

Social Deprivation and Social Mobilization

A Case Study of Backward Castes in Andhra Pradesh

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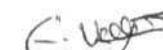
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CERTIFICATE


This is to certify that E. Venkatesu have carried out the research, under the supervision of Prof. G. Haragopal, embodied in the present thesis entitled, "Social Deprivation and Social Mobilization - A Case Study of Backward Castes in Andhra Pradesh", for the full period prescribed under the Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that this thesis constitutes my original work and the same has not been submitted, in part or full, for the award of any degree or diploma to any other University or institution.


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Ramaiah and Munemma

PREFACE

In response to the denial of human rights such as education, power and property and unequal, suppressive and exploitative Indian social system, a large number of social movements came into existence in various parts of the country, in modern period, to overcome the historical disadvantages and to demand proportionational share in the democratic politics and development. These movements were started during the colonial period and still continuing, but due to divide and rule policy and creating factions within the backward castes by the upper caste post-independent rulers to avoid the unity and alternative political platform, lack of coordination at the national level and internal contradictions within the backward castes led to fragmentation and political marginalization in various states and at the national level. But, at the same time, these movements brought the identity and affirmative action policy through Kakakalelkar and Mandal Commission in the country.

The rise of OBC identity at the national level is nothing but contribution of various states like non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nad and Karnataka, anti-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra, Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana movement in Kerala and post-independent lower caste movement in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. As part of these movements, the contribution of the backward castes mobilization in Andhra Pradesh is discussed in the present work.

The present study is, broadly, from general to specific rather than specific to general. Therefore, it deals with the forms of social movements in various parts of the country. The socio-economic profile of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh. The changing political context and backward castes and their marginalisation process in the politics of Andhra Pradesh. Nature of mobilization of the backward castes through four instruments such as Caste Associations, Federation of Castes Association, political parties and rise of non-party organizations. The state response to the backward castes mobilization in the form of policies like ineffective, incremental and inadequate by nature to

accommodate the backward castes. And finally summing up of all these aspects indicates that the backward castes are heterogeneous, stratified, socially deprived, economically class differences are existed, politically marginalized, in terms of mobilization fragmented and state has introduced insufficient policies to accommodate the backward castes elite and perpetuate the dominant caste rule in Andhra Pradesh.

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Abbreviations

- AIBCF: All India Backward Classes Federation
- AICC: All India Congress Committee
- APBCA: Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association
- APBCFC: Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Finance Corporation
- APBWD: Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Welfare Department
- APCBC: Andhra Pradesh Commission on Backward Classes
- APCLC: Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee
- APDPIP: Andhra Pradesh District Poverty Eradication Project
- APRPRP: Andhra Pradesh Rural Poverty Reduction Project
- APTTWF: Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation
- BC: Backward Classes/Castes
- BJP: Bharatia Janata Party
- BPL: Below Poverty Line
- BSP: Bahujan Samaj Party
- CPI: Communist Party of India
- CPI (M): Communist Party of India (Marxist)
- CPI (ML): Communist Party of India (Marxist, Leninist)
- CPTTPI: Counsel for the Protection of Rights of Toddy Tapping Professionals
and Industrialists
- GO: Government Order
- GOPA: Gouda Officials and Professionals Association
- HYCO: Hyderabad Cooperative Society
- INTUC: Indian National Trade Union Congress
- LAR: Livelihoods Assessment Report
- LTs: Land Transfers
- MALDA: Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Agency
- MLA: Member of Legislative Assembly
- MP: Member of Parliament

- MPCE: Monthly Percapita Expenditure
- MRPS: Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi
- MSS: Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi
- MVF: Mamudipudi Venkatarangaiah Foundation
- NDA: National Democratic Alliance
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
- OBCs: Other Backward Classes/Castes
- PCC: Pradesh Congress Committee
- PIP: Participatory Identification of the Poor
- SCs: Scheduled Castes
- SEBC: Socially, Educationally Backward Castes
- SERP: Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty
- SFDA: Small Farmers Development Agency
- SHGs: Self-help groups
- SNDP: Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana
- STs: Scheduled Tribes
- TDP: Telugu Desham Party
- UNDP: United Nations Development Program
- YWCS: Yemmiganur Weavers Cooperative Society

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt is made to analyze the rise of backward castes movements in modern India. These movements came into existence in response to the hierarchically structured, unequal, exploitative, suppressive and oppressive social system, which has denied the basic human rights like education, property and power. Even though there were movements against the caste system in Indian history, it is during the colonial and the post-colonial period only one can find the sophisticated social movements in various parts of the country. Due to lack of co-ordination, networking at the national level, homogeneity and existence of the class differences within the backward castes, therefore, these movements are unable to consolidate them. As a consequence of which, they are getting fragmented and, politically, marginalized in various states and at the center.

The dynamics of these movements can be understood by analyzing them in an integrated framework in order to understand the nature of backward castes mobilization in Andhra Pradesh. For this purpose various aspects, which are discussed in this chapter, can be divided into three parts, (I) deals with the response to the exploitative caste system in the form of social movements, (II) review of the literature and (III) methodology and chapterisation.

(I)

The lines of exploitation in pre-British India, in terms of the production, extraction and accumulation of surplus, were structured through the caste system¹. This identified a particular caste division of labour involving specific forms of hierarchy among the exploited, with at least three major groups identified in most villages: toiling peasant castes, most of whom were simply cultivators but with some village management powers held by a dominant

¹ See for details, R.S. Sharma, *Shudras in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsudass, New Delhi, 1980 and D.D. Kosambi, *An introduction to the study of Indian history*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1975.

lineage, artisans and service castes performing particular caste-duties within a *jajmani* system: a large caste of general labourers working for the village and its dominant sections and classes as 'untouchable'. Tribals and pastoralists outside the village were also among the exploited sections. The exploited as a whole included a very wide range of castes, the broad 'toiling caste majority'².

The toiling caste majorities also known as the backward classes, which is a general term applied to three different categories of people who have been identified, they are the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes, which together constitute about one third of the total population of India. Among three the other backward castes constitute, in terms of numerical strength and castes, more. The term other backward classes was widely used by the British administration come to mean 'other Backward castes' in administrative usage. It is used in the Constitution of India to designate backward classes other than the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes. Article 15 (4) refers to them as 'socially and educationally backward classes (SEBC) of citizens' and article 340 as 'socially and educationally backward classes'. Article 16 (4) mentions 'backward class of citizens' and article 46 refers to 'the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people'. No doubt, the constitutional recognition of the other backward classes as a category of public policy made it one of an all -India scope but by contrast it is a more nebulous category. The other backward classes were mentioned in the constitution in general terms. There were no all India lists drawn for the other backward classes. They were not separately enumerated in the Constitution, and in fact, one has to work with only a rough estimate of their population. Their position was sought to be defined in more specific terms by the backward classes commission³.

² Gail Omvedt, *Dalits and Democratic Revolution*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p.48.

³ Nomita Yadav, *Other Backward Classes: Then and Now*, Economic and Political Weekly, November 2-9, 2002, vol xxxvii Nos 44and 45, p. 4495.

The Other Backward Castes also termed as backward classes in the policy matter and bureaucratic circles is having theoretical limitation. In fact, in the Indian context all the forward castes and *dalits* have got the class character due to their privileged and under privileged social and economic position, therefore, they may be characterized as the upper class and lower class or exploiting class and exploited class. The backward castes also come under the exploited category by the upper caste but in a different form. The backward castes are collectively exploited and deprived all the privileges along with *dalits*. But untouchability is not practiced in the case of backward castes. For practicing the traditional caste based occupations to provide goods and services to the rulers in particular and mass in general got the higher position than the *dalits* and lower position than the upper castes and they are highly heterogeneous and stratified with similar socio-economic backwardness and interdependence nature of all these occupational castes. The traditional occupation prevented them to come out of the social stranglehold resulting in continued backwardness. Therefore, instead of calling them as backward classes, it would be more appropriate to term them as the 'Backward Castes'.

Therefore, OBCs are defined as the producing classes in India either in agriculture or in secondary manufacture through household hand craft production or in guilds of the goods that were of common use for society or specifically for the ruling classes, All these sections of society were made up of dependent '*jatis*' whether as peasants or agricultural labour or as artisans upon superior castes: dependence, in other words, were of the collectivities and not merely of the individuals. In other words the direct producers in India was of a 'collective' kind unlike the 'individual unfreedoms of the European serf or earlier of the slaves'⁴.

⁴ Javeed Alam, *Is Caste Appeal Casteism? Oppressed Castes in Politics*, Economic and Political Weekly, March 27,1999, vol xxxiv No 13, p. 757.

Socially deprived backward castes lived in a social limbo somewhere between the upper caste *Shudras* and the untouchables. The Other Backward Castes existed all over the country in general and in every village in the State in particular. According to Nomita Yadav⁵ "the core of the other backward classes consists of peasant castes of various descriptions. Frequently they occupy a low position in the *Varna* hierarchy and they have in general been devoid of traditions of literacy. Further, since they have also lagged behind in the pursuit of western education, they are often poorly represented in Government jobs and white-collar occupations in general. In spite of this, such castes sometimes occupy a dominant position in the economic and political systems of the village-life. Not frequently, they are small landowners and when they are numerically preponderant, their control over a village, a group of villages or even a district can be decisive. They are known as what Srinivas (1959) calls the 'dominant castes' ".

Since Nomita Yadav defining the backward castes, while keeping in mind exclusively the north India yadavs, it may not be applicable to all the backward castes in the country. The author tried to project the homogeneity of the backward castes but it is contrasting with the existing reality of the caste stratification and heterogeneous character of the backward castes

The caste stratification, the occupation division and its hierarchical nature always posed problems in backward castes social mobilization. It is a vicious circle in the sense that stratification cannot be altered without social mobilization and mobilization is a problem due to stratification. It is this enigma that needs to be probed into get at the law of change of these communities.

In order to overcome the caste-feudal exploitation and for the protection of the rights, a number of lower caste movements came into existence during the colonial and post-colonial period. These movements have questioned the very

⁵ Nomita Yadav, op.cit; p. 4495.

foundations of the caste-feudalism to overcome the exploitation, social suppression and for the human dignity. Before, going into the analysis of these social movements, it would be appropriate here to discuss the conceptual framework of the social movements.

Conceptual Framework of the social movements:

A social movement essentially involves a sustained collective mobilization through either formal or informal organization. A social movement, which rejects the existing institutions, will in turn attempt to codify the belief system and provide institutionalized arrangement to enforce its code of conduct.

A social movement may also be seen as symptomatic of some malfunctioning of society like deprivation, discrimination, inequalities, social imbalance, but not sufficient to spurn a social movement. An awareness of the discrimination or deprived condition is necessary. This awakening created in a sufficiently large number of people leads to a widespread collective mobilization. Often this consciousness exists in the middle class and the intelligentsia, who tend to be the leaders of the movement. Movements begin in the minds of men with ideas. Hungry men do not revolt as such, as they are deeply involved in the primary struggle for survival. The genesis of different kinds of social and cultural movements has been analyzed with reference to the concepts of strain, revitalization and relative deprivation:

Strain: Smelser treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective action or movement. According to him, there can be no social movement without a previous sub-system strain. This theory fits in the structural-functional explanation. The structure of society affects the origin and form of movements in a variety of ways. This phenomenon has been referred to by Smelser as 'structural conduciveness. Sub-systems of a society all related and independent of each other. So strain even in our sub-system affects the functioning of society as a whole.

Revitalization: Anthony Wallace has defined Revitalization as a conscious organized effort on the part of some members of a society to create a more satisfying culture. Nativism is an attitude of rejection of alien persons or culture or rejection of everything from a dominant society. In revivalism, the aim of the movement is to return to a former era of happiness, to go back to a golden age, to revive a previous condition of social virtue. This theory indicates adaptive processes like an imitative or evaluative process of social change centered on acquiescence. Revitalization is considered to be an adaptive process in establishing equilibrium, which is a postulate of the structural functional approach. Hence, the significance of conflict in bringing about change is underplayed.

Relative deprivation: Relative deprivation means a widespread feeling that people are deprived of some deigned state or thing in comparison with some standard or with the real or imagined conditions of other people. The notion of relative deprivation is to be found in the thoughts of Marx and Engels. Marx, Engels and Aberle used the term relative deprivation as the basis of conflict to explain the genesis of social movements and social change. Merton and Runciman used it as the basis of social mobility in relation to the life styles of positive reference groups. The credit of developing this concept goes to Aberle. He defined relative deprivation as a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and of poverty or prosperity, but what people have come to feel as their just due as compared with their present or threatened future existence.

A position of relative deprivation alone will not generate a movement. But it is the perception of a situation and the estimation of capabilities by activity. MSA Rao further stresses that relative deprivation refers not only to material condition but also to the other spheres of life such as religion, education, politics and civic life.

It is found that the notion of relative deprivation adequate in analyzing the structural conditions, which provide the necessary conditions in explaining

the genesis of backward classes movement. The concept of relative deprivation incorporates the virtue of Marxian analysis without accepting the caste struggle as the only ideology. It is important to realize that caste, ethnicity and class are not mutually exclusive categories. They interact and intersect and articulate either in caste, ethnic or class idioms. For example on the surface the conflict between the backward classes and the upper castes (*Brahmins, reddies, kammias, Velamas and kapus*), looks like caste conflict, but it has class underpinnings. The upper castes own land and exercised control over productive resources, whereas backward castes are occupancy tenants, small peasants and labourers.

There are two distinct ways in which the concept has been developed, one by Merton (1950) and Runciman (1966) and another is Marx and Engels (1973) and Aberle (1966) while the former used relative deprivation in relation to reference groups, the social mobility, the later used it as the basis of conflict, to explain the genesis of social movements and social change. The concept of relative deprivation is used here to refer to both the objective conditions of a group of people, in terms of rights and privileges, values and norms and the perceptions of the leaders about their ability to remedy the situation through collective mobilization. The backward classes occupy a lower status characterized by disadvantages and discrimination of several kinds, and of different degrees, which go under the term relative deprivation.

Movement is the conscious efforts on the part of men to mitigate their deprivation and to secure justice. While movements are conditioned by social and structural factors, they imply voluntary action. Men create movements to achieve goals they hold dear. Movements are perhaps the chief mechanism through which the deprived categories demonstrate their power. Heberle defines movement as a collective attempt to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create an entirely new order. Only when collective action is somewhat sustained and is able to create an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number of people, then it takes the form of a social movement.

Ideology is considered to be a crucial aspect of a social movement. According to MSA Rao it is an essential component distinguishing a movement from any organized effort involving collective mobilization. Ideology, according to the Oxford Dictionary is the manner of thinking characteristic of a class or an individual. A movement implies sustained pursuit of shared and collective action, which is either organized or spontaneous. The process of social mobilization includes meetings, campaigns, demonstrations, conferences, and literature-all expressive of interests and beliefs. Interest, which is immediate in terms of motivation and demands, is rooted in a more fundamental belief system, which is called ideology. Thus Andre Beteille defines movement as a kind of collective behavior mobilized on the basis of a belief, which redefines social action.

A social movement has to justify the need for social change. It therefore, must develop sooner or later a comprehensive ideology or a theory, which should be convincing to the participants in the movement. It would, therefore, have to project a cause to struggle for and present a version of a more valued alternate system. Ideology helps the concerned sections gain self-respect, honor and worth. The shared ideology forms the basis for the identity of the group in a movement while an ideology directs the cause of events; the results of the events themselves have a crucial influence on the character of the ideology, changing the pattern of communication with different symbols and codes. Thus, it is a dynamic system. It helps in the codification of beliefs and myths in order to define a group's aspirations and responses to the reality. Ideology then is closely related to the problems of identity, i.e., the way in which a group perceives itself in relation to other relevant groups and vice-versa. It provides the yardstick for accessing the nature and degree of commitment of both leaders and followers and for evaluating the results of events. Besides, it provides the logic of the communication system in a social movement encoding and decoding messages

as it presents the participants view, which enables us to understand the meanings of the symbolic actions of the participants.

In the absence of a charismatic leadership, social movement remains an elaborate belief system or a definite action program. Ideology is based on the structural conditions of existence of the concerned group, on the one hand, and the level of consciousness and resources on the other. A movement may start with an ideology or it may acquire one in the course of its development. In either case, it is continually revised in the light of subsequent events and the reaction of opposition reference groups.

United by an ideology, the leaders of the movement create organizational devices to fight the evils and reduce grievances. A social movement must have a minimum degree of organization, yet it is not organized like clubs and other associations. Some kind of organization enables certain persons to act as authorized spokesmen and representatives. Ideology is an important component of all social movements. However the social movements among the backward classes develop a protest ideology based on their conditions and perceptions of relative deprivation.

A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavor to promote a change in any direction and by any means not excluding violence, illegal means, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community. The social mobility and changes that are brought about by protest movement are based on challenges, protest dissent, confrontation, aggression and revolt as opposed to acquiescence.

All movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power. Heberle holds that all social movements fulfill two key functions in society. They help both in the process of socialization, and train the elites. Movements that are directed only at change in ideology or culture movements that are primarily non-political can have a fairly widespread impact but this impact tends to be diffused and impermanent.

The study of social movements logically belongs to the realm of social process, it is related to both social structure and the consequence of change. Although there are variations in how social scientists define social movements (See Gus field, 1968, Rush and Denis 1971, Wilson 1973). These are collective mobilization, the presence of an ideology and an orientation towards change.

Social movements may be classified on the basis of one or the other criterion (See Heberle 1966, Smelser 1962, Wallace 1956) on the basis of locus, social movements may be classified into linguistic, religious, sectarian, caste, peasant, worker, tribal, racial, ethnic, women and students. Taking the nature of social change as the criterion movements may be classified into reformatory, transformative and revolutionary. Similarly, the nature of their ideology provides another criterion by which social movements may be classified into either protest, millenarian or revitalizing. The present study falls broadly under the general category of caste and class movements based on locus. The movements are transformative with regard to the nature of the social changes being brought about.

Lower Caste Movements in Various Parts of the Country: The lower caste movements have a long history of struggle against the dominant upper castes. The lower caste movement began in south India in the 19th century and became a major political force by the first quarter of the 20th century. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar it began in the beginning of the 20th century. The movements both in south and north India were initiated and led by the upper strata, mainly the landed peasantry backward castes having improved economic conditions due to the changes in agrarian structure and /or penetration of market economy and /or access to education⁶.

⁶ See for details, Laxman Rao.S, *Society, State and Positive Discrimination: Institutional interface with Mandal Commission*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, 1999.

Important demands of these movements are reservation in government jobs and educational institutions, in the field of politics both in the south and in the north, backward caste elite demanded political positions in parties, State assemblies, cabinet and public institutions. Different backward castes, particularly the upper layer among them launched struggles separately for Sanskritisation and political positions on caste lines. Later they came together under the banner of backward castes and mobilized the lower backward castes for enlarged support in the political sphere⁷. The first such organized movement, and arguably the most widespread was launched by the non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency.

The Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nad: In the process of struggling against iniquitous social order and for reservations in the Government services, the backward classes acquired the state power in Tamil Nadu. The social movement of the backward classes for the reservations was started during the colonial period itself and continuing, but the social character of the movement is subjected to a lot of changes. In the changing process of the reservation category the advanced castes are excluded from the Backward Classes list and most deprived castes are included in the list.

The *non-Brahmin* movement of the 1910s and 1920s and much more violent 'radical' *Dravidian* or anti-Aryan movement launched by E.V. Ramaswami Naicker in the 1930s are the important phases in the history of TamilNadu backward castes movement. One of Naicker's main targets was the temple and he mobilized a militantly anti-Hindu campaign, ostensibly in the name of atheism, to smash the temples and destroy the gods⁸. The important factor,

⁷ For a review of literature on various social movements, including the Backward Class movements, see Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements in India: A review of Literature* Sage pubs, Delhi.1977, pp.605.

⁸ Washbrook, D.A, *Caste, Class and Dominance in Modern Tamil Nadu* in Frankel and Rao (eds), *Dominance and State Power in Modern India Decline of a Social Order*. Vol-1, OUP, 191993, p. 214

which created the strain for the origin of the *non-Brahmin* movement, is the domination of *Brahmins* in education and government employment. The *Mandal Commission* comes to a conclusion that the *non-Brahmin* movement was started when the runaway lead taken by the *Tamil* and *Telugu Brahmins* in the field of education in the erstwhile Madras Presidency and it is well documented⁹. By the turn of the century the male literacy rate among the *Tamil Brahmins* was 73.6% as against a similar rate among the vellalas of 6.9%. Whereas the male literacy in English was 17.9% among the *Tamil Brahmins*; it was only 0.19% among the *Vellals*. The *Brahmins* had established a near monopoly of the government services and the professions. As far back as 1851, the Madras Revenue board had instructed the District Collectors to restrict the number of the *Brahmin* entrants into the services. In spite of this, the *Brahmin* domination of the government services and the professions went on unabated. The caste's domination in the Provincial Congress Committee had been well established. Alerted by the advent of the *Montague-Chelmsford* reforms and diarchy, the *non-Brahmin* elite castes took the lead in establishing first the South Indian Liberal Federation, and secondly, the *justice Party* in 1916. After coming to power in 1920, the party extended in 1921 the scope of the 1881 order, by requiring all the heads of the departments to distribute appointments of all the grades among the various communities.

But for the first time in the history of the Communal CO., in Madras, a clear-cut reservation procedure was laid down by the order of 1927, providing compartmental reservation of posts for different categories. This scheme of reservation was in operation till 1947. As can be seen from the CO., the Scheduled Castes were earmarked only 8% of the jobs, far less than warranted by

⁹ Irschick, Eugene F., *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929*, OUP, Bombay, 1969; and Arnold David, *The Congress in Tamil Nadu: Nationalist Politics in South India 1919-1937*, Manohar Publications. Delhi, 1977.

their share in the population. In view of the Congress Party in the thirties by inducting more and more *non-Brahmin* elites into the party, the first Congress ministry in the Province headed by Rajaji, did not even touch the G.O¹⁰.

In the Tamil areas of Madras, the 1927 G.O represented a victory for the *Vellala* caste, particularly the *Modaliars*. They had provided the leadership to the *Justice Party*, although there were leaders from other *non-Brahmin* castes as well. The party leaders were drawn from the landed classes and were not much keen on broadening their base by including the landless castes¹¹. By the thirties, the *Justice Party* had served its historic purpose of reducing to a great extent the sense of deprivation on the part of the *Zamindar* interests, particularly in the field of government jobs and education. In the meantime, angered by the domination of the Congress by the *Brahmins*, and annoyed at Gandhi's adherence to a purified *Varna* ideology, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker walked out of the party in 1925 and started the self-respect movement, subsequently the Government issued the communal G. O of 1927.

In 1947, the communal G.O of 1927 was revised. The 1947 G.O was historic because for the first time the *non-Brahmin* castes were bifurcated into *non-Brahmin Hindus* and *non-Brahmin backward Hindus*. Obviously, the *non-Brahmin Hindus* consists of the forward *Vellala*, *Naidu*, *Chettiyar*, and *Reddy*. Castes did not resent this bifurcation since they were given a compartmental reservation of 43% of the jobs.

After the adoption of the Constitution, the Supreme Court struck down the compartmental reservation. Then the 1947 scheme was converted into the

¹⁰ *Mandal Commission Report*, Vol. IV, p. 147.

