The Dalits are predominantly agricultural labour and continue to pursue the traditional extreme forms of Varna caste based modes of occupations of scavenging, leatherwork, and the low paid menial jobs. Nearly percent of various tribes in Andhra Pradesh are in a precious position in society. The rest a large proportion of the population of Andhra Pradesh consists of artisans and other Sudra castes otherwise known as the backward castes along with the Muslims, Christians, and other religious minorities. According to the census of India the SC population in 2001 was 16.66 Crore or about 16% of the total population of the country. The STs and the non SCs and STs constitute 8.20% and 75.60% of the Indian population respectively.

The aforesaid demography of Dalits shows that they are majority in the Indian population but they are not having access to get all sorts of resources such as Land, water, education and health. State even not considering them as part of other communities. State has too biased towards Dalits that's how Dalits have been fighting for the resources with the state. For the Dalits, democracy is ungettable grape even in the 21st century (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Dalits have historically been poor, deprived of basic human rights and treated as untouchables in



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Change and continuity in social movements: A historical study of Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh

by Seshaiah Chemudugunta

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