¹¹ A slow erosion of the ranks of the party and defections to the Congress had already begun in the twenties; and the non-Brahmin strategy was to infiltrate into the Congress and capture the organization from within.

following scheme of job reservation by an order of 1951: open competition; 60%: backward classes; 25% and scheduled castes; 15%. In the light of the population figures of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (after the 1951 census) and after the separation of Andhra, the Madras Government promulgated in 1954 the following reservation scheme- open competition: 59%; backward classes 25%: and Scheduled Castes and Tribes: 16%.

In actual operation, the benefits of reservation have gone primarily to the relatively more advanced castes among the notified backward classes. The Tamil Nad Backward Classes Commission took special note of it and suggested compartmental reservation for different categories of Other Backward Classes, but the State Government did not heed this suggestion. The main question here is why did the weaker and minor backward castes constituting 88.7% of the backward classes population not feel the resentment against the benefits of reservation going to only a handful of castes? The answer will have to be found in the peculiar Dravid Kazhagam culture, which has been forged both by the DMK and the AIADMK. As long as the Tamil cultural revivalism continue to grip the State and as long as the anti-Hindu, *anti-Aryan* issues dominant the minds of the people, a real backward classes movement espousing the cause of the really backward will not emerge. The same factors continue to provide cohesion between the various *non-Brahmin* castes. The DMK leaders particularly are not interested in anything, which will weaken the ethos of the Tamil movement.

The backward class movement did not proceed to its logical end of sustaining and expanding its base for eradicating the caste system, which would also have destroyed traditional status superiority of upper backward castes over lower backward castes in general and untouchable castes in particular. The leadership raised the issue of imperialism of north Indians or *Dravidians* vs. *Aryans* that sidetracked the cause of backward castes who are at the bottom. And in course of time, the DMK leadership who led the movement in the fifties "

shifted its emphasis in Tamil nationalism from that of race, which would have emphasized downward alliances with the '*Adi-Dravidas*' or former untouchables to that of language which permitted an accommodation upward to include Tamil *Brahmins*". Therefore, today the electoral politics in TamilNadu is between Backward Classes Vs *Brahmins* rather than Backward Classes and *Dalits* on the one hand and upper castes on the other hand and a great deal of polarization has taken place. Simultaneously the educationally backward castes of neighboring Mysore State also launched a parallel movement.

The Rise of non-Brahmins Movement in Karnataka:

During the first two decades of 20th century the Mysore *Brahmins* started gaining an upper hand and completely established their ascendancy. In the Princely Mysore State, the *Brahmins* constituted 3.8% of the population, *Vokkalingas* 20.4%, *Lingayats* 12% and depressed classes 15%. At the turn of the century, according to 1901 Census, 68% of the Mysore *Brahmins* were literate. Like their counterparts in Madras, the *Brahmins* had established a runaway lead over the two dominant landed gentry castes of the *Lingayats* and the *Vokkaligas*. During the next 40 years the percentage of the English knowing *Brahmins* increased from 1.02% to 2.34% and among the *vokkaligas* from 0.7% to 1.09%. Almost contemporaneously with the rise of the Justice Movement in Madras in the second decade of the 20th century, *Lingayats* and *vokkaligas* of the Mysore Princely State became agitated over the *Brahmins*' preponderance in the government service and education. In the first decade of the 20th century, their castes' associations appeared and by 1917 under the leadership of C. K. Reddy, *Praja Mitra Mandali* was established to voice the claims of the *non-Brahmins*¹².

On the basis of the representations received from the aggrieved communities, a Committee was appointed by the Maharaja in 1918 under the chairmanship of L.C. Miller (the Chief Justice of Mysore) "to consider steps

¹² *Mandal Commission Report*, Vol, IV, PP.151.

necessary for the adequate representation of *non-Brahmin* communities in public service". The Miller Committee, in its report submitted in July 1919, vindicated the complaint of the *non-Brahmins* that the civil service in Mysore was dominated by *Brahmins*: "we find that the results obtained have not shown any progressive reduction of the inequality each year"¹³. After accepting the Miller report, the government passed orders in May 1921. The order, *inter alia*, constituted a Central Recruitment Board and reserved 75% of the vacancies for the backward classes¹⁴. Meanwhile, in the absence of a sharp focus, the *Praja Mitra Mandali* disintegrated and yet another party of *non-Brahmins*, *Prajapaksha*, took up its place in 1928. The party consisted of young elements belonging mainly to the two dominant castes that had considerable exposure to the caste conflicts in the neighboring States. The Indian National Congress had also begun organizing the people of the Princely States on parallel lines to obtain democratic concessions. In this way the entry of the *Lingayat* and *Vokkaliga* landed gentry into the movement considerably intensified the Congress Movement in the State. In 1930 the *non-Brahmans* revived a moribund *non-Brahmin* association and begun, noisily demanding greater justice for the increasing number of *non-Brahmins* who were emerging from the colleges of the state and of British India. In seeking to understand the *non-Brahmin* movement in Karnataka, it may be helpful to look carefully at the perceptions of the *vokkaligas* who were involved. This is true partly because it was under their leadership between 1947 and 1956 that opportunities for *Brahmins* in government service were closed down and partly because *vokkaligas* lack the *lingayats'* *anti-Brahminical* ideology. These people joined the *non-Brahmin* movement not because they wanted to overturn the

¹³ The Report shows that the Brahmin percentage in all grades ranged from 67% to 82% and even 100% in the grade of Rs 100 to 200. The Committee opined that backward classes should include all communities other than Brahmins, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

¹⁴ Singh, S.N., *Reservation Policy for Backward Classes*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1996, pp.39-40.

social order, but because they wanted to conserve it by extending the rules and logic of power relations in the *vokkaligas* to the newly developing urban sector. The *non-Brahmin* movement in Karnataka was not a force seeking radical change. It is also wrong to assume that the *non-Brahmin* movement in Karnataka amounted to a successful challenge to the place of *Brahmans* at the apex of the socio-cultural structure in rural Karnataka. It was in no sense a 'cultural revolution' in the way that the movement in Tamil Nadu is often described (James Manor; 1989). After the merger in 1947 of the Princely Mysore State into the Indian Union, the *Vokkaligas* started controlling the State apparatus and the Congress Party, while the *Lingayats* constituted their junior partners¹⁵.

The formation of the unified Karnataka State in 1956 altered the caste balance considerably. The *Lingayats* constituted 15% of the State population and *Vokkaligas* about 11%. The first Chief Ministers of the expanded Karnataka State belonged to the *Lingayat* caste. The community dominated not only the land but also other sources of political patronage. After the Reorganization, the new leaders extended the communal reservation scheme to the entire State. As a result of a number of Court cases culminating in the famous *Balaji* judgment, the Government ordered in 1963, 30% reservation for other backward classes and 18% for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The beneficiaries of this scheme were the politically dominant castes of *Lingayats* and *Vokkaligas*. This gave rise to considerable resentment among other minority castes, which found themselves left high and dry. Devraj Urs, who raised the leader of the Congress (I), very carefully and sedulously, cultivated the *non-lingayat* and *non-Vokkaliga* communities. It was primarily the consolidation of this base that enabled him to rule the State from 1972 to 1980.

In 1972, he set up Karnataka Backward Classes Commission (headed by Mr. L.G. Havanur). The Commission did not include the *Brahmins*, *Bunts*,

¹⁵ *Mandal Commission Report*, Vol, IV, PP.151-52.

Lingayats, and *Kshatriyas*, and *Jains* in the list of Backward Classes. After modifying the Commission's recommendations the Government divided the underprivileged classes into six categories and made separate reservation for each group. The special feature of this scheme was that some sub-caste of the *Lingayats* had been classified as backward and majority of the sub-castes classified as forward. While the *Vokkaligas* have been classified as a backward community, their erstwhile senior partner in Karnataka politics, the *Lingayats* had been classified as mostly forward. As a result, the *Lingayats* find themselves divided on the issue. Also, on this issue an alliance of the *Vokkaligas* with the *Lingayats* cannot take place as they find themselves in different from the backward and the forward. This is in total contrast with the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh situation, where all the major forward caste groups, i.e., *Brahmins*, *Kayasthas*, *Rajputs* and *Bhumihars* have been classified as forward and can find a platform to unite upon.

The Havanur Commission Report caused considerable controversy between *Lingayats* and other backward classes. But owing to effective mobilization, protests and agitations organized by *Lingayats* did not cut much ice. The coalition of minority backward castes forged by Devraj Urs had been pretty powerful and durable.

The Karnataka *non-Brahmin* movement, in the decades following the twenties failed to produce any overarching revivalist *Kannada* ideology, which might have prevented the cleavage among the *non-Brahmins* from emerging to the surface. As discussed, the more recent cleavage has displaced the older *Brahmin*, *non-Brahmin* cleavage. Like the *Brahmins* and *Bunts* of Karnataka have been kept out of the reservation scheme. As the backward castes split between upper and lower backward castes, the *Lingayats* and *Vokkaligas* of the upper backward castes fought against each other to be included or excluded from

backward caste lists in the 1970s¹⁶. In Karnataka as long as the *Lingayats* had been classified as backward, there was not much public agitation. But their exclusion first by Havnur Commission and then in the G.Os based on the report provoked the ire of the community. As the competition among backward castes gets intensified and new castes began to assert their claim with the dominant backward castes, the backward caste get split, for the purpose of reservation. When the dominant stratum realizes that it is not possible for it to get reservation in the name of caste, but they emphasize the economic criteria¹⁷. Similarly, *Lingayat* and *Vokkaliga* communities having realized that they would not get backward status as caste insisted that Chinnappa Reddy Commission (1990) should adopt economic criteria to identify the SEBCs¹⁸.

The *non-Brahmin* movement or the Backward Class movement in Karnataka can be classified into two types one is that it is led by the *vokkaligas* and *lingayats* against the *Brahmin* and second is creation of the political force with the disadvantaged castes by Devaraj Urs to protect his political position from the threat of the two landed dominant castes, i.e., *vokkaligas* and *lingayats*. Therefore Urs patronized the caste associations among artisan and service castes. He channeled money and resources to these associations and spoke at their conferences and public rallies. When he revived or founded such associations, he naturally saw to it that his own allies from those social groups were inserted as very prominent figures in them. These people then served as agents for and as

¹⁶ In Tamil Nadu When M.G. Ramachandran super imposed an income criterion of Rs 9000 on the OBC list in 1979, the backward caste elite protested and the order had to be withdrawn.

¹⁷ For instance the Gujarat Kshatriya Sabha, which mobilized Kshatriyas-forward and backward-demanded backward caste status for all Kshatriyas before the first Backward Classes Commission in the 1950s. But having failed to get backward status for forward Kshatriyas who dominated the caste organization, it demanded economic criteria to determine backwardness.

¹⁸ Ghanshyam Shah, op.cit. 605

monitors of the flow of spoils to the caste associations. But this strategy was not sustained and did not help the marginalized people to capture the political power in the state, therefore, again, the dominant caste rule has been continuing.

Whereas the untouchable *Ezhavas* for the self-respect, self-dignity and spiritual life led by Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement in Kerala in the beginning of the 20th century has brought about a radical transformation in the social order and democratization of the civil society. That is why still now also the SNDP movement is considered as the classic one in modern India.

The SNDP Movement in Kerala for Human Dignity:

One of the most influential social movements in modern Kerala is the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement, which is not only for the reforms or Sanskritization but also for the structural change in the caste system, modernization, rejection of the traditional occupation, accessibility to the education, employment, industry, commerce and spiritual life and alternative religion¹⁹.

Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement took place against the Hindu upper caste system and for the protection of the denied human rights. Basically, the SNDP movement is initiated for the upliftment of the untouchable community i.e., the *Ezhavas*, who had been practicing the socially degrading occupation of toddy tapping. According to 1961 Census *Ezhavas* constitute about 26% in the total population of Kerala. This untouchable caste is at present in the OBC list.

The *Ezhavas* along with practice of the traditional toddy tapping, they also used to be the tenants, agricultural laborers, weavers, and Ayurvedic doctors, Astrologists etc. In the Hindu hierarchical caste system of Kerala society, the first place was occupied by the *Nambudris*, *Kshtatriyas*, *Amblavasis* (servants in the

¹⁹ See for details, M.S. A, Rao, *Social Movements and Social Transformation-A comparative study of two Backward Classes Movements*, Macmillan, and Bombay, 1989.

temples), *Zamindar Nayars* and other *Nayars* and the *Ezhavas* in the order. The *Nayars* used to maintain the distance of 36 feet from the *Ezhavas* in order to avoid the pollution. The *Ezhavas* were not supposed to avail water from the wells, tanks of the upper caste Hindus. There was no entrance in the schools of the latter and in Government employment opportunities. Wearing the shoes, umbrella, jacket to upper part of the *Ezhava* woman, ornaments, carrying of the drinking water pots and milk pats on the shoulders of the *Ezhavas* was prohibited. They were permitted to build small huts and inns only. *Ezhavas* were not supposed to spit in the bazaars. When the upper caste people are coming, the *Ezhava* should reveal his/her physical presence and walk on the knees. The *Nayars* demanded the *Ezhavas* to render the free service due to three reasons. One is that insecure tenancy, two agreement to render the service of traditional agriculture labour, and three, since the residing places of the *Ezhavas* were belonging to upper caste landlords, they may ask to vacate at any time.

The social movement among the *Ezhavas* to question the degraded position, untouchability, injustice and exploitation was started with the breaking of the then social system, when the introduction of new systems by the British rule and the Christian Missionaries, such as education, spread of new ideas. The British colonial rulers politically unified all the small Princely States and uniformed legal system was introduced, therefore, consciousness among the lower castes had started to grow about their rights. The Christian Missionaries started struggle against the custom of not to wear the jacket by the *Ezhava* woman and achieved it. The Missionaries helped in terms of education and employment and other facilities to the lower castes with the cooperation of British Government. And also the missionaries extended help to liberate these people from the age-old traditions. In 1812 Colonel Munro declared that the woman who convert to Christianity are permitted to wear the jacket. This was a big blow to the century's together custom of subordination to the upper castes, such as *Nambudris* and *Nayars*; therefore, the violent incidents took place. With

the attack of *Nayars* in 1858 on the *Ezhava* woman for wearing jacket, then there was an agitation against the attack. It had become inevitable to the *Maharaja* to declare that his Government does not have any objection if the *Ezhava* women wear the jacket. But they should not imitate and not in the style of upper caste woman. With this victory the level of confidence and unity was increased among *Ezhava* woman in particular and lower caste woman in general. But in other aspects the upper caste domination had been continuing. In the public offices such as Post office, Railway stations there were no equal opportunities for the *Ezhavas*. If there are upper caste people, the lower castes had to maintain the distance and sought to reveal his presence.

There is tremendous impact of the British rulers effort on the *Ezhavas* with regard to land tenancy. In 1773 the British Government recognized the '*Janmi*' as the owner and *Kasamdar* as the *kattudar*. With this Act the rights of the tenants were clarified. Now they were liberated from the dependence on mercy of the landlords. In 1867 the relations between the landlord and the tenants were legalized. The tenancy duration Act was introduced in 1867. The Act gave the right to move to the Court by the tenant, if the landlord takes back his land.

Education played a significant role in the realization of the oppression and suppression of the *Ezhavas*. Though the *Ezhavas* were the experts in Sanskrit, Malayali literature, Astrology, Ayurveda etc, the *Nambudris* and *Nayars* enjoyed the high social status. *Ezhavas* got the opportunity to learn Sanskrit with spread of Buddhism in Ancient Kerala society. The Buddhist monks not only spread the Sanskrit through Pali books, but knowledge about the indigenous medicine. During the British rule English educational institutions were established in many places. The discrimination in the Government jobs forced them to revolt against the injustice. Because of English education the upper caste occupied the positions in administration, judiciary, medicine, and education related, these were denied to the *Ezhavas*. All these factors contributed to the origin of Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement. The movement has got clear ideology, leadership, aims

and objectives. The spirit of this social movement brought about a lot of changes in the future.

The movement was started against the then social discrimination, dissatisfaction, disharmony, upper castes oppression, exploitation and all other kinds of injustice. It began with Dr. Palpu and Velu brothers, when there was no priority in the education and employment for the *Ezhavas*. Therefore, these brothers are considered as the political fathers of the *Ezhavas*. Dr. Palpu sent an application for the practice of the law, since he belonged to the untouchable community, the application was not accepted and fee was not sent back. Velu who passed B.A; and the Travancore Government refused to give the job. He joined as small clerk in the revenue department in the neighboring Madras State in 1885 and rose to the position of Assistant Commissioner. He started, for the first time, the journal called Kerala in Malayalam. The struggle of these two was confined only to requests and submitting the memorandums to the Government. They had no clear ideology, strategy of the movement, and methods of the alternative culture. The SNDP had fulfilled all these gaps.

The charismatic leader of the *Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement*, Sri Narayana guru was born on 28th August 1855 in a small village, Chembajhati is 4 k.m away from Trivendram in a poor schoolteacher family. He learnt Sanskrit, Malayalam, and Tamil, Astrology from his father and uncle and higher education from Sri Kummanpalli Raman Pillai. Since his childhood was spent in the nearby forest, while meditating, he used to frequently come and had the food in the houses of the untouchables, Christians, and Muslims. While wandering in various places he studied the *Vedas*, Epics, and other Classical literature. In this process he got the spiritual knowledge to cure the diseases of human beings and animals. By 1890 he emerged as the prominent social and religious reformer and died on 20, September 1928.

During the 40 years of period he proposed a lot of revolutionary ideas. Guru himself studied the Shankara's philosophy of *Adwaita* and wrote book in *Sanskrit* known as '*Atmopadesha sathakam*'. He taught Vedas to his disciples.

He preached the ideology for the social reform in the Hindu religion to liberate the common man and for social change. He advocated that faith in one God. There is one religion and one caste. He directly attacked the base of *Brahminical* domination, i.e., Caste system. For the opposition of the *Brahminical* domination and social order he took the 12th century Basaveswara of Karnataka as his ideal. Basaveswara started an alternative religious movement against the rituals of the Brahmanism. Narayana guru opposed the caste system of the Nambudris and other Brahmins who denied the right to study the Vedas and worshipping of the vegetarian Gods. In view of Narayana guru, in order to study the Vedas it is not an essential qualification to born in the upper caste Brahmin family. He said that the learning process depends upon the environment or the conditions in which a person lives and the kind of training not on the caste in which he or she is born. Therefore he suggested that not to believe in the system built on the inequalities and asked his disciples to work for the abolition of this type of caste system. To achieve the goal he emphasized the brotherhood among the lower castes.

Since the traditional occupation is linked with caste, he appealed the *Ezhavas* to give up the toddy tapping. He also discouraged the drinking and production of toddy and encouraged to enter into the trade, commerce and industry. He patronized the industrial exhibition to emphasis that the education, and employment is base for the social well being. He also started the weaving for the *Ezhavas* and *Puliyas* an alternative livelihood.

He asked the *Ezhavas* to stop the animal sacrifice in the traditional temples, unnecessary expenditure on marriages and other religious rituals. Not to have the marriages of 8-10 years girls with the 60 years old men. He opposed all the rituals during maturity and pregnancy.

For the purpose of having effectiveness in the religious reforms, and to build the alternative to Hindu religion the temples, *muttas*, *Ashramas* for the priests and *Sanyasas*, who were campaigners of the Guru ideology, is the *Ezhavas* achievement of denied right to religion. By this Guru not only removed the inferiority complex among the *Ezhavas* but also stopped the corruption in the upper caste temples. The mirrors and palanquins in the *Ezhavas* temples replaced the idols. He strongly believed that man is God and rendering the service to the mankind is the serving of the God. He told his disciples that instead of magical powers and ritual in the temples, it is better to have the public welfare activities, and they should be the centers of cleanliness, devotion, education and economic affairs. He proposed for the equal rights to women in all the fields.

The *muttas* had taken the responsibility of discussions on the *Dharma* of Narayana Guru, training to the youth on His philosophy, well being of the *Sanyasas*. The common people use Temples for the worship of the vegetarian Gods. Prior to these temples the *Ezhavas* used to practice the animal sacrifices, drinking liquor while dancing and worshipping of the evil Gods. Narayan guru worked hard to collect the funds for the building of the temples to use for the movements, marriages, some of them were used as the schools, *muttas*, libraries, lodgings and boarding for the devotes. The *Ashram* schools were also established for the spiritual knowledge. In his view school is temple to reduce the caste differences. He emphasized the English education, technical skills for the industry and woman education.

In order to spread the philosophy of Sri Narayana guru among the common mass a secular institution called *Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yagam* was established in 1903 at Arivipuram. The SNDP Society was registered at the last days of Guru's life in 1928 and dedicated to spread the theme of universal brotherhood of 'all are equal, one religion and one caste.

The new life was started among the *Ezhavas* and lower castes with SNDP movement and its philosophy. The movement opposed the non-vegetarianism,

drinking, expensive and unnecessary rituals, preaching of the moral values, giving up of the traditional toddy tapping, and encouraged to enter in to the modern education, employment, industry, business and the spiritual change.

Due to the social movement, lower caste people built the alternative religion, change in the social position, entered in to the education and Government jobs, industry, commerce and business and politics.

Gradually over the years, with spread of left movement the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement was declined. The SNDP temples are used as libraries centers of intercaste marriages, and political activities. There was a division within the Ezhavas as the supporters of the SNDP Yagam and the C.P.M. Latter the Communists and the Congress started giving considerable number of seats in the elections to attract the 26% vote bank of the Ezhavas.

Unlike the Backward Class movement of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, and Kerala the anti-Brahmin movement of Maharashtra took slightly different course and emerged at two levels: one led by the non-Brahmin Marathas and the other by the untouchable caste of Mahars. The organizational triumphs of these two large and effective protest movements in this century were dependent on the democratizing process of the period in the last half of the Nineteenth century.

The anti-Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra:

From the second half of the 19th century, particularly, in South India, and in the Bombay Presidency, the sons of rich peasants among the dominant land-owning castes, and of local traders and moneylenders who expanded into commerce, started acquiring English education. A small fraction of this newly educated class came from lower Shudra cultivating, artisan and trading castes, and even from among untouchables²⁰. In the 19th century Maharashtra, Poona and Kolhapur provided leadership to the emergence of backward castes

²⁰ Francine R. Frankel & M.S.A.Rao (eds). *Dominance and State Power in India Decline of a Social Order*, Vol-I, OUP, Delhi, 1989, p 10.

movement in India. One of the first products of Christian missionary education was Jothiba Phule of Poona, who belonged to the Shudra caste of gardeners. Phule (1827-90) is acknowledged as the father of non-Brahmin movement in India. He wrote several books, like *Gulamgiri* for the material and spiritual improvement of the lower classes. The condition of the untouchables horrified him. He called upon the people to revolt against Hindu casteist gods and degrading religious practices. He wanted the lower castes to form their own associations, create an, *esprit de corps* and work for their emancipation from the age-old degradation as *Shudras* in society, education and religion. Jothiba founded the *Satya Shodak Samaj* to unite all the backward castes on a common platform. He advocated the principle of adequate representation for members of all castes in public services.

The *non-Brahman* movement generated in Bombay province (now Maharashtra) had its effect in Kolhapur-a small Maratha State-under the control of the Bombay Government by Maharaja Chatrapati Shahu²¹. The Maharaja, displeased with the Brahmins, devoted much of his time to the non-Brahman movement. He declared in 1902 that he would reserve at least half the posts in the State for qualified men of *non-Brahmin* communities. To give fair opportunities to all communities, the Prince started a hostel in Kolhapur city for *non-Brahman* youths. Kolhapur may be set to be the first State to adopt the reservation policy, though there had been some ineffective attempts earlier by the British government to break the monopoly of one community. Kolhapur therefore, has been a landmark in the backward classes movement towards equality²². The backward classes movement in India originated in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Gail Omvedt considers Maharashtra and TamilNadu to be

²¹ The Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy in Bombay began in 1891 when R.P. Paranjpe with new claim of the Maharaja of Kolhapur, a descendent of great Shivaji, To Vedic rites, as his Brahmin hereditary priest

²² Singh, S.N., op. cit. pp.36-37.

(Children of god), and to adopt an alternative identity of the Scheduled Castes identified in the 1935 Constitution. In effect declaring that the deficiencies they showed had been imposed upon them by servitude under the traditional social order and could be removed by the contemporary policies of the modern State²⁵.

The other backward classes of Maharashtra, whose number grew from 125 castes in 1953 to 160 castes in 1967, also mobilized themselves as social groups. But the Government policy was to move from caste to income criterion. In November 1961, the State Government appointed a Backward Classes Committee (headed by B.D. Deshmukh). The Committee in its report of January 1964, grouped backward classes into four categories and recommended that reservations for backward classes should be related to the percentage of their population in the State. The Government broadly accepted the above recommendations and made the following reservations in the State services and educational institutions for backward classes: Scheduled Castes and Scheduled castes converts to Buddhism; 13%; Scheduled Tribes, Denotified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes; 4%; and Other Backward Communities; 10%. Interesting, the above scheme provides reservation, in proportion to population, only in the case of the first two categories but not in the case of the other backward communities who were extended only 10% of the vacancies. Subsequently, in April 1979, the State Government issued orders that 80% of all vacancies should be reserved for economically weaker sections of society, i.e., families whose income was less than Rs 200/- per month. Where adequate numbers of suitably qualified candidates were not available, preference for the balance of reserved seats was to be given to candidates whose family income ranged from Rs 200/- to Rs 400/- per month. And the 80% reservation was inclusive of the earlier reservations for the OBCs, SCs and STs²⁶.

²⁵ Francine Frankel, op.cit. Pp 11-12.

²⁶ *Mandal Commission Report*, Vol-I, p.11.

Jotirao Phule was the ideologue of the *non-Brahmin* movement in Maharashtra. He rejected the *Hindu* scriptures and the caste system. According to Phule, *Hindu* religion was both the ideological means of suppression and the cause of poverty of the low castes. Phule's ideas, education and organization were the means to create unity and sense of identity among the *non-Brahmin* castes and thereby create free and just society. Therefore Phule and Ambedkar are still a powerful source of inspiration for the lower castes to mobilize themselves.

Backward Castes Mobilization in North India:

The backward classes movements have varied in their support basis, extent of relative deprivation, goals they were seeking and the means they adopted. The variations were strongly determined by the different cleavages provided by the inherited social structure, and the impact of the British rule and different public policies adopted by the post-independence governments, both at the Center and in the States. The rise of the backward castes in north India, unlike in the peninsular India is, basically a post-independent phenomena. In the south, the backward classes movement had its origin in the *Brahmin-non-Brahmin* polarization whereas in the north the conflict emerged between the generally forward and "twice-born" castes of *Brahmins*, *Kayasthas*, *Bhumihars*, *Rajputs* on the one hand and the intermediate castes of *Yadavs*, *Ahirs*, *Kurmis*, etc., on the other. According to the 1931 census for the united provinces- the most populous contemporary State of Uttar Pradesh-Brahmins constituted 9% of the population, that is 40% of the entire Brahmin Varna category in India. *Brahmins* and *Rajputs* accounted for over 16% of the population, with *vaishyas* (*Banias*) adding 2.5%. A similar *Varna* order prevailed in adjacent Bihar, Where twice-born castes constituted more than 12% of the population and *Kayasthas* accorded elite status as a *literati* caste, added little more than 1%. Although, *Rajputs* rather than

Brahmins exercised the greatest power as land controllers. *Brahminical* ideology played the most important role in legitimizing the status and occupational hierarchy.

The *Varna* divide between the twice-born castes and *Shudras* in the Hindi heart-land areas as historically demarcated a rigid social hierarchy, one in which the lower castes were deprived of education, denied social dignity, and confined to manual work of cultivation or other low status artisan and service occupations. It is possible to divide the *Shudra* category in north India into two clearly identifiable sub-categories-what are called the upper *Shudras* and lower *Shudras*. The former comprise such economically powerful and politically aggressive groups as the *Jats*, *Yadavs*, *Kurmis* and *Koiris*, while the latter include the humble *Hajjam*, *Kumbhar*, *Lohar*, *Teli*, *Tatwa*, *Dhanuk* and *Mallah*²⁷. The *Jats* included in the backward classes list and regard themselves as the leaders of the backward castes. It is the inclusion of all these heterogeneous groups within the *Shudra* category that made for its large size and has enabled leaders of the backward castes to press hard their claim for special status in the post-independent period. They have alleged that Congress Party has been instrumental in empowering a small group of upper castes, a pro-industry, at the expense of the rural majority. This has left the backward castes with no opinion but to launch an all out attack on the Congress system and all that it stands for. And the upper castes dominance in the Congress Party has been well documented²⁸. But the Congress was also instrumental in bringing about a

²⁷ "Caste, Land and Dominance in Bihar: breakdown of the Brahminical social order" in Francine Frankel&MSA Rao (eds). Op. cit. p. 54.

²⁸ "For example: Kochenek, Stanley. A. *The Congress Party of India*, Princeton Univ, Press, Princeton, 1960. Johi Osgood Field and Myron Weiner (Eds) *Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian States*, Vol: 4, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1977: and Blair, Harry W. "Rising Kulkas and Backward Classes in Bihar." EPW, 12, January 1980. Kochaneks's study shows that 46% of the ministers in the Union cabinet were Brahmins and the forward castes (Brahmins, Kayasthas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) together constituted 46% of the members of the Congress Parliamentary Party as against the 10% Shudras. Nor was the situation any different at the State level. In the 1962 UP Legislative Assembly, almost 63% of the Congress MLAs belonged to the

veritable revolution in the countryside. Through its land reform legislations it was primarily responsible for dispossessing the big *Zamindars* and empowering the backward castes. The reforms created a substantial class of medium-sized owner-cultivators. Many of them belonged to the backward classes. Unlike large landowners whose origins and resources are located in the history of the British *Raj*, self-employed cultivators are largely a product of post-independence agrarian policies. As a consequence the center of power shifted from the feudal landlords to the market-oriented independent cultivators²⁹.

In caste terms the principal losers in northern India were *Rajput-Thakurs* and to lesser extent *Bania*, *Kayastha* and *Muslim* landlords. The main beneficiaries were the erstwhile tenants among *Jats*, *Yadavs*, *Kurmis*, and *Koiris*, who are belonged to the upper strata of the *Shudra* castes after cornering the benefits of this first wave of agrarian legislation. These groups took the lead in blocking all subsequent attempts at reform designed to benefit the marginal farmers and the landless who usually also belonged to castes and groups further down the hierarchy. Bullock capitalists (as middle peasants are referred by Rudolph and Rudolph) refer primarily to those members of the *Shudra* castes who are self-employed, operate holding between 2.5-1.5 acres, use a pair of bullocks and the new inputs associated with the green revolution³⁰.

The middle farmers today constitute the most powerful group in the countryside economically as well as politically. They have more voters than any other agrarian class taken by itself-about 25% of the total population- and have emerged as the principal spokesmen of agrarian interests. But agrarian interests

elite castes and only 6.8% to the backward classes. In the same year, the Congress Ministry in Bihar, as Blair's study shows had 58% cabinet ministers from the forward castes and 8% from the backward castes.

²⁹ Rudolph, L.I& S.H. Rudolph" *In Pursuit of Lakshmi: The Political Economy of the Indian State*, Orient Long man, Bombay 1987, p. 354.

³⁰ Meenakshi Jain," *Backward Castes and Social Change in UP and Bihar*", In Srinivas. M.N. (ed), *Castes: Its Twentieth Century Avatar*, Viking (Penguin India), Delhi, 1996, pp. 138-39.

for them remain confined to the interests of the middle farmers, which explains why their major demands have been remunerative prices and other input costs- and lately administrative jobs via the *Mandal* Commission. Politically the rise of the middle farmer was the single most important cause of the decline of the Congress in north India. Despite its electoral dependence on the forward castes, scheduled castes, tribes and minorities till 1967, the party was also successful in incorporating sections of the backward castes even though they did not serve as its "vote bank". After all, Charan Singh remained an important leader and pre-eminent spokes man of rural interests in the Congress until he quit the party in 1967³¹.

The middle peasant challenge emerged clearly for the first time in 1967 when the Congress Party lost power at the State level in all north Indian States and middle peasants took over as chief ministers in Haryana (Rao Biredra Singh), Utter Pradesh (chaudhury Charan Singh) Madhya Pradesh (G. N. Singh) and Bihar (B.P. Mandal)³².

The backward class upsurge had spawned, among other things, arguably the most comprehensive system of affirmative action in the world. More importantly, the political mobilization of the under privileged castes had started changing the very configuration of Indian society, economy and polity. Such process gathered momentum in the post-Independence era under a democratic and secular Constitution.

Backward Castes at the National Level: The response of the post-independent Indian State to the backward castes can be classified into three phases such as Congress, Janata and Janatadal and National Democratic Alliance regimes.

³¹ Ibid. pp. 141-42.

³² A study of the composition of these non- Congress Governments would reveal the magnitude of the backward caste revolt. Backward Castes constituted 30% of the ministers in Charan Singh's Government and 345 of the B.P. Mandal ministry in Bihar. 45% of the ministers in Rao Birendra Singh's Government in Haryana were Jats.

Congress Regime: The identification of the Other Backward Classes had been contentious, in north India in general and at the national level in particular. So no reservation schemes could be adopted for them at the central level till independence. The Socially, Educationally Backward Classes constitute the largest and the most heterogeneous category. Because these "middle castes" are located between the "twice-born" (*Dwijja*) higher castes and the "untouchables" (Scheduled Castes). Moreover the Constitution neither defines the SEBCs nor provides the criteria for their identification. Resultantly, the efforts to centralize reservation programmes for the OBCs had been unsteady and half-hearted. More importantly the origins of political mobilization of OBCs at the national level go back to the early years of post-Independence period. So the Center had initiated the efforts to designate the SEBCs only after Independence. Therefore, it is relevant here to start with discussion of the first decisive attempt by the Union Government during period of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the country from the Congress Party, at specifying the OBCs, i.e., the setting up of the first national Backward Classes Commission.

In view of the varied conditions of development among the different communities of India, from the primitive to the most advanced, the framers of the Constitution deemed it necessary to make adequate provisions for the protection and uplift of the backward classes and to afford equal opportunities for their advancement in order to bring them up to a common level. The Constitution envisages the establishment of "classless and casteless society", free from all kinds of exploitation. The Preamble of the Constitution makes it abundantly clear, and the relevant provisions are included in Articles 15(4), 16(4), 38, 39©, 41, 43, 45, 46, 330 and 334.

It was only after Independence that the Central Government tried to define the OBCs with a view to making special provisions for their advancement. Article 15(4) and 16(4) refer to the making of such provisions for the advancement of SEBCs. It was this objective that the President in pursuance of

Article 340, appointed the Backward Classes Commission, the first national inquiry of its kind, under the chairmanship of Kaka saheb Kalelkar (M.P)³³.

After shifting and sorting the facts collected, the Commission formulated the following criteria for identifying SEBCs:

Low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society;

Lack of general educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community;

Inadequate or no representation in Government service;

Inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.

It also prepared a list of 2,399 backward castes or communities for the entire country, and 837 of these were classified as "most backward"³⁴ and made comprehensive recommendations (see annexure-1) for the upliftment of the backward castes

Minutes of Dissent:

It is pertinent to note that the Kalelkar Commission could not present a unanimous report. In fact five of its members recorded minutes of dissent. Messrs. Anup Singh, Arunangshu De and P.G. Shaw were opposed to the view of linking caste with backwardness and reservation of posts on caste basis. But Mr. Chaurasia strongly advocated the acceptance of caste as the criterion for the backwardness in his 67-page minute of dissent. Mr. Mariapp's minute of dissent was concerned only with the inclusion of a couple of castes in the list of SEBCs.

Chairman Kalelkar took rather equivocal stand on the issue. Interestingly in a last minute *Volta face*, he virtually repudiated the Commission's work. Though he did not record a formal minute of dissent, in his 29-page Forwarding

³³ The other members of the Commission are Messrs. N.S. Kajralkar (M.P). Bheeka Mariappa (M.L.A). L. Jagannadh, A. S. Namdari (M.P). N.R.M. Swamy (M.P) and Arunangshu.De(member secretary).

³⁴ *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* (Chairman: B.P. Mandal), Vol-I (part-I) Govt of India, 1980, p.1.

Letter to the President, he opposed the acceptance of caste as the basis of backwardness. He also expressed his reservations regarding several other important recommendations made by the Commission³⁵

Government Action on Kalelkar Commission Report:

After a detailed examination of the Commission's Report the Government laid its copy together with a Memorandum of action taken in each House of Parliament on 3rd September 1956. In this Memorandum it was observed: " For the purpose of inquiry specifically contemplated in Article 340 of the Constitution it was necessary to consider whether these other backward sections could be properly classified and the Commission had to find objective tests and criteria by which such classifications were to be made. They had to find indisputable yardsticks by which social and educational backwardness could be measured. The report of the Commission has not been unanimous on this point, in fact it reveals considerable divergence of opinion". It was further stated; the Commission 's list contains as many as 2,399 communities out of which 930 alone account for an estimated population of 11.5 crores; Scheduled Caste and Tribes will makeup another 7 crores (on the basis of 1951 Census). Regarding the acceptance of caste as criteria for backwardness it was stated: "it cannot be denied that the caste system is the greatest hindrance in the way of one's progress towards an egalitarian society and recognition of the specified caste as backward may serve to maintain and even perpetuate the existing distinctions on the basis of caste".

Regarding the recognition of a large number of castes and communities as backward it was pointed out: "if entire community, barring a few exceptions, has thus to be regarded as backward, the really needy would be swamped by the multitude and hardly receive any specially attention or adequate assistance, nor

³⁵ *Mandal Commission Report*, p.1.

would such a dispensation fulfill the conditions laid down in Article 340 of the Constitution.

In view of the above, the government considered it necessary that " some positive and workable criteria should be devised for the specification of the socially and educationally backward classes and to undertake further investigations". So that deficiencies that have been noticed in the findings of the Commission are made good. It was also pointed out in the Memorandum that the Planning Commission had already formulated the development programmes for the removal of backwardness and "the main point to be stressed was whether the special needs of the backward classes could be intensively and effectively served by appropriate shifts of emphasis or by re-arrangement of priorities within the framework of the existing programmes or whether additional programmes needed to be drawn up"³⁶

Incidentally the Commission's Report was not discussed by the Parliament, when Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of India. After presenting the Memorandum to the Parliament, the Government made efforts " to discovery some criteria other than caste which could not be of practical application in determining the backward classes". The Deputy Registrar General was asked to conduct a pilot survey to see if backwardness could be linked to occupational communities instead of caste. Such a survey was undertaken but it failed to through up the desired criteria. The matter was also discussed at a conference of State representatives on 7th April 1959 and subsequently reviewed at a meeting of State officers convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs, but no consensus emerged as a result of these efforts.

The Central Government ultimately took a decision that no all India lists of backward classes should be drawn up, nor any reservation made in the Central Government service for any group of backward classes other than the SCs and STs. Consequently, on 14th August 1961, the Home Ministry addressed

³⁶ *Mandal Commission Report*, p.1.

all State Governments stating: " while the State Government have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of Government of India, it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by castes". Regarding the preparation of the lists of backward classes it was observed: "Even if the Central Government were to specify under Article 338(3) certain groups of people as belonging to 'other backward classes', it was still be opened to every state government to draw up its lists for the purposes of the Article 15 and 16. As, therefore, the state Governments may adhere to their own lists, any all-India lists drawn up by the Center would have no practical utility"³⁷

Though the above failings are serious, yet the real weakness of the Report lies in its internal contradictions as discussed above three of the members were opposed to one of the most crucial recommendations of the Report, that is the acceptance of castes as a criterion for social backwardness and reservation of posts in Government services on that basis. This degree of dissidence greatly compromised the force of the Commission's recommendations. But it was the 29 page-forwarding letter of the chairman to the President which demolished the very basis of the Report. Thus the matter went back to the States: the Commission's Report remained on the table, and despite occasional agitations was not taken up by the Parliament until 1965.

The Tanata Party and Janatha Dal Regimes:

The recommendations of the First Backward Classes Commission (1953-55) had not been accepted by the Central Government on the ground that the Commission had not applied any objective test for identifying backward classes. The Government was also opposed to the adoption of caste as one of the criteria for backward classes and preferred the application of the economic test³⁸.

³⁷ *ibid*, pp.2-3

³⁸ Ranjan Prasad Yadav, "*Why Mandal Commission*", Third Concept, August 1990, p. 42

The Article 340 has been invoked twice: in 1953 (Kalelkar Commission) and in 1979 (Mandal Commission). But the sobering fact remains that the Union of India decided not to adopt any policy measures for four decades after independence. The reasons were many and complex. The Kalelkar Commission Report was a house divider. The division rested on the question whether the Constitution permitted organization of State policy on the basis of caste rather than class as a criterion of backwardness. No action on the Kalelkar Report resulted during the Nehru era and it was only after 30 years of independence that the Mandal Commission was constituted during the Janata Party rule at the Center. In the mean time, a large number of States proceeded to have their own Backward Classes Commission and arrived at different formulas of reservation in education and employment for the backward classes³⁹.

Though free India's secular and republican Constitution provides for equality of opportunity to all its citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or gender, and for redress of the inherited or imposed disadvantages suffered by the sections of the people, the traditional hold of the upper castes over positions of power and privileges rendered both "equal opportunity" and "redress" less effective instruments for positive changes. Operation of the Constitution, circumscribed by the superior social and political influence of the privileged castes or classes, has thus been able to bring about only some shifts in emphasis than any material alteration in the basic social structure. The erosion of Congress as a credible instrument of social, economic and political change and redress, the emergence of castes and community based pressure groups that are coalescing into alternative platforms of change that encompass all sections of people, and the loosening of the Brahmin centered Hindu hierarchy has seemed to provide

³⁹ Upendra Baxi, *"Mandal Commission and Operative policy to end backwardness"*. Mainstream, September 22, 1990, p. 5.

fresh scope for disadvantaged classes-increasingly identified as castes in the political electoral context-to seek their place in the sun.

As these disadvantaged groups saw it, the first break in their favour came in 1977, when the Congress lost power at the Center for the first time in free India. A splinter Congress group in power for a brief two years with the support of caste and community based groups set the country's second Backward Commission to report on steps to fully enfranchise the "socially and educationally backward classes". The first such Commission (headed by Kakakalekar) failed to present a unanimous report favoring the use of caste as criterion to assess backwardness and thus it was put aside by the Jawaharlal Nehru Government⁴⁰.

A class of rich peasants, who mainly belonged to the intermediate level of caste in the traditional social structure emerged and deeply entrenched itself in the rural power structure; it was also making its presence felt in the political process at the regional and national levels. This class was not however, homogenous in its composition and different segments of it did not have identical social history. There were continuous shuffling and reshuffling of power equations among the segments. Simultaneously, technological developments were taking place in the non-agricultural sectors, including village industries and various traditional occupations. This in some cases led to marginalization of the traditional occupations and induction of others into these fields; in some other cases this triggered social mobility movement. It was in this context of socio-political churning that the Second Backward Classes Commission was setup⁴¹

⁴⁰ Venugopal Rao, M., " *Caste war out in the open*", Mainstream, September, 29,1990, pp.3-4.

⁴¹ Roy Burman, B.K. "*Mandal Commission Report and Right to Information*", Mainstream, September 29,1990, pp. 5-6.

In the exercise of the powers conferred by the article 340 of the Constitution, the President appointed a Backward Classes Commission⁴² popularly known as the Mandal Commission after its chairman, On 1st January 1979 to investigate the conditions of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes within the territory of India. (Notification setting up of the Commission was issued on January 1st 1979, when Morarji Desai was the Prime Minister.)

The Mandal Commission submitted the report in 1980, while observing that the upliftment of the other backward classes is not just part of the larger problem of the removal of the poverty. The deprivation of OBCs is a very special case of social and educational backwardness and poverty is a direct consequence of these two crippling caste-based handicaps. As these handicaps are embedded in our social structure their removal will require far-reaching structural changes. Keeping in view the 52% of the Other Backward Classes population the Mandal Commission made wide-ranging recommendations (see annexure-2).

The Post-Mandal phenomena:

The Janata victory in 1977 reflects the emergence of the intermediate castes in north India. And the Backward Classes returned to the national political agenda. Pursuant to its electoral promise the Janata Government appointed the Mandal Commission. The Report of Mandal Commission (submitted on 31st December 1980) was placed before the Parliament in April 1982. The Report was unanimously "endorsed" by the Parliament on 11th August. All political parties in the Parliament acclaimed the spirit of equality embedded in the Commission's Report⁴³

The Report was neither rejected nor categorically accepted by the two successive Congress Governments. The Congress Government was unwilling to implement the Report as it enjoyed the electoral support twice-born caste along

⁴² This is the Second, and the last so far, Backward Classes Commission appointed by the Central Government under the Article 340.

⁴³ Andre Beteille, *"The Indian Road to Equality: More jobs for More Castes"*, Times of India, 28 August 1982.

with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. It did not have much of supporting among the other backward classes. Hence it was not under pressure to implement the Report, though there were repeated demands from the OBCs and their support to implement the recommendations. The Congress kept on promising to consider the implementation of the Report but had not fulfilled its promise⁴⁴ Resultantly the Report gathered dust till 1990.

The National Front-Led minority Central government announced, when Mr. Viswanath Prathap Singh was the Prime Minister of India, on 7th August 1990, its decision (based on the Mandal Commission) to reserve 27% of civil posts for the SEBCs. In a quick follow up action, the Union Government issued an Office Memorandum (on 13th August, 1990) giving effect to its decision. The momentous policy announcement triggered a massive anti-reservation agitation on an unprecedented scale. The violent resistance to OBCs reservations culminated in the unprecedented phenomena of self-immolations. And the nation got polarized into pro and anti-reservation camps.

The anti-Mandal agitation reflects the resistance by the privileged upper castes to the claim of the ascendant OBCs on the state resources. Inadequate mobilization of the SEBCs; equally inadequate education of the upper castes about social justice through affirmative action; and the growing competition for the dwindling public sector jobs made the anti- OBC agitation more violent and one-sided. The movement also symbolizes the extra-institutional struggle of the dominant castes in defense of the statuesque and hence against reform and redistribution⁴⁵.

The Judiciary, though divided, played a decisive part during the anti-Mandal agitation. The Court categorically recognized the reality of caste-based

⁴⁴ Asghar Ali Engineer (Ed) in his *"Introduction" to Mandal Commission Controversy*, Ajanta pubs, Delhi, 1991, p. IX.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. IX.

inequalities and caste as a basis of compensatory discrimination. It also emphasized that share of State power is the basis of reservation in appointment under Article 16(4). Nevertheless, the Court struck a delicate balance between positive discrimination and principles of equality and efficiency by reconciling the conflicting interests of backward castes and forward castes.

The NDA Regime: The National Democratic Alliance led by the Bharatiya Janatha Party at the Center hardly taken any action for the advancement of the backward classes. Basically the NDA is being dominated by the upper class and castes, which led the anti-Mandal movement, when Janatha Dal Government announced for the implementation of the 27% reservations in the central Government appointments. It has hardly responded to even single problem of the backward castes, though there are demands from the Backward Classes Associations all over the country. The demands are to introduce the reservations in the Central Government educational institutions, to appoint a Parliamentary Committee to look after the implementation of 27% reservations, reservations in the Legislative bodies, to have OBC category in the Census, quota within the quota of the women reservation Bill, measures to economic development, to appoint at least one member in the Constitution Review Committee, to implement all the recommendations of the Mandal Commission etc., Instead of taking actions for the upliftment of the backward classes, the NDA Government adopted the antagonistic policy⁴⁶ and started reviving the social deprivation by dropping and not implementing the reservations in the University Grants Commission recruitments and other public sector organizations⁴⁷.

It is concluded from the above analysis that the social movements, wherever they have taken place, have uplifted the lower castes and put the

⁴⁶ Venkatesu.E, "*Perige Kulalu Tharige Udyogalu: B.C Jabitha rajakhjam*"(Increasing Castes and Decreasing jobs: The Politics of Backward Classes list), In Andhra Prabha (Telugu daily), 16th June-2000.

⁴⁷ Interview with Bojja Tarakam, prominent S.C, ST, and OBC leader and Advocate in AP High Court, at Hyderabad on Sep, 12th 2003.

pressure on the State to introduce the affirmative action policy, as result of which a new class is emerged within the lower castes. Most of the time times this new class did not try to mobilize below castes but diverted the movements in order to continue their domination. For instance *Vellalas, Mudaliars, Kamma, Reddiars, Shettiars etc*, in TamilNad, *Vokkaligas* and *Lingayats* in Karnataka, *Marathas* in Maharashtra and *Yadavas* in North India. Due to lack of support from the lower backward castes to the mainstream backward castes movements, still they are lagging beyond in capturing the power.

As far as the Backward Classes at the National level is concerned it was during the Janata and Janata Dal Government only favorable policy output is seen. During the Congress rule at the Center, the backward classes were set aside to the principle of social justice and democracy by rejecting the first all India Backward Classes Commission, i.e., the Kakakalelkar Commission. It is at the time of Janata and Janata Dal regimes, in the Center, only appointed the second National Backward Classes Commission and implemented the 27% of reservations in the Central Government recruitments. It reveals that it is essential to have non-Congress Government with a non-Brahmin Prime Minister to do justice for the backward classes. And the National Democratic Alliance at the center is not interested not only in implementing the existing reservations and taking any actions for the advancement of the backward classes but replacing the very concept of social justice through its actions.

The lower caste movements, which are discussed above not only questioned the foundations of the caste-feudal exploitation in modern India but also brought the identity to backward castes and influenced the policy matters. These movements also produced the lower caste leaders, theoreticians, ideology, literature, alternative culture and inspiration to the future movements. But these movements are lacking the network and coordination to expand all over the country, therefore, there is weak alliance at the national level. The studies on

these movements are also specific, but not comprehensive to give the national picture of the backward castes in the country.

(II)

In the light of the above analysis, it would be relevant here to review the existing literature on the social mobilization.

Review of the literature: There is a lot of literature, on the mobilization of the lower castes in the country, which is reviewed in the present thesis to understand the mobilization of BCs in Andhra Pradesh. The following literature is being reviewed based on a chronological order.

Even though the backward caste movements have got long history, which was begun in the colonial period and continuing till date, the studies have started only in the 1960s. Lack of focus on the backward caste movements until 60s might be due to idealistic rhetoric, classless socialistic pattern of society and welfare state, of the first Prime Minister of the country Jawaharlal Nehru and subsequent negligence of the Congress party in mobilizing the backward castes. From 1960s onwards the backward castes started challenging the upper castes dominating political parties and making alternative arrangements to emerge in the post-independent democratic political system, therefore, studies on the social mobilization of the lower castes came into existence from that time onwards only. These studies, which are relevant as follows.

Rudolph and Rudolph's *Modernity of Tradition Political development in India (1969)*⁴⁸ is one of the earliest works on the political development of India. The authors discussed in detail about the role of caste associations in the modernization, and horizontal and differential mobilization. One important point, which is emphasized by the writers is that changes in the culture, structures and public functions of caste are necessary but not sufficient conditions for its democratic incarnation. A profound change in the nature of

⁴⁸ Rudolph and Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition*, Orient Long man, New Delhi, 1967

human sensibility is also required i.e. universalisation of fellow feelings because the traditional society patterns the emotional universe narrowly.

*Caste in Indian Politics (1970)*⁴⁹ is edited by Rajni Kothari. The work is, basically, an empirical study of the role of caste in Indian politics. In the introduction Rajni Kothari offers a theoretical framework to understand the role of caste in the modern democratic political system. He adopted the liberal democratic theoretical approach to study the changing nature of the caste in the age of electoral politics. He observes that the democratic, for that matter any type of politics will not operate in the vacuum, but require a social base. In Indian context the caste system filling the gap, i.e. providing the social base to the functioning of the democracy.

In this work there are number of essays on political mobilization of various castes in various states in the country, such as the Nadars in TamilNad, factions between Kammas and Reddies in Andhra Pradesh, the Kshatriya Mahasabha in Gujarat, and other essays. All these essays gave blueprint to think about changing role of the caste in modern politics, but there is a need to give different type of interpretation to the role of caste in politics from contemporary point of view in the changing global situation.

The study on Kshatriya Mahasabha in Gujarat by Ghanshyam Shah is titled as *Caste Association and Political Process in Gujarat (1975)*⁵⁰. The study covers interactions between caste associations and political parties. It clarifies many doubts, raised by the western and eastern scholars, about the role of traditional ascriptive or parochial elements in the modern political process. The author supports the argument that social base is needed for recruitment of personnel in administration and enlistment of members for political parties, decision makers

⁴⁹ Rajni Kothari (ed), *Caste in Indian Politics*, Orient Long man, New Delhi, 1970

⁵⁰ Ghanshyam Shaw, *Caste Association and Political Process in Gujarat: A study of the Kshatriya Mahasabha*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978.

and contestants for elections. Caste also serves as a base for interest articulation, channel of communication and basis of leadership and organization. He also agrees with the view that caste is not the only the factor, which influences the politics but it is one among many factors. The politics have potential capability to bring about the social change and create intra group competition within the caste association.

In order to support these arguments, he gives the illustrations based on the study of the Kshatriya Mahasabha in Gujarat. The Sabha has played a significant role for two decades in promoting political leaders and attracting the national political parties like Congress. One important lesson one can learn is that whoever support the local community based associations will gain support. Since Congress party supported the Sabha, it has got the support in the form of votes, whereas the Swatantra party has failed and Sabha also started declining due to the intra group competition.

*Social Movements and Social Transformation- A study of two Backward Classes Movements (1979)*⁵¹ is a significant work of M.S.A Rao who studied two backward castes movements such as SNDP movement in Kerala and *Yadava* movement in Bihar in particular and north India in general. He studied these two movements from the theory of relative deprivation point of view. He maintains that organization; ideology; collective mobilization and leadership are the essential elements of any movement. He also assessed the nature of social change among the *Ezhavas* of Kerala and *Yadavas* of Bihar due to social mobilization. These two communities are highly successful in terms of education, employment, economy, politics and culture in the post-independent period.

⁵¹ M.S.A, Rao, *Social Movements and Social Transformation- A study of two Backward Classes Movements*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

Competing Equalities (1984)⁵² by Marc Galantar traces the historical evolution of the legal framework of the compensatory discrimination policy for the socially, educationally disadvantaged people, such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes. It explains the origin and extension of the reservation policy in India from the Dalits to economically backward castes. According to him the deliberate interest in introducing the reservations is that the socially and educationally disadvantaged can nourish their accomplishments and enlarge their capabilities until the day that the protective barrier can be lowered and the special protections abandoned. The author elaborately discussed Constitutional provisions relating to reservations with illustrations of the Court cases.

Frankel and Rao's commendable work on the state politics in India is Dominance and State Power in Modern India-Delay of a social order (1989)⁵³ The work covers political changes, political process and impact of policy rather than the institutions and individuals. According to the writers the rigid Indian social system started declining with the beginning of the democratic era. These essays also analyzed the changing power structure and sharing of power by the new castes/communities who started playing a significant role in the process of modern politics. Most of the writers have a consensus on the factors, such as numerical strength and possession of the land in determining the democratic politics.

The Politics of Accommodation Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh is an article in the above work⁵⁴. According to Ram Reddy the policy of accommodation is strategy for the colonial and post-colonial rulers in the state.

⁵² Marc Galantar, *Competing Equalities: Low and Backward Classes in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984.

⁵³ Frankel and Rao, *Dominance and State Power in Modern India-Delay of a Social Order*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989.

⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 265-321,

In the area of Madras presidency the colonial rulers accommodated the growing elites, in the post-independent period it is the politics of patronage and populism perpetuated the provincial dominant caste rule by accommodating the emerging elite from the backward castes, lower castes and other sections. This process of accommodation prevented the political consolidation of the backward castes in specific and other lower castes in general to form an alternative political platform.

The author well perceived the continuous contradictions since pre-formation of Andhra Pradesh. In his view political process of Andhra Pradesh is the expression of the contradictions like *Brahmins vs. non-Brahmins*, *Zamindars and jagirdars vs. the peasants*, *rich peasants vs. agriculture labour*, *Telugu vs. non-Telugu*, *coastal Andhra vs. Rayalaseema*, *Reddies vs. Kammas* etc. The Congress party is successful in accommodating the contradictory forces and weakening the opposition political force, but from 1970s onwards the strategy of the accommodation has failed, therefore, internal confrontations and factions within the Congress party gave space to the rise of regional movements, social movements and a regional party in the state.

The author rightly grasped the creation of the lower caste elite through the instrumental policies to protect the interests of the rulers rather than the structural changes for the benefit of the larger mass.

New Social Movements-Empowerment of the people (1993) edited by Ponna Wignaraja (ed)⁵⁵: The work deals with human development and participatory democracy as core values of the contemporary social mobilization, it is grass roots subaltern marginalized communities as the social bases. All these communities got their own historical, socio-economic, political, cultural specificities, which are manifest in mobilization and for the paradigm shift in the developmental strategy and participatory democracy.

⁵⁵ Ponna Wignaraja (ed), *Social Movements in the South-Empowerment of the People*, Vistaar Publications, New Delhi, 1993.

Another aspect in the search for new paradigms is to identify the fundamental nature of the process of social change itself: Is it 'big bang' type of revolution results from a sharpening of contradictions or more commonly they are preceded by marginal reforms and incremental change? Both the processes can be observed in reality. There may be other intermediate processes and transitional pathways to social change, as the new social movements are located in various political spaces in the given historical context.

*Dalits and Democratic Revolution (1994)*⁵⁶ by Gail Omvedt is an important work on the lower caste movements during colonial period in Nagapur, Hyderabad, Andhra, Mysore, Bombay presidency etc. The author claims to understand the lower caste movements in a more creative than the official orthodox communists. In this work the author analyses the three trends, which were represented by Congress and Gandhi against the colonial rule, the Communists anti-feudal and Ambedkar against the caste system in the country. In her view Ambedkar's path of liberation of the lower castes is overthrowing of the Hindu religious ideological hegemony. Ambedkar tended to see economic and social oppression as separate structures, taking up cultural change as the way to challenge Hinduism and socialism as the way to overcome economic exploitation.

*Why lam not a Hindu (1996)*⁵⁷ is the critical work of Kancha Ilaiah from the political culture approach. His main argument is that there is a contradiction between two cultures. One is the productive culture of the *dalitbahujans* and unproductive culture of the Brahmins. The former is responsible for the entire material wealth, whereas the latter exploiting the *dalitbahujans* with the device of the *Brahminical* ideology by using Sanskrit language, which cannot be

⁵⁶ Omvedt Gail, *Dalits and Democratic Revolution*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1994.

Kancha Ilaiah, *Why lam not a Hindu*, Samya Publications, Calcutta, 1996.

understood by the producing castes. He critically assessed the state, market and relations in civil society and the emergence of the upper caste *shudras* as the ruling class, their ideology and process of action to legitimize.

Limitations of the existing literature: The literature, which is reviewed above, has got certain limitations.

- i). Most of these studies are broadly focusing on the over all political process in the country rather than social mobilization of the backward castes.
- ii). One can hardly find any study on the nature of contradictions in India like social system, the kind of development model and type of democracy practiced in the post-independent period vs. backward castes and internal contradictions within the backward castes.
- iii). If there are any studies on the mobilization, they are limited to a specific caste or organization and a region rather than comprehensive study of the instruments of the mobilization.
- iv). These studies did not focus much on the link between social mobilization and response of the state in the form of public policies.

(III)

Nature and scope of the study:

In the light of above analysis the present study focus on the nature of social mobilization of backward castes in post-independent period in Andhra Pradesh, which is neither a powerful social movement like pre-independence social movements nor post-independent mobilization in north India. The backward castes mobilization in Andhra Pradesh has got its own specific characteristic features. Therefore, the present study broadly discusses the social, economic and political deprivation of the backward castes, instruments and forces of the mobilization, process of accommodation through ineffective, incremental and inadequate policies. In this process of the study an attempt is made to give the answers for the important questions like what are the factors, which prevented the backward castes from the share in the development and

decision-making? Why they have been marginalized in politics and fragmented in terms of mobilization? And why state is introducing weak policies only? In a sense the present thesis is dealing with three contradictions; one, social system vs. backward castes, two, developmental strategy vs. backward castes and three nature of democracy vs. backward castes.

Hypothesis: The social mobilization of the backward castes is based on the following hypothesis.

1. Development strategy of the state adversely affects the traditional source of livelihoods of the backward castes and creating class among them to perpetuate the upper strata dominance.

2. In the absence of control over the economic resources and Constitutional guarantees for political representation coupled with lack of unity lead to marginalisation of the backward castes.

3. The factional politics of the dominant castes and negligence of the lower backward castes by the advanced backward castes elite lead to fragmentation of the backward castes mobilization.

4. Weak policies of the state towards backward castes result in strengthening of the process of dominant castes and weakening of the backward castes.

Methodology: The study relies on primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data is collected through interviews, dialogue, and transect walk, participatory method like focus group discussion, household survey and observation method for developing case studies. The secondary data includes important sources, besides existing works, reports and documents journals published by the caste associations, and the reports and other documents (published and unpublished) that are available with the associations, organizations, leaders and Government sources like documents, reports, Government orders etc. Other sources of information are biographies, personal interviews with the leaders, and visits to various centers of activity, not only to

get more information but also to check the information available in the caste journals. The data from these sources have been supplemented by participating in conferences, meetings, training classes, and festivals, visiting the relative's houses and gossip groups at various places. Based on this data mobilization of the backward classes is analyzed from the historical, socio-economic and political point of view.

Chapterisation: Based on the above data chapterisation of the present thesis is done as follows.

Chapter-1 is introduction, which deals, essentially, with the nature of social movements, review of the literature, methodology and chapterisation. Chapter-2 deals with socio-economic profile of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh. The important question, which is being addressed, is that why the backward castes are socially and economically deprived. Both external factors as well as internal factors are discussed. Chapter-3 discusses on the changing political context and backward castes. The important factors for the political deprivations of the backward castes such as lack of control over the physical assets and Constitutional guarantees and subsequent results like political marginalisation are covered. Chapter-4 focuses on the mobilization aspect of the backward castes. It looks at four important instruments such as Caste Associations, Federation of caste associations, political parties and non-party organizations, and nature of fragmentation in terms of mobilization. Chapter-5 presents the response of the state to the backward castes mobilization in the form of policies such as ineffective policies of occupational cooperatives, Adarana and anti-poverty programmes, incremental policies of affirmative action like reservations in educational institutions, employment and local body institutions and inadequate policies such as scholarships, hostels, and institutional arrangements to implement the policies. The last chapter presents the conclusions.

limitations of the study:

The present study is concentrating itself from post-independent to post-economic reforms period in Andhra Pradesh, which is very comprehensive, it naturally bestows with limitations such as

a). The present study is general to specific rather than specific to general, which means that, first, it study the nature of social mobilization in various states and at the national level and come to the specific study of the mobilization of backward castes in Andhra Pradesh.

b). The study on the social mobilization of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh is macro rather than micro. It covers the general bird eye view on the backward castes in the state rather than the specific micro level village study, but some of the micro level field based case studies are used as source of information to supplement the secondary data and

c). Due to time and financial constraints in collecting the primary data, mostly secondary data, which is relevant, is used for the analysis.

However, keen interest and proper care is taken in doing complete justification to the study.

Chapter-2

Socio-Economic Profile of the Backward Castes

Here an attempt is made to deal with the overall socio-economic profile of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh. The developmental strategies, which are followed by the post-independent rulers have not only destroyed the traditional source of livelihoods but also created a class difference within the backward castes, while perpetuating the upper strata/castes hold on the economic assets. This can be understood in-depth in the process of analyzing the changing socio-economic profile of the backward castes. For the analysis of socio-economic profile of the backward castes, estimation of the backward castes population, the caste based traditional occupations, agrarian relations, their position in education and employment in the changing context are discussed in this chapter.

Geographical Location of Andhra Pradesh: The state of Andhra Pradesh is formed with coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telanana. Andhra covers (coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema). Andhra is 1,62,034 sq.km, while Telangana is 1,14,720 sq. km. The State is situated between 12' 14" North and 19'54" North Latitudes and 76' 50" East and 84'50" East Latitudes. It is located on the eastern side of the peninsula and the southeastern part of India. It serves as a link between the northern and southern parts of the country. Andhra Pradesh is bounded on the north by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh; on the northwest by Maharashtra; on the west by Karnataka; and on the south by Tamil Nad. The eastern borders are guarded by the Bay of Bengal, which gives the State a long sea coast running to 1,554 km.; the smooth coastline bends at the mouths of the rivers Krishna and 'Godavari.

AP is a semi-arid to sub-humid area. The average annual rainfall is 896mm, with a range from 1100 to 1250 mm in the north to 600 mm in the southwest. Across most of the State, rainfall is distributed as a unimodal southwest monsoon during June to September, however coastal districts also receive a northwest monsoon in October to November:

March - May	pre-monsoon season or summer seasons
June - September	south-west monsoon season or monsoon season
October - November	retreating monsoon season or the autumn season
December - February	winter season or cool season

The northeastern coastline areas are susceptible to cyclones. Some 119,000 km, across eight districts, constituting 43% of the state, are classed as drought-prone. Consequently nearly 70% of the cultivated area is rain-fed and erratic rainfall patterns and low water tables limit intensive agriculture. Thus there is rural under-employment from agriculture. The temperature ranges from 15°C in winter to highs of up to 45°C in summer; the average annual temperature is 32°C. About 16% of Andhra Pradesh is forested, of this; dense forest covers 8.3%, open forest 7.2%, and mangrove 0.14%. Scrub covers an area of 4% of the State.

The groundwater potential of the state is estimated to be 35,290 mem, of which 15% is used for drinking and industrial purposes. Of 69,732 habitations in the state, 38,1380 habitations are currently considered not to be provided with safe drinking water throughout the year¹. The balance of utilizable groundwater resources available for irrigation is in order of 30,000 mcm out of which 53% is available in command areas. The development of groundwater in the state is mainly through 12.20 lakh open wells and 3.16 lakh bore/tube wells. During the last two decades there has been a twofold increase in well density. In recent years the shallow open dug wells are being replaced by deep bore wells.

Administratively, the State is divided into 23 Revenue Districts, which are further sub-divided into 1,123 Revenue Mandals. The administrative tier below the Mandal is the revenue village. There are 26,586 inhabited villages and 21,934 Gram Panchayats.

¹ Scott Wilson, *A report on ground water position in Andhra Pradesh* (1998).

According to the most recent published census (1991), the State has a population of 66.5 millions (1991) of which 48.26 millions live in rural areas. Scheduled Tribes make up 6.3% of the State population, and Scheduled Castes, 15.9%. The population density is 267 persons/km (1998). The tentative figures from the 2001 census show population to have climbed to 75.7 million.

As in India as a whole, a hierarchical division of people into castes and classes characterizes the social situation in Andhra Pradesh. Broadly the castes are Other Castes (OCs) owing to the influence of the *anti-Brahmin* movement and the western education available to the landed castes, the Brahmins lost their age-old social superiority and respect and many of them have migrated to urban areas. The Vysyas are traders. A few of them also own land and do money lending. The *non-Brahmin* dominant castes practice agriculture as their main occupation. Majority of the feudal, rich and middle peasants come from these castes. Due to their role in economic and political fields acquiring the position of entrepreneurs, contractors, partners and owners of industries. Some of these castes are *Reddy/Kapu, Kamma, and Velama* etc.

Scheduled Castes or dalits (SCs) constitute 15.9%; there are about 57 sub-castes within the dalits. Most of them are the agricultural labourers. Scheduled Tribes (STs) are not evenly scattered all over the state. Their main occupation is forest produce and agriculture and labour. Their language, customs, culture are different from those of the upper caste Hindus and Backward Castes (BCs)

The Backward (or) Other Backward Classes/Castes include artisans Fishermen, Weavers, *Yadavas, Gouds, Mangali, Chakali*, etc. There are 93 castes in the backward classes list. Economically they are depending upon the traditional occupations, small and marginal landholdings and labour class. Among the backward castes there is a lot of heterogeneity, social stratification and economic differences.

Estimation of the Backward Castes Population in Andhra Pradesh: Muralidhar Rao Commission in A.P (Applying the same principle of Mandal Commission;

see annexure-3) estimated the OBC population at 52% without, however, adding the backwards among religious minorities.

Estimating the population of forward Hindu castes at 18 percent (almost the same as that of Mandal Commission), the population of Forward castes, SCs, STs, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains is put by Muralidhar Rao Commission at 47.9% (18+29.09). The commission estimates the Backward Classes in the rest of the population at 52%.

According to G. Ram Reddy's estimations the other backward castes constitute 46.1 %² (see annexure-4). In Andhra Pradesh the Government's rough estimation account for 45% to 50% of the OBC population for the purpose of policy making and the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Welfare Association claims that they are 56%³. Whatever the controversy about percentage of the backward castes, it is true that they constitute a very large proportion of the population. The Government has divided socially and economically backward classes into A, B, C, and D categories, depending upon the degree of their backwardness. 93 castes are included in the backward classes list of the state Government (see annexure-5).

For the purpose of inclusion and exclusion of the backward castes the Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed Justice Putta Swamy Commission, which has appointed the research team⁴ to study the socio-economic position of all castes in the state. The research team gave ranks after taking into account qualitative and quantitative aspects of advancement of all the castes including forward, backward and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The important

² Ram Reddy .G. *The Politics of Accommodation Caste Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh*, in Frankle and Rao (eds) *Dominance and State Power in Modern Period-Divide of Social Order*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989, p. 269.

³ Interview with the President of AP. BC Welfare Association, at Hyderabad on 15th January 2003.

⁴ Hanurav T.V, *Socio-Educational-Economic Survey of Castes&Communities of Andhra Pradesh*, a report released by the Commission on Backward Classes, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1998, Hyderabad.

qualitative and quantitative aspects are number of house holds and population, quality of housing, age-sex groups, literacy, sectors of occupation and levels of occupation, per capita income and pattern of consumer expenditure, land, ownership of non-farm production units, schooling and dropout, couples per house hold, children per couple and family planning status and intercaste friendship. The team also gave the weights to measure the forwardness such as 40% to social, 30% to education, 20% to economic and 10% to political empowerment. The forwardness and backwardness of every caste in Andhra Pradesh has been measured and ranks are given on the basis of the advancement and deprivation of the castes based on random samples. With its all limitations the report is useful for the inclusion and exclusion of the advanced and deprived castes, but not useful for the analysis of the social and economic profile of the backward castes due to small sample size and regional disparities. Another limitation of the report is that it does not give the total number of any specific castes population but only samples and there are no generalizations and conclusions on any caste but only ranks.

Another important sources of information to analyze the socio-economic profile of the backward castes are the BPL survey⁵ and PIP⁶. In the Below Poverty Line format there is the column for the Backward Classes and in the Participatory Identification of the Poor there is space for the sub-castes of all categories like SC/STs, BCs, and FCs to assess their backwardness and forwardness, but the data is not yet consolidated to quote them. Therefore, with the help of the existing literature on the backward castes their profile is analyzed. Broadly the

⁵ Below Poverty Line survey-2003 conducted for the Government of India to take policy decisions.

⁶ Participatory Identification of the Poor conducted by Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (Rural Velugu) in its project area mandals to implement the poverty reduction program in Andhra Pradesh, department of rural development, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 2003.

profile constitutes traditional occupations, changing agrarian relations and backward castes, and their position in education, employment and other aspects.

Traditional Occupations: From the definitions of the backward castes in the introduction chapter it is clear that they are given low position in the hierarchically divided social system, and they are producing class either of commodities or services, which are for the general use in the society. In this process they are denied basic rights, which are essential for the development of the community or individual and the Constitution of India is also not clear on these aspects.

Traditionally, in a caste-ridden society, they are the occupational groups who have been producing the goods and services for the general use of the society. Some of the caste-based occupations may be described as follows.

Vishwabrahmin: Among the backward castes they claim superior status. Vadrangi (carpenter), Kamsali (goldsmith), and Kammari (blacksmith), are also important to mention. They pursue their hereditary occupations. Though their importance is still felt in the village, they cannot survive fully on their traditional occupations in the face of industrial competition.

Goud: Main occupation is toddy tapping. Though they are spread in the entire state, they are predominant in the Telangana region.

Yadavas: Their hereditary occupation is cattle rearing. They rear animals, sell milk and milk products.

Padmasalee: They are weavers by profession and claim superior status among the backward castes. They wear sacred thread. In pre-colonial period they were the main cloth producers in the village, they still practice their hereditary occupation. It is hard for them to compete with the mills producing synthetic cloth with the help of modern technology.

Chakali: Their traditional occupation is washing clothes of all the other castes. They still follow the same occupation. At the time of rituals they have an important role to play, they served the dominant castes under the *jajmani* system.

Kummari: Kummaris make and supply earthenware required by the villagers. Since all kinds of metal wear made inroads even into the villages, their importance is being reduced. They still practice their hereditary occupation.

Mangali: They are professional barbers. They acquire hereditary rights to work in some families in the village and continue to serve the same families. Their presence is necessary in social ceremonies. They also play music at the time of marriages and other festivals.

Uppara: Their traditional occupation is construction material and work relating to earth digging, carrying on construction and canal works.

Vaddera: Their main occupation has been cutting stones for construction purpose. Even to day they practice their occupation.

Mutharasa: M.A.Stuart says that Mutharasas were employed as watchman to guard the frontiers under Vijayanagar kings. Others usually consider the caste low; he further says that most of the community members are poor and subsequently they have taken to agriculture. At present mostly they are agricultural labours and a few of them hold small patches of land.

Medari or Mahendra: Their occupation is making articles with the bamboos, now a days it is having a big threat from the modern machine based industries.

Jalari, Gangaputra, and Pallikarlu etc: Traditional occupation of these people has been fishing. The mechanized boats are destroying their livelihoods.

The above description of the caste based occupations reveals that there are two types of backward castes, one is commodity producers and second is service providers. The nature of production activities and services led to the cultural differentiation among them and stratified in the social hierarchy. In the past there was no freedom for an individual to choose his occupation for livelihood according to his talent, choice or interest. Inevitably one had to follow one's own caste occupation irrespective of its economic and social disadvantages. Each caste had certain functions and duties in the village as a whole in relation to the other castes. Consequently, the caste occupations continued without break and

determine the status, role and power of an individual by birth and not by merit, nor talent and interest. M.N.Srinivas (1980) puts it as follows:

The hereditary association of caste with an occupation has been so striking that it has occasionally been argued that caste is nothing more than systematization of occupational differentiation'. The stratified backward castes of producers as well as the service providers were exploited by the caste-feudal society on the name of *jajmani* throughout the pre-colonial period⁷.

During the colonial period destruction of the traditional occupations took place for the expansion of market to their goods produced in the modern industries. The strategy of the colonial rulers was to export the entire local raw material to England and import the machine-based commodities, which posed stiff competition to the local products. The local products were unable to compete with the machine-based products in the market. Therefore, gradually over the years, the caste based traditional occupations declined during the colonial period. Subsequently, the traditional handicraftsmen and artisans were forced to enter into the agriculture sector as labour.

In spite of colonial destruction of the traditional occupations, still they are playing a significant role next to agriculture in the rural economy even in the post-independent period. According to a study⁸, which has collected the data to find out how many people in two villages such as Cheppial (non-irrigated) and Chelgal (irrigated) follow or retain their caste or hereditary occupations. Among the 452 respondents of the non-irrigated village, 271 (i.e., 64.4 %) are following their caste or hereditary occupations whereas in the irrigated Village caste or hereditary occupations are followed by 220 (i.e., 42.1 per cent) out of 523 respondents.

⁷ Ram Ahuja, *Indian Social System*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p.322.

⁸ G.Satyanarayana, *Changing Agrarian Structure and Labour Relations*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p.47.

According to this study there is no change in the occupational affiliation of *Kummaris* (potters) probably because of the fact that it is one of the very backward castes — socially, economically and politically and very rigid in rituals and other customs. But, on other hand, a substantial occupational mobility in the *Golla/Kurma* (shepherd) caste was seen. More than half of the families of this caste have changed their occupation from sheep rearing to various other occupations. It may be stated here that those who own land tend to have agriculture as the main occupation and the five respondents in the category of agriculture have not deviated.

Tenuge is one of the backward castes, which is relatively more advanced in the Telangana area. They have no exclusive caste occupation and follow occupations such as agriculture, fruit selling, and fishing and also agricultural labour. Interestingly, there is no occupational deviance among the *Gouds*. Of the 19, 18 are following the toddy tapping. The reason for the occupational continuity may be the very nature of the occupation. A person who follows this occupation gets daily cash more than what an ordinary laborer gets in season and can also attend to his subsistence agricultural work as well.

The caste occupation of *Padmasali* is weaving. This is one of the more mobile castes. The members of this caste follow different non-agricultural occupations. Most of them go to Bombay, Ahmedabad and Bheevandi for work in cloth mills. Observation shows that people who stay in the village either follow weaving or some other non-agricultural occupation, such as business.

The artisans include five sub-castes, namely, Goldsmith, Blacksmith, *Kanchari*, Carpenter and *Silpi*, but there are only four castes in this village. Some of these castes declined in their importance as their caste occupations are affected. For example, the goldsmiths are almost without work because of the high cost of gold and consequent decline in the demand for their services. Blacksmiths of ironwork, carpenter does wood work, *Kanchars* do vessel making and *Silpis* make idols and statues. Presently, all these sub-castes have their

occupational demand in urban areas. The young are going to cities and improving their skills and are earning a lot. The old stay at the village. The educated people among them are seeking government employment. Regarding barbers and *dhobis*, two-third of the respondents are following their caste occupations of hair cutting and clothes washing, and one-third shifted from their caste occupations.

As in Cheppial, the non-irrigated village, the caste and occupational deviance in Chelgal, the author, also examined the irrigated village. There is considerable occupational deviance among the *Brahmins* in this village as out of the five *Brahmin* respondents, only one respondent is following his caste occupation (i.e., priesthood). On the contrary, three, out of four respondents of *Vaisya* caste, are following their caste occupation (i.e., business), which shows that there is less occupational shift among the *Vaisyas* in this village.

Similar to the *Vaisyas*, among the *Reddy/Kapu* and *Velama* respondents also, there is very little occupational deviance, as most of them, (i.e., 89.4 % and 77 % respectively) are following their caste occupation, namely agriculture. The data show that the *Kummaris*, who are among the backward castes, shifted their occupation to various other occupations. Half of the *Golla/Kurma* caste respondents have also changed to different occupations. As in Cheppial, among *Tenugu* caste, a greater occupational mobility was seen in Chelgal also. *Tenugus* of this village are following fishing as their main occupation. There are also fruit sellers and agricultural laborers in this caste. In contrast to the *Gouda* caste, having minimal occupational deviance, the *Padamasalis*, whose caste occupation is weaving, have shown a lot of occupational diversity. On the other hand, about two-third of the artisans which include Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths, Carpenters and *Kanchari*, are still following their own caste occupations. Similarly, 88 per cent of the barbers and *dhobis* are engaged in their respective caste occupations, showing that there is minimal occupational mobility in these castes.

Despite the fact that the freedom to choose any occupation, occupational mobility and diversity in the economy, the above analysis reveals that still traditional occupations are playing significant role in the rural economy. While recognizing the importance of traditional occupations in the economy, in the post-independent period, the Government of Andhra Pradesh, in response to the demands of the occupational castes (see chapter-4) introduced the cooperatives for those who are practicing the traditional occupations. The basic purpose behind the introduction of the occupational cooperative societies was to reduce the occupational castes over dependence on the agriculture, stop them from migration and to consolidate economically⁹. Since the occupational cooperatives are introduced under the Cooperative Societies Act-1964 created a lot of problems like bureaucrats over control, corruption, inefficient management, bogus members, lack of financial support etc. Due to lack of Government interest in encouraging the traditional occupations and interest in promoting the major and modern machine based industries under the ownership of upper castes and introduction of the new economic policies led to the complete deterioration of the traditional occupations. The occupations are drastically affected by the macro economic policies followed since 1990s as they encouraged the entry of foreign goods and the machine based products as well. The traditional local caste based occupations are unable to compete with modern machine based industrial products. Therefore, these communities are loosing their livelihoods. The declining position of the traditional occupations can be explained with the help of following case studies.

Occupational Co-operative Societies in crisis: The field based study of the five occupational co-operatives, such as fishermen, bamboo workers, weavers, toddy tappers and washer men reveals that they are rapidly marginalizing and thrown in to the poverty due to state policies, which are introduced in the 1990s. As a

⁹ Interview with Bommagani Dharmabiksham, the President of All India Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation, on 12-1-03 at Hyderabad.

result of the globalization and privatization, the subsidies are stopped, cooperatives are being abolished, occupational finance corporations are defunct, and modern machines and machine-based products threaten the traditional occupations and livelihoods of dependents.

The Fishermen Cooperative society of Boyaveedhi: The fishermen of Boyaveedhi in Bhimili Municipality of Visakhapatnam have been living on the coast of the sea since long, while fishing. On the one side there is sea and remaining three sides Bhimili is situated. There is hardly any development since independence in this fishermen street, except the cyclone shelter, which is about to collapse at any time. Ill health, social risk, lack of housing, education, marketing facility etc, are the perpetual problems. Prevalence of the child labour is a common phenomenon in the Boyaveedhi. Their inns and huts are built with the palmer leaf. All the fisher folk belong to the *Jalari* community. Their source of livelihood is fishing in the sea with traditional means of fishing like catamaran, wooden boat and fiber boat. But there are two categories of fishermen within the *Jalari* community, one is the owner of the fishing boats and another is the labour class within the fishing community or dependents on the first one. There are few traditional boat owners and more fishing labour in Boyaveedhi. Both owners of the boats and labour category fishermen venture into sea to net the fish. The netted fish are distributed equally among themselves after setting aside the boat share.

The traditional local boat costs from Rs 10,000 to Rs 50,000/-. Since the local banks are not giving loans for the purchase of nets, and boats, they are forced to depend upon the private financiers, who charge high rate of interest. For spending thousands of rupees to purchase the fishing material, while taking loans from the private moneylenders, they are getting uncertain income of Rs 10 to Rs 100 per day. The derivation of the income depends on the quantity of fish they net in a day. With this low income, they have to feed their entire family of 10-14 members, payment to the moneylenders, day-to-day expenses, unforeseen expenses etc these are all to be met from paltry income. When they get the huge

quantity of fish, their women go to market for selling. Now the quantity of the fish has been drastically reduced due to the mechanized boats. The fisher women are forced to work in the houses as sweepers and washerwomen just for left over rice.

In 1970s the fishermen of Boyaveedhi formed the fishermen cooperative society. However, due to the malpractices in the fisheries and cooperative departments, financial mismanagement, government disinterest in organizing the fishermen, extending the financial support, involvement of the vested interests, encouragement to the private investors resulted in the failure of the fishermen cooperative society in the Boyaveedhi. Another important reason for the failure of the fishermen cooperative society is that the president of the society is an outsider, who borrowed about one lakh rupees from the local bank and he neither distributed the money among fishermen nor repaid. Therefore, the bank seized the society.

Today there is a threat to the livelihoods of the fishermen not only from the lack of government support and mechanized boats but also due to the government plan to make Boyaveedhi as a tourist spot. This may result in the fishermen being vacated from here, because land in the surrounding area of Boyaveedhi is being occupied by the prominent film personalities. Now there is an attempt to hike up the demand for their land, this will be materialized only through making Boyaveedhi a tourist spot. Generally the fishermen keep their fishing material on the coast of the sea, and the upcoming fishermen practice fishing. Now there is the pressure from the government of Andhra Pradesh, department of tourism, to get the area vacated. Forcing the fishermen to vacate Boyaveedhi is nothing short of destroying the occupation of a community, which has been living on the sea for centuries.

(2) Bamboo Workers Cooperative Society in Kurnool: Similar thing is happening in the case of bamboo workers as well in Kurnool city itself. There are 2000 bamboo workers in the city itself, while depending on their traditional

occupation of making goods and articles with the bamboos since long time. Prior to the invasion of the bricks, granite and cement, the bamboo articles used to build the thatched houses and there was a market for the bamboo articles during the marriages, festivals and other occasions. When the bamboo workers society existed the government used to supply the bamboos from the Nallamala forest at the subsidized rates of Rs 1000/- per quintal. The society also used to extend the financial support to the bamboo workers. Therefore, they had opportunity to create their own livelihood. The real problem started with the abolition of the bamboo workers cooperative society in 1994 in response to the privatization of the economy in the country. For the supply of subsidized bamboos, financial support was stopped. Now the private people are selling the bamboos at the rate of Rs 3000/- per quintal. To purchase the bamboos, the workers are approaching the private moneylenders for the money at the high rate of interest. At present the products of the bamboos are unable to compete with the machine based products. That is why the bamboo workers of the Kurnool City are facing serious financial crunch. They are forced to borrow from the moneylenders due to lack of government support, they have to purchase the bamboos from the private individuals at the high rate due to lack of cooperative society, and there is no market for their products due to lack of demand.

Since the bamboo workers of Kurnool are living in city, their children have got education in the social welfare hostels and completed tenth or intermediate and their parents are not able to finance further studies. They have neither employment nor traditional skills for the eking their livelihood. Therefore, the educated children of the bamboo workers are thrown out of gear. When there is a market for the bamboo articles, women used to go for the market to sell them. Now there is no demand for the articles. Hence these women are becoming either household servants or remaining unemployed.

(3) Yemmiganur Weavers Cooperative Society: Another occupational cooperative society, which is in deep crisis, is the Yemmiganur Weavers Co-operative Society

(hereafter YWCS). The YWCS was established in 1938, when there was severe drought during the colonial period. In order to stop the kurni (weavers) community from the migration to Bombay, Bangalore and other places, the prominent Gandhian Machani Somappa (by caste a weaver) was the brain behind in establishing YWCS. Soon the YWCS products got market and reputation at the national and international level due to effective management and hard work of the weavers. Until recent times the YWCS provided employment for more than ten thousand weavers in Yemminaganur itself with two thousand and five hundred active members in the society. YWCS encouraged the weavers in the surrounding villages such as Gudikal, Gonegandla, Gudur, Nandavaram, Nagaladinne and Kosigi. In all these villages now the weaving industry is disappearing.

The YWCS succeeded in stopping the migration for decades; it has been able to consolidate the weaver community in terms of economic, social and political spheres. Gradually over the years, entry of the power looms, lack of supply of raw material from the Government, hike in the dyeing rates, rise of elite class within the weavers, entry of faction politics, mismanagement of the society, corruption and bureaucratic control created a lot of crisis in the YWCS. Due to the heavy competition from the modern machine based products, entry of the foreign products, new economic policies non-cooperation of the government in supplying raw material and financial support the YWCS got into debt crisis in 1990s. With the gradual decline of the YWCS, in line with the over all destruction of the weaving and handloom industry in the country, the local traditional weavers started migrating to other places for survival. In fact the YWCS was started to stop the weavers from migration during the colonial period, the process of migration of the weavers is occurring in the post-globalization period.

(4) Toddy Tappers Cooperative Society at Ibrahimpatnam: The toddy tappers cooperative society in Ibrahimpatnam of Ranga Reddy district is another one to be seriously studied. There are hundred toddy tapping or *Goud* families in

Ibrahimpattam; about fifty families are directly depending on toddy tapping. Though Ibrahimpattam is located near Hyderabad City, still majority of the toddy tappers are illiterates, that is why they hardly know other than toddy tapping skills. Therefore, they are depending on the traditional occupation, though it is yielding less income that is not sufficient to meet their bare family needs.

One among the many reasons for the low income from the toddy tapping occupation is that there are three types of taxes levied on this occupation. These are tax on drawing the toddy from the tree, tax to the landowner for locating the tree in his/her land, and tax on selling of the toddy. The first and third are to be paid to the excise department and second one is to be paid to the landlord. The toddy tappers are also supposed to pay the bribe to the excise department and to the local lumpen gangs while meeting the day today expenses in the preparation of the toddy.

The second reason is that though there is toddy tappers cooperative society, it is full of bogus members. These bogus members are either from the non-toddy tapping communities or educated and employed and those people who are having nexus with politicians and excise department. The real toiling tapper is not having the membership in the society. Once the tapper is having the membership in the society, he is eligible to take loans from the Toddy Tappers Industrial Finance Corporation, claim exi-gratio and group insurance.

Third reason is that very often the government imposes the ban on the selling of the toddy, therefore, whenever government changes in the state the tappers has to gather in lakhs and demand the rulers not to impose the ban on the livelihood source of lakhs of people. Fourth reason is that the government is openly giving the licenses for the selling of the foreign liquor and wine shops. Therefore, it has become very difficult to face the competition in the market from the modern liquor.

Even though there is the Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers Industrial Finance Corporation to extend the financial support to them, a lot of corruption is taking place in it. The applications are supposed to be routed through the excise department. In order to move the application the excise department staff need to be bribed. It seems that the tappers are spending 10-15 percent of their loan on the excise department and Finance Corporation staff to sanction the loan amount. The loan is also scarce; it would be from Rs 10,000 to Rs 50, 0000/- only. The principal amount should be paid regularly with interest, if there is any delay in the payment of the installments, the excise department will cancel the license of the tapper. Every year government is getting about Rs 100/- crores from the toddy, but hardly 5% is spent on the welfare of the toddy tappers. The excise department is very much interested in collecting the taxes and their monthly *mamuls* (bribe) but not in the protection of the date and palmer trees, which are being rapidly destroyed, instead adulterated and foreign liquor is encouraged.

(5) Other Occupational Cooperative Societies: Still there are many occupations, which are being destroyed, such as washer men, pottery makers etc. Though the patron-client relations are weakened, the new problems are emerging for these communities. One can find the existence of the washer men in each and every village. They are paid annually in kind for washing the clothes in the traditional society. In the changing situation the washer men are facing dreadful economic problems due to the modern equipments to wash the clothes. These equipments are not available to the poor washer men, because of their low economic position to purchase them. Even though there is the washer men co-operative finance corporation, its budget is hardly crossing 4-5 crores in a year for the 4.2 percent of the washer men population in the state. Since their occupation is not protected by distribution of the modern equipment or the state finance support, they are becoming simply the agricultural labour in the rural areas and unemployed in the urban areas.

Another traditional occupation, which has almost totally destroyed is the pottery with the entry of steel and plastic material for the daily use. The potters has neither alternative source of livelihood, except agriculture labour nor any supporting mechanism from the Government side, therefore, they are rapidly marginalizing might be due to lack of mobility and resistance among them.

This analysis indicates that at least some of the occupations and societies provided the source of livelihood for decades together for those people who used to depend on them in terms of income generation and socio-economic consolidation and prevented them from becoming either agriculture or migrant labour. When these societies were strong enough, government extended financial support to strengthen them. Once the privatization process started, all the subsidies and concessions that are extended to these societies are stopped. With the withdrawal of the financial support by the state to these societies, their existence has become doubtful. That is why the occupational co-operatives are either disappearing or becoming defunct. As a consequence of disappearance of the co-operatives, all those people who depended upon the traditional occupations have to find out an alternative path of survival strategy. They are joining the labour force. Therefore, in the post 1990s the percentage of labour has been increasing. One study revealed that the increase in the labour population is more than the population growth due to overwhelming dependence of those communities who lost their traditional occupation on the agriculture sector¹⁰.

P.S. Krishnan¹¹ portrays vulnerable position of the occupational communities as "the Backward Classes, self-employed laborers in traditional home workshops, in oceanic and inland water-bodies and in various other areas of labour like stone-cutting, earth work, are increasingly immiserated, their

¹⁰ Ashok, *Wage Labour and Possible Interventions in Andhra Pradesh*, Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty, Hyderabad, 2002.

¹¹ See *Constitution and Backward Classes-Fifty Years of Neglect* in Indian Journal Of Human Rights, Vol.5, No.1&2, University of Hyderabad, Jan-Dec.2001, vol.5, No 1&2, pp.92-93.

traditional occupations being snatched away by those with access to superior technology and finance the moment scope for more intensive exploitation and profit-making emerges. The extent to which they have entered modern fields is not measurable yet because it is only recently that recognition of their identity and provision of Reservation could be snatched for them four decades after India's Constitution. The visibility of some members of the relatively less backward castes of the backward classes should not misguide us and obscure the fact that the bulk of the backward classes in Andhra Pradesh continue to remain as laborers of castes-castes in different fields. They include the stone-cutter caste of Vaddars, the earth-worker caste of uppari, the blacksmith caste of Kammari (corresponding to the North-Indian caste of Lohar and the East Indian caste of Kamor), the wood working caste of Vadrangi, caste of Kuruba (corresponding to the North Indian caste of Gadarja) and many other laboring castes of producers and of service providers like Mangali/Nayi-Brahman (corresponding to the Nai of North India.)".

Above illustrations reveals that the disappearing cooperatives, when they are strong, helped in emergence of a clear-cut class division within the backward castes. Those sections and castes that have benefited from the occupational cooperative societies are economically consolidated and started purchasing the land from the dominant castes from 1970s (Anil Kumar, 2000). Therefore, the roots for the rise of some of the backward castes as small and marginal farmers lies in the occupational cooperative societies rather than the distribution of the land by the Government.

A majority of the population from the backward castes cannot survive fully on their traditional occupations and most of them do not have stake in the occupational cooperative societies. That is why they have shifted themselves to agricultural and non-agricultural works. This process is intensified by the introduction of the new economic policies. The class character within the backward castes is reflected in the changing agrarian relations also.

Changing Agrarian Relations and Backward Castes:

According to Rudolph and Rudolph¹² there are four social categories in the agricultural relations of contemporary India such as agricultural laborers (scheduled castes and tribes), small holders (backward castes), bullock capitalists (middle castes) and large landholders (upper 'twice born' castes). The same classification is applicable to Andhra Pradesh as well. In order to understand the rise of backward castes as small and marginal farmers, it is essential to analyze the changing nature of agrarian relations in Andhra Pradesh.

The rise of some of the backward castes as small and marginal farmers is a historical process. The process is not, directly, outcome of the policies introduced by the state to bring changes in the agrarian relations, but it is due to the weakening of the feudal *Zamindari* domination by the popular peasant movements during pre-independence period, lack of capacity of the old and newly emerged land owners like *Brahmins*, *Kammas* and *Reddies* in maintaining the land due to heavy expenses, losses, shift in the occupation forced them to sell the land. The surplus derived from the occupational cooperative societies and sources of borrowings like banks and relatives helped the backward castes to purchase a piece of land. These changes in the agrarian structure can be analyzed with the help of existing literature on agrarian relations.

In *Changing Agrarian Structure and Labour Relations*¹³ the author examines the structural changes, which have been taking place in rural Andhra Pradesh, especially in the Telangana region. His main concern is to find out the differences and similarities between an irrigated and non-irrigated village with respect to agrarian structure, labour relations, occupational structure and inter-caste relations. The assumption is that the availability of canal water for

¹² Rudolph and Rudolph, *Determinants and Varieties of Agrarian Mobilization* in Meghnad Desai, Rudolph and Ashok Rudra (eds), *Agrarian Power and Agricultural Productivity in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984. P. 283.

¹³ G.Satyanarayana, op.cit. P.49.

irrigation, the urban impact and communications tend to influence the agrarian structure and labour relations. For this purpose, two villages from Karimnagar district of Telangana have been selected. The first village Chelgal is irrigated and located close to the city, and the second village Cheppial is non-irrigated and located far away from any urban center.

While analysing various castes and their relations to the size of landholdings in the non-irrigated village (*i.e., Cheppial*) after 1973, the year of introduction of irrigation he says that on the whole, a majority of landlords in this village are from *Reddy* and *Velama* castes. Among the backward castes, scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, two out of five are landless agricultural labourers and three out of five are marginal and small farmers. There is only one *Brahmin* family, which is having temple priest position but does not own any land. Similarly, out of seven *Vaisya* families, five are landless but having business and money lending. The economically and politically dominant *velama* caste is also dominant in this village. Among the total seven families of this caste, only one is landless. It may be stated that higher the caste, larger is the size of landholding and greater the number of landowners. On the other hand, lower the caste, fewer are the landowners and greater the number of landless agricultural labourers.

Various castes and their size of landholdings in the case of irrigated village Chelgal also proved the hypothesis that higher the caste, greater the number of landholders from the upper castes. In other words, more land is concentrated in the hands of the upper castes. The analysis gives a clear idea that a majority of the upper castes *i.e., Brahmin, Vaisya, Reddy* and *Velama* possess lands and landless people in these castes are very few in number, *i.e.,* only nine out of 149. Among the backward castes, such as *Kummari, golla, Tenugu, Gouda, Padmasali, Goldsmiths* and *Barbers*, nearly half of the *Golla* and *Padmasali* families are landless and families in the remaining castes belongs to marginal, small and medium farmer category.

There are 104 families belonging to Scheduled Castes, namely, *Madiga*, *Mala* and *Dommari*. In these castes also, 40 percent of the families do not own any land and the remaining are marginal and small farmers. In the Scheduled Tribes, 30 percent are landless and the remaining are marginal and small farmers categories.

Therefore, he concludes that higher the caste, greater the number of landholders and the lower the caste, greater the number of landless and marginal farmers. This observation conforms to the findings of the other studies in both the irrigated and non-irrigated villages.

Another important study on the changing nature of the agrarian relations is work of Anil¹⁴. The study is a comprehensive one on the changing agrarian relations and grass roots politics in Nalgonda district. The researcher analyzed the changing agrarian relations with the help of primary and secondary data. In this study the historical account of the changing agrarian structure with illustrations at the grass roots level since the time of *Nizam* feudal domination is given. In response to the armed rebellion led by the Communist Party the *Jagirdari* system was abolished and *Nizam* state collapsed. Even though, all castes and classes participated in the armed rebellion, ultimately it is the *Reddies* and *Kammas* who became the owners of the land. According to the researcher from 1970s onwards these landed communities started disposing their land due to land ceiling Act, increase in rates of the wage labour, crop failure, to meet the expenses of the social functions, and children's education.

According to the researcher's observations, in Nalgonda district, that not all backward castes are in a position to buy lands from upper castes, this was illustrated with the examples of villages like Somaram. Among the backward castes also they are class divided, it is the upper layer of the backward castes to which land shifted from traditional upper castes (*Reddys*). Some of the backward

¹⁴ See for details, Anil.V, *Capitalist Development and Agrarian Politics in Andhra Pradesh 1960-90*, unpublished PhD thesis in the department of political science, University of Delhi, 2000.

caste middle peasants too purchased lands from upper castes both in Somaram and Prajapalle of Nalgonda district. His explanation for the capacity of land purchase is that the backward castes while aspiring to become landowners have always retained the support of their traditional caste occupations. In Somaram the backward caste *Padmashalis* bought lands largely on the profits they made on their weaving occupation. In Prajapalle the *Yadavas* bought lands from upper castes while retaining their traditional occupation, sheep grazing.

Likewise the toddy tappers purchase (in irrigated region) or rent in lands while retaining their traditional caste occupation: toddy tapping. While the better off members of backward castes bought lands in larger scale, the backward caste middle and small peasants bought lands on moderate scale. Thus while speaking of land transfers it appears to be necessary to take into account two factors: A) The class differentiation among the backward castes B) The extent of support, financial and social, that they obtain from their traditional caste occupations.

Ranjani Reddy's study¹⁵ is an empirical one of the role of dominant caste in Andhra Pradesh politics. In this work, she examined the theoretical aspects of the caste and political process in the state based on secondary data.

According to her analysis the Caste remains to be the dominant social category. Like most villages and towns under the British administration *Brahmins* in villages had enjoyed a near dominant power in social and economic terms. Of course they had to share it with *Kammas*, the traditional land-holding caste in the feudal period. (*Munsif* was always from the *Kamma* caste in village A). But still the *Brahmin* superiority was quite high. In village B, which was under *Nizams* dominion, *Reddis* dominated the socio-economic order. But *Brahmins* had a good control over the official positions and at least others including the *Reddis* did not challenge their claims to special superiority. But after independence and

¹⁵ See for details, Ranjani Reddy, *The Role of Dominant Caste in Indian Politics*, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987.

particularly after the introduction of land reforms and of the *Panchayat Raj Brahmins* in both the villages have lost their overwhelming superiority and power both in terms of material dominance and political superiority.

The analysis of the land-holdings of different castes in both the villages include 21% forward caste respondents who hold 48% of the land. Backward castes comprise 50% of the respondents, but hold only 30% of the land, 17% Scheduled castes possess 9.5% of the land, 5.5% Scheduled tribes hold 6.5% of the land and 6.5% *Muslims* hold 5% of the land. The existing study reveals that half of the wetland is in the possession of forward castes. The rest is divided among all other castes.

While analyzing the economic strength in terms of agricultural relations the author says that in village A, *Kammas* and *Velamas* own the largest percentage of land, but among the *Kammas* nearly 40% of them own more than 15 acres of land. In particular two families possess more than 60 acres. Among the two, the village president owns 132 acres of land. They possess more wetland than compared to others in the category. Among the *Velamas* 65% of them own more than 15 acres and three families in particular own more than 35 acres of land. Interestingly these three families among them represent three generations of one family alone. (Obviously separate landholdings are just a fictitious affair to dodge the land-ceiling act). With regard to *Reddis* in village B. Majority of the members of this caste relatively enjoy far more superior economic power as compared to the other castes and the majority of the villagers. In case of *Vaishyas* in village B, while their money-lending activities have declined over the years, relative agricultural prosperity and development have improved their economic position in general due to increase in overall commercial transactions.

In the view of Ranjani Reddy the backward castes have not gained anything in terms of economic betterment. Increasing competition from factory made goods and increasing replacement of the barter economy worsened their position. Besides they have not gained much by way of land reforms. Only few

them have emerged as the small and marginal farmers but majority of them are the agricultural labour.

The study on changing agrarian relations in Godilanka village of East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh¹⁶ gives the picture about the relation between the land and caste in coastal Andhra.

According to the researcher there is a closer association between caste status and land ownership. He also supports the assumption that higher the caste status greater is the chance of owing arable land and lower the caste status higher the chances of they being in agricultural labour. Godilanka is no exception to this. He categorized Social basis of agriculture in Godilanka into owners, tenants and agricultural labour. He holds that Rajulu possess most of the agricultural land (90.8%). Other than *Rajulu*, only *Settibalija* (BCs) (6.2%) owns considerable amount of agricultural land. Most of the tenants are from *Settibalija*, *Kapu* castes, while most of the agricultural labour is from *Mala* and *Madiga* castes.

The villagers depending on the land owned by a farmer put them into different categories, which they use in their day-to-day conversations. They are *Pedda ryotu*, who possess about 10 acres of agricultural land and a considerable quantity of coconut garden (more than 20 acres together), *Chinna ryutu*, who possess one to three acres of paddy land and one to two acres of coconut gardens (nearly less than 5 acres jointly). In between the above two categories of *ryotulu* are the landowners who possess land between 5-20 acres either agricultural land or coconut gardens jointly. They are categorized as *madyarakam ryotulu*. Except a *Golla* and two *Settibalija* landowners all the landowners, other than *Rajulu*, are *Chinna ryutulu*.

The analysis of the agrarian relations reveals that the landholding categories of the village are *Rajulu*. The large and big farmers among them, if put

¹⁶ See for details, Aneel. V. J. Babu, *Aquaculture and changing agrarian structure in coastal district of Andhra Pradesh*: Is an unpublished PhD thesis in the department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, 2000.

together, are more than the medium farmers. In contrast to *Rajulu*, among the *Settibalija*, unlike *Mala* and *Madiga* marginal farmers form the largest category. In fact, between both *Mala* and *Madiga* all the landowners are marginal farmers. Among *Golla* there is only one person who owns land and belong to small farmer category. The caste groups *Kapu* and *Mangali* do not possess any land

The agrarian hierarchy, by and large, corresponds to the caste hierarchy in coastal Andhra as well. Even within each category the caste differentiation can be seen in terms of land ownership. For instance, among the marginal farmers, the average landholding differs between *Rajulu* and the SCs; between *Rajulu* and other middle ranking castes (B.Cs). Thus it is clear that even the class hierarchies follow the caste hierarchies.

Another important study, which made an attempt to analyze the changing agrarian relations, while taking a village as sample in Aluru mandal of Kurnool district in Rayalaseema region¹⁷ is by Rajasekhar. His work covers the nature of changing agrarian relations from 1891-1984. He divided this period in to various phases such as pre-independence, pre-tenancy, post- tenancy, land reforms and green revolution and their impact on land transfers.

Important conclusions of the author on the changing agrarian relations can be seen in two sets of terms (a) acquisition or alienation of land by families with different size classes of land holdings and (b) caste categories.

(a) i) from 1891 to 1948 movement of land transfers was from the large non-cultivating families to the large cultivating families. On the eve of the tenancy reforms in the fifties absentee landowners successfully disposed of their lands to the middle and rich farmers residing in the village. But on the eve of the legislation on ceiling in 1961, the rich farmers ceased to acquire lands any further from the small and marginal farmers who were indebted to them.

¹⁷ See for details, Rajasekhar. D, *Land Transfers and Family Partitioning*, Oxford&IBH Publishing Co. Pvt.Ltd, New Delhi, 1988.

ii) Over the years, small and poor farmers could bring cultivable waste under the plough and acquire some economic cushion against the rigours of a subsistence economy in a semi-arid zone.

iii) Inequalities of land ownership in the village had declined between the periods 1948 to 1984. This is consistent with the picture at a macro level. Land transfers (LTs) viewed in terms of caste categories exhibit the following features.

(b) i) *Brahmins*, who were the single largest landowning community in the village, had not only leased and disposed their lands but a great majority of them had out migrated from the village in search of jobs elsewhere.

ii) As in other regions of Andhra, when the *Brahmins* left the village the existing dominant cultivating community namely, *Reddies* filled in the vacuum and strengthened their position still further. However, unlike the *Kammas*, their counterparts in the coastal Andhra *Reddies* in Rayalaseema were slower, in diversifying the economic activities beyond agriculture.

iii) It was the non-dominant cultivating communities, such as the *Yadava* and section of *valmikis* who brought the cultivable wastes under the plough. This provided them with some land base to diversify their activities in to sheep rearing, petty trade and so forth.

iv) Overall, the economic power balance has been gradually moving away from the *Reddies-the* dominant cultivating caste of the village.

The studies, which are reviewed, indicate the concentration of the land and its relation to social structure (caste) and natural capital (land). One striking finding of the scholars is that higher the caste more the land and lower the caste greater chances of being small and marginal farmers and agricultural labor. All the works are also reflecting shift in ownership of the land and reasons for the transfer of land. In all the three regions of the state, first, it was the Brahmins who lost their control over the land, then the landed dominant castes, now it is shifting into the hands of backward castes and dalits. But it is not due to the distribution of the land by the Government to the lower castes. It is because of

fact that the heavy revenue, failure of the crops, increase in the labour and inputs costs, tensions in the villages, expenses on the education and marriages of the children, land ceiling Acts etc have forced the land owners to sell their land. The surplus in the traditional occupation, borrowings have helped a section of backward castes to purchase the land. Therefore, a few of the backward castes emerged as the small and marginal farmers, but larger section of them are a part of the labour class.

At the same time these studies, which are referred above did not focus on accessibility to physical (irrigation assets, agricultural implements and machinery, and consumer durables), financial, (investment, savings and credit), social capital (membership stakeholders group and intra group support) and human development (levels of literacy and education, health status, and skills) of the backward classes as they are discussed in the Livelihoods Assessment Report¹⁸ (LAR).

The Livelihoods Assessment looked at the livelihoods position of the poorest of the poor in Andhra Pradesh. This is done for the implementation of the Rural Poverty Reduction Project from the year 2002 in 16 districts. The findings of the report with regard to backward classes are that they are small and marginal farmers; more vulnerable to drought and other natural disasters than those who are not dependent on land.

While referring to the poorest of the poor backward castes the report describes them as largely landless, they live on daily wages, carry out physical labour, and live a hand-to-mouth existence, eat only when they have worked. In particular, the men in these households are very likely to be in attached labour. It is highly unlikely that women are in attached labour, and if they are then this is a sign of real desperation. The households are characterized by a high dependency ratio, with low skills and education levels. Children are likely to be kept out of

¹⁸ See for details *Livelihoods Assessment Report*, Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP), Hyderabad, (2002).

school and to be carrying out wage labour. At certain times of the year, these families will be dependent upon the support of others, and in times of crisis have nothing to fall back on. They will have little access to credit, and those who can access will have to bear very high interest rates; as a result the rates of indebtedness are high. They live in old thatched huts, which they do not own. Female-headed households (destitute and single women), the elderly and the long-term sick are likely to be amongst these households. These households also show high levels of ill health, with little means for health care¹⁹.

Keeping in view six DPIP²⁰ districts such as Ananthapur, Chittur, Mahaboobnagar, Adilabad, Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram, the report estimated that 24 percent of the backward castes are landless, 60% are small and marginal farmers with the land holding of 2.19 acres 64 percent of them holds up 9 small livestock like hen, sheep, goat etc. With regard to physical capital, the irrigation assets and agricultural implements and machinery are closely related to land holding size of the family.

In case of financial capital most of the times backward castes depend upon the private moneylenders charging high rate of interests than the banks for seeds, fertilizers and chemicals, agricultural implements and expenditures like festivals and marriages. Generally, the backward castes borrow short-term loans and small amounts. If they are defaulted due to lack of regular wage labour or failure of the crop they are harassed both by the moneylenders and banks, which can be examined with help of field based case studies. A case study from Ayyagaripalli of Kesamudram in Warangal district illustrates the kind of harassment engineered by the co-operative bank for taking a short-term loan of Rs 5000/-. This marginal backward caste farmer is having two acres of wetland,

¹⁹ Ibid, pp, 42-43.

²⁰ District Poverty Initiatives Project is being implemented by Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty since 2000 for the poverty eradication in six districts of AP.

on surety of the land he got loan for the agriculture purpose, due to adulterated seeds the crop failed and he did not pay the loan in time, therefore the co-operative bank officials confiscated his entire property and auctioned,

Another case study in the same village is that one Mangisetty Krishna Murthy emigrated one decade ago with small amount of money and started the petty business; within a few years he became a moneylender in the village and made fabulous income. He also started seizing the land from the defaulters. One such sufferer is Mamidi Venkanna, belonging to the backward caste, had land when Mangisetty Krishna Murthy arrived in the village, but within a few years he lost his land and migrated for the survival and also to pay the debt borrowed from the moneylender. These instances reveal that if a backward caste marginal farmer borrows from the bank, his property will be auctioned and if the loan is taken from a private moneylender he will have to migrate; whereas an upper caste emigrate into the village he will become rich within a few years.

With regard to the social capital of the backward castes, in the informal institutions like self-help groups their role is active, especially backward castes women, but the benefits from the government are meager. The role of backward castes women in building self-help groups, village organizations and Mandal Mahila Samyakhass (Division level women federations) is well appreciated, but their role in the decision making is neglected due to the educational backwardness, lack of awareness in leading an institution and denial of the accessibility to occupy the leadership.

Education and Other Aspects: As far as the human capital of the backward castes is concerned they are too backward in terms of knowledge, education, and health. In terms of education the percentage of literacy among the backward classes is very poor. According to a study on 'the state of primary education in Andhra Pradesh by the Center for Public Policy Studies for UNICEF', most of the

dropouts from the primary schools belong to the Dalit and backward classes²¹. The Child labor is also very high among the backward classes. Though the BC Social Welfare Department existed to provide hostel accommodation it is not sufficient incentive to these children. The privatization process further affected the backward classes in two ways. It has been destroying the sources of the livelihood and hiking in expenditure on education in the private institutions. With the result the backward castes are unable to meet the growing financial burden, as a consequence of which they are remaining uneducated.

According to Livelihoods Assessment Report of SERP the proportion of workers having traditional skills without formal training is higher among the workers belonging to backward castes due to the fact that they inherited the skill from their families down the generations. Modern skills either in traditional occupations or non-traditional occupations are conspicuously absent among the backward caste workers.

In the case of employment, since employment opportunities are declining in the government sector in recent years, the percentage of backward castes employees increasing. At present the major sources of employment are available in the corporate organizations, which are not interested either in giving the job opportunity or implementing the reservations for the backward castes. In the field of media, both print and electronic, the representation of the backward classes is either nil or meager. The entire media now in Andhra Pradesh is concentrated in the hands of upper castes; therefore, they are not given an opportunity either to articulate their problems or to work in the media.

With regard to theorization of the backward castes, among the intellectuals there is a lot of confusion. Unlike, Ambedkar, who theorized about the caste, based on exploitation of the dalits, and Karl Marx who theorized the class-based exploitation of the working class, but hardly any attempt is made to

²¹ See for details; *report on the status of primary education in Andhra Pradesh* conducted by Center for Public Policy Studies, Hyderabad, for UNICEF, 1997.

conceptualize the exploitation of the backward castes either in the pre or post-independent periods. The backward castes intellectuals like Kancha Ilaiah, U. Sambasiva Rao tried but they have created a lot of confusions. The former says it is dalitbahujans²², the latter says the mahajans²³, in between the innocent backward castes are confused whether they are dalitbahujans or mahajans or occupational communities or any other identity.

Summing up: From the above analysis of the socio-economic profile of the backward castes reveals that there is close relationship between castes, state policies in depriving backward castes socially and economically. The upper castes, while maintaining their hold in the rural areas occupied the emerging fields, whereas the backward castes with the decline of hereditary occupations inevitably enter into the labour pool, but very few of them emerged as the owners of small pieces of land. This has intensified the contradictions within the landed BCs and landless BCs rather than to weaken the dominant castes hegemony over the economic assets. Therefore, in the present context the backward castes are reduced to a position, where they cannot afford education for their children and there are no employment opportunities and subsequently they are reduced too vulnerable.

The analysis of socio-economic profile of the backward castes also indicates that there are three contradictions. One is the dominant caste Vs. the backward classes, second the development policies of the State Vs. the backward castes, and third is within backward castes due to class character i.e., rich vs. poor. The heterogeneous character and social stratification and economic differences within the backward castes posed a big problem in questioning the dominant castes hegemony and the same factors contributed to the political marginalization of backward castes, this is discussed in the next chapter.

²² See for details, Kancha Ilaiah, *Why I am not a Hindu*, Samya Publications, Calcutta, 1996.

²³ A pamphlet released by the Mahajan Party on the name of its president, Samba Siva Rao, at Nandyal of Kurnool district in AP, 8th, March 2003.

Chapter-3

Changing Political Context and Backward Castes

The long history of *Telugu* people experienced the rule of local dynasties, unified monarchies, conquered rulers, autocratic *Zamindars*, *jagirdars*, colonial authority, post-independent dominant castes¹ rule. Economically and politically Telugu-speaking area was conquered by many dynasties but socially caste was not eradicated by any intervention. Even in the modern democratic era also, it is the caste, which is determining the direction of democracy rather than democracy deciding the direction of caste. Therefore, Caste is playing a significant role in the political process of Andhra Pradesh, like any other state in India, since beginning of the modern period. The foundations for the contemporary political domination of the upper castes in Andhra Pradesh were laid before the formation of Separate State. The then existing social economic structure discussed in the last chapter, social reform, *anti-zamindari*, *anti-Jagirdari* and anti-colonial movements legitimized the upper caste domination, such as *Brahmins*, *Kammas*, *Reddies*, *Velamas*, *Kapus* etc, after the formation of separate state as Andhra in 1953 and Andhra Pradesh in 1956. In this process of the upper caste domination, the backward castes are politically marginalized.

In order to locate the political marginalization of backward castes in the politics of Andhra Pradesh, it would be relevant here to discuss the political process of the State. Before Andhra Pradesh was constituted into a new State, its land area formed part of the Madras Presidency and the erstwhile Hyderabad State. With the sacrifice of Sri Potti Sriramulu on 1st October 1953, eleven Telugu-speaking districts were first separated from the Composite State of Madras for carving out the new State of Andhra. Later, on the recommendations of the States Re-organization Commission, nine districts of the former princely Hyderabad

¹ Dominant caste means having substantial and better quality agricultural land control, ritual rank, numerical strength and willingness to use that strength to acquire or continue dominance.

State were merged with the Andhra State². The full-fledged State of Andhra Pradesh with twenty districts was born on 1st November 1956. Later three more districts Vizianagaram, Ongole, and Ranga Reddy were created.

Three Regions: Andhra Pradesh came into being through a fusion of three regions with diverse political, economic and social background.

ft) Coastal Andhra Region consists of nine districts, namely Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Gunture, Nellore and Prakasham (Ongole). The fertile delta areas formed by the three major rivers, the Godavari, the Krishna, and the Pennar, are located here. In addition to this, nature is bounteous with sufficient rainfall, alluvial soil and good climate. The important seaports are also very near to these districts and they help the development of internal and external trade. Large-scale irrigation, communication, rail, road and navigation facilities are better developed here than in other regions. In agricultural techniques and social and economic spheres these districts are better developed than the other parts of the State. It occupies about one-third area of the State. It has an average rainfall of 1,016 mm. Ground water resources are plenty and the water level is fairly high except in a few areas. Most of the paddy and other important food grains as well as commercial crops, like chillies and tobacco, cotton, sugar cane are grown in this area, which has come to be known as the "Granary of the south".

The construction of the major irrigational projects on Krishna and Godavari rivers during the mid 19th century had greatly influenced the socio-economic conditions of Coastal Andhra region. After the development of irrigational facilities, agriculture became remunerative for peasant castes. The marketisation of agricultural surplus led to emergence of trading centers like Guntur, Vijayawada, Kakinada, and Rajahmundry. Since there was limitation for profit earning in agriculture, Kammas, the most populous cultivating and land owning caste and Reddys entered agro-based industries like rice mills, tobacco

Andhra State refers to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema.

grading and sugar mills³. Thus by the early twentieth century a new stratum of rich peasants had emerged in the deltas that was rapidly developing into an entrepreneurial commercial farmer-capitalist class⁴. This class comprised of Kamma and Kapu/Reddy castes in this region. In addition to agricultural growth, there were other changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that contributed to the development of this class: rural-urban migration, the spread of education and the development of caste consciousness.

Social Reform Movement in Andhra:

As a result of all these changes there was a reaction to colonial cultural intervention in the form of social reform. The introduction of new education was conceived as a major tool of western ideological influence. The growth of English education was nevertheless slow, but significant after mid-19th century and various higher secondary schools and colleges were established in Andhra by early 20th century. The growth of primary and secondary education also registered a satisfactory progress by this time. Besides, the new agrarian economy in Godavari delta region influenced middle peasant *non-Brahmin* castes in founding schools to impart education to their children. The growth of education witnessed the emergence of an urban-based middle class, which formed the main base of social reform movements and early public associations. In the initial stage the social reform movement confined to the *Brahmins* later to the *non-Brahmin* upper castes and then followed by the lower castes.

Veeresalingam has best represented the reform efforts after mid 19th century. He evinced a keen interest in the spread of scientific knowledge and growth of rational thinking. The central concern of his reform efforts was emancipation of woman from bondage and blind religious impositions. The areas of his major concentration were female education, bride price, child

³ Upadhyaya, Carol Boyak, *The Farmer -Capitalists of Coastal Andhra Pradesh*, Economic and Political Weekly, July 2, 1988, vol xxiii, No. 27, p., 1376.

⁴ Ibid., P. 1376.

marriages and widow marriages. He founded a separate girl's school at Dhawaleswaaram and, established a journal, *Vivekavardhani* to advocate the cause of his reform efforts⁵. But the reform efforts of Veeresalingam era were, however, operating under constraints. Most of these initiatives were soon confined to Brahminical households.

Spread of reform ideas was equally evident in many *non-Brahmin* castes unlike in 19th century. The emergence of social awareness among *non-Brahmin* caste groups was facilitated by three important developments viz., the break-up early *Brahminical* order under the colonial regime and the growth of agrarian economy in the post-anicut era in Godavari and Krishna delta regions; the spread of English education which, for *non-Brahmin* peasant castes, meant the end of *Brahminical* domination over the realm of knowledge and learning; the intense urge for social change in the light of new socio-economic and cultural values under the colonial regime and the emergence of social reform campaign. *Non-Brahmins* reactions and reform drives could be seen at three different levels. The denouncement of *Brahminical* superiority and the deconstruction of *Brahminical* religious texts. 19th century and early 20th century non-Brahmin intellectuals best represented the former. At the social level, their demand for equal share in education and employment was again constructed as reform drive, which was supposed to rectify the social erring of *Brahminical* maneuvers over a period of time. Political power was considered, as a remedy to achieve those ends and, it was believed by non-Brahminical undoing. The broad spectrum of activities of Justice Party truly reflects this politics of reform in early 20th century before independence⁶.

⁵ See for details, Ramakrishna. V, *Social Reform Movement in Andhra*, Vikas Publishers, 1983, New Delhi.

⁶ See for details, Inna Reddy, S, *Social Reform Movement in Andhra (1920-1947)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the department of history, University of Hyderabad, 1998.

Leaders from different caste groups emerged on the social scene and shouldered the responsibility of effecting a change in the mental make-up of people belonging to their respective castes. For instance, the activities of people like Atmuri Lakshminarasimham and Darsi Chenchiah (*Vaisyas*), Gopalkrishna Yachendra alias Kumara Yachama Naidu (*Velama*), Suryadevara Raghavaiah Choudari and Tripuraneni Ramaswami Choudari (*Kamma*), Chinta Raghunatha Reddy and C. R. Reddy (*Reddy*), Dommeti Venkata Reddy (*Setti Balija*) and Kondiparthi Veerabhadracharyulu (*Viswabrahmins*) symbolized the multi-dimensional aspect of reform leadership.

The reform endeavors could not succeed in affecting a radical change in the minds of people with regard to issues like caste and untouchability. They failed in recognizing caste as an issue for reform, but helped the dominant castes to strengthen their hold.

Anti-Zamindari Peasant Movement: Since Coastal Andhra was part of the Madras Presidency, like any other regions in the country, this area too was subject to various changes effected by colonial government in socio-economic and cultural fields. New revenue policies, creation of a unified market, destruction of indigenous industry, artisans and handicrafts, super imposition of a more exploitative capitalist economy in post-1857, adverse effect on agriculture, traditional occupations, outbreak of 'man-made' famines with an unfailing periodicity witnessed structural imbalance in society and existence of *Zamindari* system in the agrarian relations. Consequent upon all these, resentment started building up among peasant and agrarian communities. The *anti-zamindari* struggles in the first half of the 20th century took place under the leadership of the Congress and the Communists. The rich coastal Andhra Kammass led these two political organizations and subsequently the issue of the backward is neglected.

Until the emergence of the Communist Party of India and its intrusion into the All India Kisan Sabha, the Congress served as the only spokesman of the

peasants. N.G. Ranga took it upon himself to stop the Communist inroads into the peasant struggles. From 1930s onwards, the peasant movement in Andhra ran on rival parallel lines, one section of the peasantry being led by N.G.Ranga under Congress banner and the other section being drawn into the Communist fold. The mass of Zamindari peasants, however, stood behind the Communists during struggles and shifted their allegiance to Congress during the elections.

The final result of these *anti-zamindari* struggles, i.e. the abolition of *Zamindari* system exposes the true nature of the entire movement as a whole. The beneficiaries were surely the *non-Brahmin* occupancy tenants than the OBC and Dalit agricultural laborers. The impact of the reform was subtle. *Zamindari* as a legal institution was gone but its abolition produced no miraculous transformation of the agrarian scene. Hundreds and thousands of acres still remained in the hands of *Zamindaris* as private lands. Large amount of money was paid to the *Zamindars* as compensation. No agricultural income tax existed. The Congress had made the *Zamindars* viable, though the system was abolished.

The Communists were working in the agricultural front with tactics of anti-imperial united bloc, making every joint action with the Congress. Their slogan of peasant unity meant drawing all peasant sections into the peasant and freedom struggle. In such a process there were all possibilities for the rich peasant, with their sheer number and position in the production relations to dominate the struggles and thus entering the ranks of the political parties that led the movement.

The Congress with its limited and reformist outlook based itself mainly on the landlord and rich peasant classes, but mobilized all the peasant section on their immediate grievance as a part of the freedom struggle. On the other hand, the Communists waged more militant struggles and widened their peasant base by including the poor peasant and agricultural laborers. But basically they too moved along reformist lines because the landowning peasants also dominated

CPI, and the issues on which agitations were conducted were mainly beneficial to these sections.

Thus in the name of peasant unity, the Communists and in the name of class-collaboration to fight against colonialism, the Congress sacrificed the interests of the lowest stratum of rural society, but achieved the demands of the substantial peasants. The political consequences of the *anti-zamindari* struggles, i.e., the abolition of the *Zamindari* system, were very far-reaching. By strengthening the principle of private property the reforms multiplied the number of independent land-owning peasants thereby creating a middle of the road stable rural society⁷.

The leadership was basically in the hands of rich peasant castes under the hegemony of the nationalist bourgeois. This can be explained by the fact that these particular sections alone had some tactical and secure control over its resources, which gave them political leverage. They also created a situation in which their leadership and privileged position seemed natural.

(2) Rayalaseema Region consists of four districts, namely, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor. It occupies 27.4 percent of the State's area and lies mostly at an altitude of 1,000 to 2,000 feet above the sea level. This is a typical dry tract of Andhra Pradesh situated in an unfavorable natural zone and has been declared as the famine zone of South India. The greatest part of the land in this area is rocky and sandy. The weather conditions are not favorable to agriculture, with the normal rainfall at only 533 mm. against a minimum rainfall of 762 mm required for the sustenance of crops. The region has thus a rainfall approximately half of the Circar districts. Not only is the rainfall meager and ill timed but also the fluctuations are wide from year to year. The sub-soil level is pretty deep and hence the chances of tapping sweet water springs in the black cotton soil areas are slender.

⁷ See for details, Reddy Prasada Reddy, B. *Anti-zamindari Struggles in Andhra Rural Politics During the 1930&1940s*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, department of history, university of Hyderabad, 1993.

There are no big rivers and river projects, except for some minor irrigation projects constructed and based on rivulets and small rivers. Dry crops are grown, thanks to well and tank irrigation. Tanks are mostly concentrated in Anantapur district because of numerous hillocks. The entire land is mostly undulating and soil erosion common, resulting from downpours from Southeast monsoons. An encouraging factor is the presence in a substantial part of this region of deep black cotton soil, which has the highest moisture-retaining capacity.

Famine and drought are frequent once every five years and one or the other part of Rayalaseema is affected badly. This region has considerable forest resources and good irrigation potential. The region has rich mineral deposits, but it is in the clutches of the factionists⁸.

The history of this region, after the fall of Vijayanagar Empire, was one of the continuous warfare's and crucial area for the rival political groups like the Bahamanis, the Marathas, the Nizam, the Mysore Nawabs and the British. Thus Rayalassema though economically a backward region, played a significant role in the past. The Nizam of Hyderabad ceded the districts of Kurnool, Cuddaph and Bellary to East- India Company in 1800. Soon after the acquisition of these districts the Company introduced the Ryotwari Settlement. Thomas Munro was the author of the Ryotwari settlements. During this period, the concentration of land ownership increased in the village. The political disturbances and military skirmishes to which the region was subjected to for such a long time also gave the people of this region the feeling of common identity which could be seen as reflected in the struggle for freedom against the foreign rule⁹.

⁸ See for details, Venugopal Rao.K, *Politics of Factionalism- A study of Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh*, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dept of political science, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad. 1998.

⁹ See for details, Maddaiah, *Freedom Movement in Rayalaseema: A Study of People's Response to the Major Phases of National Movement, 1905-1947*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the department of History, University of Hyderabad, 1995.

There was good response for the struggle for independence in Rayalaseema to the major phases of the national movement like Swadeshi, Home Rule, Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movements. Even the State's peoples' movement for constitutional rights carried on in the numerous Native States reflected in similar movement that occurred in Banaganapalle princely State, where the people opposed the twin evils of the British imperialism and the authoritarian regime of the Nawab. While contributing to the success of the movements at the national level, the people of this region also evolved and carried on the movements based on the local needs addressing themselves to the local problems. This provides an interesting scenario explaining how local leadership emerged in motivating the peasants, workers, students, women and other sections of the society and thus making the movement broad-based.

But Rayalaseema was not willing to cooperate for the formation of a separate state, as the Rayalaseema felt that their position in a separate state would be inferior to that of people in coastal districts due to various reasons. Coastal districts, which had already progressed in all fields, caused much concern among others. The fears of Rayalaseema were allayed by a committee represented by the Andhra Mahasabha at a meeting at Vijayawada in 1937. Under the terms of Sri Bagh Pact both the parties came to an agreement regarding the distribution of power and the spoils of office after the formation of the state.

(3) Telangana comprises ten districts, namely, Hyderabad, RangaReddy, Mahbubnagar, Warangal, Karimnagar, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Medak, Adilabad and Khammam.

This region, except for Hyderabad City, being backward in almost every respect occupies 39.4 percent of total area of the State. Centuries of feudal rule have left its economy stagnant and undeveloped. The people are poor and its agriculture is confined to some dry crops raised with the help of tank irrigation.

Being the most backward of all agricultural regions in the State, it is an extensive plateau with an average elevation of 1,200 feet above the sea level. From the point of rainfall, the region gets one bad year in every five years. Enjoying all the advantages of coastal districts in respect of rainfall, its topography presents a serious handicap to the development of agriculture. Almost the entire area has been rugged with reddish brown soil to brownish red sandy loam known as 'chalakas'.

There are no major river projects in this region. There are, however, a few tank projects: the Nizamsagar project in Nizamabad, district is the largest one in the State and in India. In addition to this some small projects are constructed such as Pochampadu, Musi, Ramadugu, etc. Tanks irrigate much of the land in this region only. Well-irrigation is common in almost all the districts of this region. Rainfall in this region is 910mm., which is less than in coastal districts and fairly more than in Rayalaseema.

In more recent times a number of major and medium industries were developed around the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Industrially this region is now more advanced compared to other parts of the State, but the emigrated people started most of them. The mineral resources of this region are quite rich: the biggest coalfield in the State at Kothagudam is located in this area. The potentialities for starting large and small-scale industries, particularly agro-industries, are very considerable. The region is also well known for the class-based struggles since long time.

Anti- Jagirdari Peasant Movement in Telangana:

The feudal nature of the state, existence of *Jagirdari* system of revenue, concentration of land in a few hands, the utter poverty of the millions of peasants kept the people ignorant of the outside world. The land is dry and unfertile. The state has had a poor agricultural economy; it has had a low rate of literacy. Social relations among different groups remained feudal. Prior to its merger with the Indian union, its economy had been very much exploitative and the people have

been forced to live in poverty. The feudal exploitation of the peasantry was more intense in this region. Here some of the biggest landlords whether *jagirdars* or *deshmukhs*, owned thousands of acres of land each. In the local idiom these powerful *jagirdars* and *deshmukhs* were called *durra* or *dora* which means 'sir', 'master' or 'lord of the village'. A *durra*, often a combination of landlord, moneylender, and village official, traditionally enjoyed several privileges including the services of occupational castes in return for some payments either in cash or in kind. But he tended to exact these services free owing to his power and position. Such exactions had become somewhat legitimized by what was known as the *vetti* system under which a landlord could force a family from among his customary retainers to cultivate his land and to do one job or the other. *Vetti* has been developed to an extraordinarily comprehensive extent in Telangana. Not only do the peasants do *vetti* in the fields of the landlords, all the working people suffer from this abuse. The *dhobi*, the shepherd, the barber, the toddy-tapper, everybody has to provide unpaid services on customarily specified occasions. Added to this the abuse of women belonging to the toiling classes by the landlords, and other feudal customs like the working people (particularly those belonging to the lowest castes) was being expected not to wear a shirt or chappals in the presence of the *dora* (lord)¹⁰. The *vetti* exactions were a symbol of the dominance of landlords in Telangana. Most of the agricultural labourers, on whom the *vetti* obligations fell, were from the lower castes¹¹. Among the substantial landowners and *pattadars* in Telangana districts, *Brahmins* were once predominant. With the rise of the *Reddis*, *Velamas* and *Kammas*- the influential castes of peasant proprietors, the influence of *Brahmins* as a landowning caste declined, although in the field of politics they continued to be

¹⁰ Balagopal. K, *Probing in The Political Economy of Agrarian Classes and Conflicts*, Perspectives, Hyderabad, 1988, pp. 36-7.

¹¹ D.N. Dhanagare, *Social Origins of the Peasant Insurrection in Telangana (1946-51)*, in AR Desai (ed.) *Peasant Struggles in India*, OUP, Bombay, 1979, pp., 489-490.

powerful. *Komatis*, a caste of traders and moneylenders, had considerable influence on the economic life in the countryside. *Marwadi Sahukars* gradually penetrated rural Telangana and established their ascendancy as moneylenders although the *Komatis* still remained on the scene as traders, shopkeepers, and merchants. The bulk of the rural masses, poor peasants, unprotected tenants, sharecroppers, and agricultural labourers-came from either backward classes or *dalits* or tribes.

The despotic rule of the Nizam permitted neither political freedom nor any representative institutions. Harassment of suspected political activists, detention of leaders and potential agitators were so common forms of repression that a straightforward political movement was almost ruled out in the state till 1930 or so. After 1920 several members of the intelligentsia and liberal professional class in Hyderabad, inspired by the Indian national movement, formed three different cultural-literary forums. The Andhra Conference was set up in 1928 and began to mobilize public opinion on issues like administrative and constitutional reforms, schools, civil liberties, recruitment to services etc., reflecting partly the regional economic and political aspirations and partly the urban middle class and elitist character of the new political commotion¹². In the Telangana region the branches of Andhra Conference and the *Andhra Mahasabha*¹³ started.

Congressmen and their sympathizers operated chiefly through the three 'mask organizations, such as the *Arya Samaj*, *Hindu Mahasabha* and Congress for constitutional reforms. The Communists arrived on the Telangana scene only during the latter half of the Second World War period. They had been active in the delta districts since 1934 when the Andhra Communist Party was

¹² See for details, Sundarayya.P, *Telangana People's Struggle and its Lessons*. Calcutta: C.P.I (M) Publications, 1972.

¹³ Launched a political movement for the unification of all Telugu-speaking regions into a separate Vishalandhra

established. The party drew its strength from *Kammas*, well to-do peasant proprietors-for whom other political alternatives did not exist as their archrivals-*Brahmins* and *Reddys*-dominated the Congress.

As in Andhra, the leading communists in Telangana were, by and large, wealthy landholders, *pattadars* of substantial holdings, and men of some hereditary standing in their villages and *taluks*. Both Ravi Narayana Reddy and B. Yella Reddy referred to, earlier, were prominent landlords. D. Venkateshwar Rao could be cited as yet another example.

The principal participants in the sustained revolt were unquestionably the poor peasants and the landless labourers. Most of the recruits in the dalams came from the backward classes, *dalit* and tribals. The caste *Hindus* treated them as socially inferior. The deprived and peripheral groups had also lost all their rights in land owing to the fact that for the past several decades the power and instruments of justice were in the hands of the landlords and *deshmikhs*. Lack of alternative avenues of work had rendered them weak in bargaining for their rights. They were doubly exploited, culturally as well as economically.

It seems reasonably certain that peasants of a single agrarian stratum did not stage the Telangana revolt. Its adherents had a mixed class character. As mentioned earlier, the leading communists of Andhra delta and Telangana were well-to-do peasants and came from either the *Kamma* or the *reddy* caste of peasant proprietors¹⁴. It was, therefore, basic to the interests of rich peasants, who dominated the party, that all other subordinate agrarian classes, such as the small holders and the tenants and sharecroppers quite as much as the landless labourers, formed an alliance and launched a combined offensive against the handful of big absentee landlords whose power and dominance could not be

¹⁴ For example, G. Rajeshwar Rao, M. Basavapunniah, N. Prasad Rao, M. Hanumat Rao, C. Vasudeo Rao were all Kamma, P. Sundarayya, Ravi Narayana Reddy, and B. Yella Reddy were all reddiees. They were either rich landowners themselves or came from such families. See Harrison 1956:381-2; Sheshadri 1967:388

threatened otherwise. From this it is clear that before the formation of the state, its socio-economic structure was feudal whereas the political system was transformed into parliamentary democracy.

formation of the First Linguistic State:

It was only after Potti Sriramulu, a prominent Gandhian advocate of provincial autonomy, fasted unto death in 1952 that the Nehru Government demarcated Andhra as a separate state. When the new unit was inaugurated in October 1953, the 160 Telugu members of the Madras legislature, including a 41 member Communist bloc, became the new Andhra legislature. On the other hand the Andhra state was formed in October 1953 by separating the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras presidency, consequent upon an agitation by the Telugu-speaking people for a separate state of their own. The Andhra state itself consisted of two regions: the rich and fertile coastal Andhra districts and the poor and backward districts of Rayalaseema region. A Congress cabinet took office, but factionalism within and Communist pressure from the outside brought its collapse on a no-confidence motion by November 1954. New elections had to be conducted in February 1955, the third in less than ten years.

The State of Andhra Pradesh was formed in November 1956, by merging Telangana-a region of nine Telugu-speaking districts of the erstwhile Hyderabad state with the 11 districts of Andhra state. The Hyderabad state that was under the rule of Nizam became a part of the Indian union as a result of the police action in September 1948. The people of Hyderabad under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (CPI) had waged a prolonged struggle against the Nizam's oppressive rule. The Congress Party had also been in the forefront of the people's struggle in this area.

Caste has been the basis of political grouping and mobilization of electoral support in the state right from the beginning. *Reddys* and *Kammas*, who constitute only 6.5 and 4.8 (according to Muralidhar Rao) percent of the state's population respectively, are two politically dominant communities. The most important

source of their power has been their control over land (Selig Harrison, 1956; Elliot, 1970; K. Balagopal, 1988; G. Ram Reddy 1989; K. Srinivasulu 1998). As the major landholders and occupants of important positions in the village, they have traditionally controlled village political life. In the course of time they have expanded their activities into other spheres of the economy, i.e., business, transport, contracts and industry (Upadhyaya 1988; 1997). The reddies are distributed in all the three regions of the state, but their dominance is noticeable especially in the Telangana and Rayalaseema regions. The *Kammas*, on the other hand, are dominant primarily in the coastal districts and their influence in other regions is negligible.

The *Brahmins* are numerically very small, comprising as they do a mere 3 percent. They were politically active during social reform and nationalist movement, they are not economically powerful group, and hence, their influence has declined during the last few decades. Among the other forward class peasant castes, the *kapus*, *Velamas* and *rajus* are important castes that matter to a significant extent in state politics though they are confined only to smaller pockets in terms of their numerical presence and influence.

The other backward castes (OBCs) comprising 52 percent constitute a very large proportion of the population in the state¹⁵. There has been process of gradual realization of their numerical strength and collective interests in political and economic spheres. This is a consequence of the nature of political system, process of economic development, state policies and expansion of educational opportunities and the politics of patronage pursued by the Congress under Indira Gandhi and the influence of NT Rama Rao.

The Scheduled castes constituting 15.5 percent of the population. The two most numerous castes among them, the *malas* and *madigas*, comprising the bulk of agricultural labour are present all over the state. Andhra Pradesh has 6 percent

¹⁵ See for details, Muralidhar Rao, *Report on the Backward Classes*, Department of BC welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1982.

tribal population, which is largely concentrated in the forest areas of the Andhra and Telangana regions. Similarly, the *Muslims* who constitute about 8 percent of the state's population have their distinctive impact on the politics of the Telangana and Rayalaseema regions.

The *Reddies* and *Kammas* are similar in status to the highest placed non-Brahmin land owning castes in the state. They also form roughly the same proportion of the population in the areas they occupy. Their experiences in modern electoral politics are also similar. Both have been accommodated into leadership of factions in the Congress, Communist, B.J.P, and Telugu desham. Therefore, since formation of the state these two castes only dictating the political process.

Table - 1 shows the list of Chief Ministers, their duration, region, caste and party

5.No	Name of the Chief Minister	Period	Region	Caste	Party
1	N.Sanjeeva Reddy	01-11-1956 to 16-4-1957	Rayalaseema	Reddy	Congress
2	N. Sanjeeva Reddy	17-04-1957 to 10-01-1960			
3	D. Sanjevaiah	11-01-1960 to 12-03-1962		Dalit	
4	N.Sanjeeva Reddy	12-03-1962 to 29-02-1964		Reddy	
5	K. Brahmananda Reddy	29-02-1964 to 06-03-1967	Circar		
6	K. Brahmananda Reddy	06-3-1967 to 18-07-1969			
7	K. Brahmananda Reddy	18-07-1969 to 30-09-1971			
8	P. V. Narasimha Rao	30-09-1971 to 20-03-1972	Telangana	Brahmin	
9	P. V. Narasimha Rao	23-03-1972 to 18-01-1973		Brahmin	
10	President rule	18-01-1973 to 10-12-1973	—		—
11	Jelagam Vengala Rao	10-12-1973 to 06-03-1978	Telangana	Velama	Congress
12	Dr. M. Marri Chenna Reddy	06-03-1978 to 11-10-1980		Reddy	
13	T. Anjaiah	11-10-1980 to 24-02-1982		Reddy	
14	Bhavanam	24-02-1982 to 20-09-1982	Circar	Reddy	

	Venkatram				
15	K.Vijay Bhaskar Reddy	20-09-1982 to 09-01-1983	Rayalaseema		
16	NT Rama Rao	09-01-1983 to 16-08-1984	Circar	Kamma	Telugu Desam
17	N. Bhaskar Rao	16-08-1984 to 16-09-1984			
18	NT Rama Rao	16-01-1984 to 09-03-1985			
19	NT Rama Rao	09-03-1985 to 03-12-1989			
20	Dr.Marri. Chenna Reddy	03-12-1989 to 07-12-1990	Telangana	Reddy	Congress
21	N. Janardhana Reddy	07-12-1990 to 09-10-1992	Circar		
22	K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy	09-10-1992 to 12-12-1994	Rayalaseema		
23	NT Rama Rao	12-12-1994 to 01-09-1995	Circar	Kamma	Telugu Desam
24	N. Chandra Babu Naidu	01-09-1995 to 10-10-1999	Rayalaseema		
25	N. Chandra Babu Naidu	11-10-1999 to			

(Source: Data collected by the researcher)

To analyze the monopolization of the Chief Ministership three factors are taken such as region, caste and party. Since the formation of Andhra Pradesh two parties, Congress and Telugu deshnam have been ruling the state. In the thirty two years of Congress rule in the state seven reddiees were chief ministers for thirteen times, one Dalit for two years two months, one Brahmin for two times, and there is not even single B.C Chief Minister was held the post so far in the State. The reddy community enjoyed the longest period of political power, on the decision of the high command only D. Sanjeevaiah was made the first *dalit*

chief minister. On Telugu desham party during its 15 years rule three Kammas became chief ministers. Out of 25 chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh sometime same persons have been repeated, eight times from Rayalaseema, ten times from Circar, and six times from Telangana and for one year there was the president rule in the state.

One important generalization based on the above data is that to become the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh he must be a Reddy of Congress party or Kamma of Telugudesham party.

Table-2 showing the Ministries-percentage of castes represented

S.no	Period of Ministry	Dominant castes	Backward castes	S.C/S.T	Minorities	Don't know	Total
1	1956	69	-	8	8	15	100
2	1960	72	7	7	7	7	100
3	1962	69	6	6	6	13	100
4	1964	68	6	6	6	14	100
5	1967	64	12	2	6	6	100
6	1969	61	11		7	14	100
7	1971	52	16	6	8	8	100
8	1972	45	20	4	7	14	100
9	1974	54	15	9	2	-	100
10	1978	55	18	2	12	3	100
11	1980	66.65	22.22	7.8	4.45	4.45	100
12	1982	79.4	29.41	11.76	2.94	2.94	100
13	1982	71.85	28.12	12.49	6.23	6.24	100
14	1983	73.24	13.33	13.33	6.66	-	100
15	1985	58.3	20.83	16.66	4.16	-	100
16	1989						100
17	1994						100

18	1999						100

(Sources: Collected by the researcher)

All the ministries formed after the formation of Andhra Pradesh have been dominated by upper castes. Dominant castes had a representation of more than 50 percent except in 1972, then it was 45 percent due to two reasons one is that there is an increase in the backward classes representation from 16% in 1971 to 20% and another reason is 14% representatives social background is not known. More or less the dominant castes maintaining consistency in their percentage in the cabinet. There is an increasing tendency of the backward classes and dalits in the percentage of ministers. But increasing percentage of backward classes in the cabinet does not correspond to their population. Scheduled castes and tribes have been given 10 percent in the ministerial berths before 1974. Later they are given 16% of the portfolios. There is declining phenomenon in the position of the minorities.

Table-3 showing the caste composition of the M.L.As

S.no	Caste	1957	1962	1967	1972	1978	1983	1985	1989	1994	1999
1	Brahmins	23	22	14	18	11	6	5		1	
2	Reddy	75	83	72	63	71	76	67		76	
3	Kamma	34	38	38	36	43	47	48		46	
4	Muslims/Christians	11	7	9	15	9	11	11		9	
5	B.Cs	38	39	41	55	55	61	59	46	38	56
6	SC/STs	52	67	55	56	58	54	54		55	
7	Others	49	34	44	42	41	39	34		47	
	No information	8	0	4				6		2	
	Total	300	300	287	287	294	294	294		294	

In 1957 assembly, the social background of the M.L.As was basically upper caste centric. In 300 members assembly there were 23 Brahmins from all parties, gradually over the years their political share has been declining. In the case of Reddies there is a consistency even in the Telugu deshams their representation continuous unaffected. With regard to Kammas the trend is towards an increase in their total number of M.L.As, but a majority of them are elected on non-Congress plank. There is not much of change in the position of the minorities. In respect of OBCs there has been an increase in their number among the elected representatives from the first assembly onwards, but it is not matching the percentage of the backward castes population. That is the reason they are under represented. Since the SC/STs are having political reservations, they are getting their representation according to their population. It is quite doubtful to imagine that from the OBCs the required percentage of representatives be elected to the assembly without reservations.

One important conclusion from the above table is that higher the caste, lesser the population but greater the number of Members of Legislative Assembly (MLA), lower the caste, higher the population but lesser the representation of the weaker communities. It is also proved that when there is Constitutional guarantee in the form of reservations then only disadvantaged sections will be getting elected. That is why control over the physical assets and Constitutional guarantees are essential for backward castes to get a proper share in the power structure of Andhra Pradesh.

It would be relevant here to discuss the factors, which helped the dominant castes (or *Reddy* and *Kamma*) hegemony in the state. Carolyn M. Elliott¹⁶ traced their power to control over land. As the major landholders in the village employ agriculture labour, they have the financial capital to loan, and have resources to represent the cases to administration. This base of power is

¹⁶ See for details, *Caste and Faction Among the Dominant Caste: The Reddis and Kammas of Andhra* in Rajni Kothari (ed.), *Caste in Indian Politics*, New Delhi: Orient Long man, 1970.

further augmented by the state's appointment of certain dominant caste persons as official headmen of the village, giving them the power of tax collection and the prestige of state authority. With these resources, Reddies and Kammas have become the political leaders of the village.

The political potential of the dominant caste is increased by their strength in the population. Political power depends much more directly on followers that can be rallied for competition than possession of resources or power in other arenas. Since kin and caste ties are two important means of rallying followers in the village, the leaders from a large caste group in the village have more followers than one from a small caste group. And if a caste group has many powerful men within it who have their own patron-client ties to lower caste persons in the village, than leaders from that caste have potential for gathering even more followers. In this way a rich Reddy family with many castes brethren from their own caste in the village may become more powerful than a rich Brahmin family, which is alone in the village and heterogeneous backward castes, who are largest in the population of the village but lacking financial resources and nexus with the administration. Therefore, the large number of Reddies and Kammas are assured their political power, even though they seldom form a majority in a village.

The same dominant caste persons have carried on politics outside the village. The political relationships between villages are uneven in breadth and direction. Usually several villages are grouped as a cluster around a particularly dominant village. The most formal ordering of that clusters are those based on the designation of revenue villages for administrative purposes. These villages are usually collection of hamlets, which are grouped around a main village that gives the official name to the cluster. These clusters function more or less like single villages, depending on the nature of caste, economic and political, relationship between the units. The most integrated units are those which consist of a main village with hamlets of only service caste persons living outside the

village because of caste restrictions, but who are wholly dependent on the main village for employment and representation of cases to outside authorities. Such clusters may properly be considered to be one village. Among hamlets with more than one caste group, however, there are lesser degrees of integration, particularly in the hamlets containing members of the dominant caste, social and political relationships may exist quite independent of the main village.

Informal clusters are formed by groups of villages connected to a particularly dominant village through a network of other ties. These clusters are less well defined than market or revenue clusters and is usually smaller. They do, however, sustain a network of political relationships, which are more intense within the network than with villages of other networks. The direction of politics is uneven because it is based on a pattern of dominance, in which the public events of the dominant village are more relevant to the whole cluster than are the events of any other single village. Factions within the dominant village provide opportunities for disputants within the other villages to find representation of their disputes, whereas unity in the dominant village prevents factional disputes in the other villages from being expressed outside the village this is because the dominant village assumes the functions of arbitration and representation for the other villages in the same way that dominant castes do for lower castes in a single village.

The intensity of these political relationships varies considerably. In some cases the dominant village is merely a strategically located village, one through which villagers from other villages must pass on their way to markets, public transportation, etc. At the most informal level these relationships establish more intense networks of communication, which may become useful in subsequent political activity. These relationships may assume political importance if the visitors accept hospitality, seek advice, or in other ways establish client relationships with leading members of the dominant village. At this low level of interaction, the idea of dominance may be too strong for describing the nature of

the relationship between the villages. There are many clusters, however, in which the relationships of dominance are very similar to those within single villages. These are clusters gathered around a dominant village, which is it dominated by a single powerful elite. In these instances the dominance usually centers on one large family, which had extended its influence throughout a region of villages through landholdings, money lending, arbitration, and representation to the administration. Villagers living under these dominant families participate in politics in the same manner as subordinate persons within the single village, except that in these clusters there is a higher level to which disputes may be taken for arbitration.

There are many villages, which are not clustered around such dominant villages, but sustain political interaction with surrounding villages through regional elite acting as local influential person in concert. These are relationships between equally powerful families, each of which is head of a 'natural association' based on traditional dominance. Kinship ties are frequently the basis of such relationships, but there are others. Landholders may have occasion to meet other landholders in the course of their dealings with revenue and settlement officials of the administration. Some landholders become known as having good contacts with officials and may be called upon for help in cases. Others become known as particularly judicious men through arbitrations and are called into to settle other disputes. Each other have known for many years with no memory of their first acquaintance. As transportation, communication and monetisation of agriculture have increased mobility, larger and larger circles of influential persons have been formed. Mobility has enabled the expansion of kinship ties, which has brought about further interaction. More recently delineation of electoral constituencies has brought elites into the same political arena that had not previously interacted. As the influential persons attempted to win political support in unfamiliar arenas, they have turned to their local counterparts to build wider coalitions of village elites. The political purposes and

methods of the new district level leaders are very greatly from those of the traditional society. But the basic structures emanate directly from the local influential persons acting in concert.

These informal networks are sustained by a common culture of dominance, which make persons at similar levels of rural society feel comfortable with each other. The culture is identified partially by life styles, which demarcate elites from others of lesser status. Certainly no elites would do physical labour, and wealthier persons would not even go directly to their fields. They are reluctant to allow their women to go out in public, through the degree to which the Hindu castes observe *pardah* varies by region and by caste. More important is the deference, which they demand from subordinates, from lower castes in their own villages, and from landlords of less important families in other villages. Elites know which families can be summoned to their verandah and which can summon them.

Caste ties are an important source of this common culture among the dominant peasant castes. This type of culture did not exist among the backward castes, whose elite is scattered and loyal to the dominant castes. It is generally accepted that in early times the dominant castes were indistinct from each other, forming a class of field chiefs under various kings. There are several legends, which trace the origins of the three major peasant castes in Andhra to an undivided group of *Kapus* living under the Kakatiya King Pratap Rudra who ruled in the 13th century. The story of common ancestry is supported by the borrowing of names among the castes even now many persons from the peasant caste of Kamma have surnames containing Reddy, while one sub-caste of the Reddy caste calls itself Chowdhary, a name often used by Kammas as a surname. Caste legends thus provide legitimacy to their recognition of each other as equals. Therefore, when the Kammas were trying to articulate more conscious caste solidarity, their caste historian had to devote much effort to separating the origin of Kammas from that of Reddies before claiming higher ritual status for

Kammas as kshatriyas. This equality of caste status is important in sustaining the culture of dominance, for in a culture in which authority has been associated with status; it means that Reddies and Kammas accept each other's right to rule. This becomes an important issue when persons of lower traditional status rise to position of dominance. Such persons are accepted on the basis of their power, but only grudgingly, as *nouveau riche*.

Explicit caste organization, however, has little to do with the sustenance of this culture. In contrast to many of the lower castes, dominant castes in Andhra have not maintained caste *panchayats*, within the village or outside, within the memory of persons today. Their organization is primarily through the lines of kinship, which may encompass several districts, particularly among the elites of the caste. These kinship ties are made stronger by the common South Indian practice of marrying within the family. Marriage ceremonies bring together persons who have met many times before parties provide occasions for continuing interaction. The culture is transmitted through informal ties arising from the transactions of a regional elite and maintains the common cultural expectations of rule.

As *Reddies* and *Kammas* sought to advance into modern society and politics, they drew upon these traditional caste and kinship ties, forming broader networks of interaction. Throughout the districts there were wealthy landlords known for their contacts with Government who aided peasants to obtain services. Caste members who had moved into the towns provided accommodation and advice to villagers' unfamiliar with the urban world. These persons became informal persons of the caste. Their relationships within the caste were based on ever-widening circles of family ties through which work of their benefactions spread. Through broader than the face-to-face groups of village caste society, these were still 'natural caste relationships in their comparative unself-consciousness.

Another argument, according to Ram Reddy¹⁷ for the continuation of the *Reddies* and *Kammas* rule, is that the post-independent dominant caste rulers created the competition among the backward classes leaders to share the resources to prevent them from forming a united political force of the backward classes and the control the lower caste vote bank with the expansion of the adult franchise. Therefore, instead of demanding for the structural changes, which can help the castes or communities at larger scale, confined to their selfish family members and factional interests only. The strategy of creating competition among the backward classes to avoid any threat to them is successful (see next chapter).

Last but not least factor for the political dominance of the dominant castes is the capturing of the party leadership. Since the political parties are guiding the modern democratic politics, therefore, to be a party leader is essential for making and unmaking of the government. From the very beginning of the political parties in Andhra Pradesh it is the upper castes that have been leading and setting the agenda for the people. The following analysis will give the clear picture about the political changes in the state.

The political scenario in both the Andhra and Telangana regions immediately after Independence was one of the emergencies of the Congress and Communist Parties as powerful contenders. As early as 1948 the Congress Government of Madras moved to undercut Communist support among the Andhra peasants bypassing the Madras Estate Abolition and Conversion into *Ryotwari* Act. The legislation abolished all *Zamindari* and *inamdari* estates and gave the *ryots* the *pattas* of their lands over 33 percent of the area in the Andhra districts.

¹⁷ Ram Reddy.G. The Politics of Accommodation Caste Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh, in Frankle and Rao (eds) Dominance and State Power in Modern Period-Divide of Social Order, Oxford University Press, 1989, New Delhi, p. 263.

Nevertheless, The Communist Party continued to concentrate on agrarian problems. The leadership emphasised the need for structural changes that alone could alleviate the distress of the landless, and went to the extent of demanding nationalisation of land. As an immediate programme, they campaigned for minimum wages and allotment of wastelands to agricultural labours.

In the first state election in Madras held in 1952, the CPI pledged to work for the formation of *Visalandhra*, and to carry on the struggle, in alliance with the rich peasantry against exploitation of middle and poor peasants as well as agricultural labours. In the Andhra region, the Communist polled 20.9% of the votes and won 41 seats. Its main support came from the advanced coastal districts with their numbers of landless and poor peasants-Krishna, Guntur, West Godavari and East Godavari.

Similarly, in the 1952 elections held in Hyderabad State, the Communist won 36 out of the 42 Assembly seats they contested. Their main support was concentrated in the three districts-Warangal, Karimnagar and Nalgonda- where the armed struggle had been most intense.

As the merger of all Telugu speaking districts drew near, there was a strong feeling that the Communist would form the government in a united Andhra Pradesh. Despite such expectation, mid-term elections in 1955 to the Legislative Assembly of Andhra State resulted in a clear and convincing Congress victory, leaving the Communists with only 16 seats. More surprising, when elections were held in the Telangana region in 1957, the Communist Party won only 20 seats out of the 65 seats they contested. In Andhra Pradesh as a whole, the Congress triumphed in more than double the number of constituencies as the Communists, securing 70 out of 105 seats in the new Legislative Assembly, compared to 26 out of 105 for the Communists.

The dominance of the Congress Party in the political history of Andhra Pradesh continued uninterrupted for three decades till it was upset by the emergence of Telugu Desham Party in the 1983 assembly elections. In early years

of independence, this region had witnessed a credible anti-Congress ideological articulation and popular vote. The left, comprising of the Communists and different shades of Socialists, was mainstay of this opposition both in the Telangana region of Hyderabad State and Andhra State. Their failure to evolve into an alternative strong enough to displace the Congress is an instance of a lost possibility. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh the left has started a gradual decline both organizationally and ideologically. Organizationally, it had been weakened and ideologically it got diffused as a result of successive splits following serious disputes on crucial politico-ideological questions.

In contrast to the left, the Congress during this period, displayed tremendous dynamism and political tact in tackling the challenges facing it by conceding the demand for the '*Vishalandhra*' state, organized on a linguistic basis, the Congress virtually hijacked an important issue of the left agenda. Further, through different agrarian reform measures, like the Zamindari and Jagirdari abolition, tenancy and land reform legislation, the Congress regime sought to address the crucial agrarian and land questions brought to the center of Indian politics by the agrarian struggles of the 1940s. The overall changes, induced by earlier agrarian radicalism and subsequent state reform have substantially altered the agrarian structure thus leading to the decline of the support base of the left. Added to these factors, there was ideological confusion and uncertainty in the Communist camp as a result of Soviet Union's support for the Congress Party's formal commitment to create a 'Socialist Pattern of Society'. In part this confusion and uncertainty was both a cause and an effect of the split in the party between the CPI and CPI (M). In the meanwhile, the Congress party was consolidating its position by accommodating in its fold splinter groups, which had earlier defected from the party, especially the *Krishikar Lok* Party of N.G. Ranga and Kisan Mazdoor Party of T. Prakasham. It was also trying very hard to win over sizeable support from the *Muslim* community, which was disenchanted after the police action and the merger of Hyderabad in the Indian Union.

The Congress Party maintained its absolute supremacy for almost two and a half decades, starting from the state's first election in 1957. In the five elections to the legislative assembly during this period, it won between 57.5 percent and 76.3 percent seats and between 39.3 percent and 52.3 percent votes. In the six Lok Sabha elections during this period, its share of seats in the state¹⁸ varied from 68.3% to 97.6% and its vote share varied from 46.8% to 57.4%¹⁹. It is interesting to note that the Congress Party did not lose its dominance in any of the elections, not even in the 1967 elections when it lost power in as many as eight states nor in the 1977 election, when it was completely routed in almost every corner of the country. On the contrary, it sent a record number of 41 members to the Lok Sabha in 1977. Thus, the Congress Party performance during this period was significantly better than that of any other political party. Apart from the Communist Parties, the other parties which contested elections at different phases but had only a marginal influence on the state's politics were the Swantatra Party, Socialist Party, Praja Socialist, Republican Party of India, Majlis-e-Ittehadul-Muslimeen, Congress (O), and Janata Party.

The Congress Party's sterling electoral performance during this period however, conceals of major weakness, its internal factionalism. It was the clash of personalities among Congress leaders which was reflected in several powerful agitations in the state: for a steel plant during the mid 1960s, for a separate Telangana in the late 1960s and the *Jai Andhra* movement in the early 1970s, these agitations also partly symbolized a struggle for power among different strata of society. Several of Indira Gandhi's initiatives in introducing socio-economic programs aimed at progressing the interests of, and rallying the support of marginalized groups like backward castes, dalits, tribals and women.

¹⁸ Srinivasulu.k and Prakash Sarangi, *Political Realignment in post-NTR Andhra Pradesh*, Economic and Political Weekly, August 21-28,1999, vol xxxiv, No. 34, p. 2450,

¹⁹ Ibid, p.2450.

Indira Gandhi's populist radicalism and political strategy of mobilization and accommodation of marginalized groups was instrumental in increasing the social polarization along both caste and class lines. This not only led to the breakdown of the traditional patron-client relationships at the local level but also paved the way for the decline of the political control of dominant landed castes. Indira Gandhi populism and radical rhetoric, by raising the aspirations and expectations of the marginalized social groups and communities, opened up a new phase of political contradictions. Thus caught up in the contradictions and intense factionalism-a reflection of the contradictions- the Congress under Indira Gandhi increasingly resorted to centralization of power at the political organizational level in the high command of the party and at the governmental level in the center. The consequence of this process was the erosion of regional leadership and initiative. The failure of the Congress Party to accommodate contending interests, its inability to channelise the politicization of marginalized communities opened up new political possibilities. It is against this background that the emergence of the TDP in AP has to be appreciated.

The rise of NTR and his Telugu Desam Party is generally seen as the long overdue assertion of the rich Kamma community. Till 1983 for the Kammas, the Reddies dominating Congress Party was big obstacle in occupying the dominant position in term of political power. The leadership, predominantly, to the Telugu Desam party came from the wealthy Kamma by caste and agrarian in its origins, which came of age in the period of the nationalist movement and the agrarian struggles against the Zamindars and the colonial rule. These struggles that attended its birth have also given in the largest share of participation in radical movements: socialism, rationalism, atheism, communism, and Radical-Humanism. Over the period, they have also grown substantially rich, and have multiplied their riches since the Green Revolution. But while wealth has come their way, they have been systematically kept out of the prime seats of power at Hyderabad. They lost it symbolically when they had to concede the name

Vishalandhra for the state for which they fought the hardest, and had to simultaneously concede their demand for making Vijayawada capital city; and they lost it substantially as part of the general 'Congress culture' of keeping the economically dominant classes and communities in the state away from the seats of political power²⁰.

In fact the political conflict between these two communities were started when N.G. Ranga was defeated to become the President of the Congress Party in the Andhra State. The second incident that intensified the conflict is making Kurnool as the capital, N.G. Ranga and the coastal Andhra Communists opposed the Kurnool to be a capital of Andhra State and third event was Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy becoming the chief minister of newly formed Andhra Pradesh. These three incidents were symbols of the victory of reddy domination within the Congress Party.

With the merger of Telangana with the Andhra for the formation of Andhra Pradesh, numerically negligible *Kammas* in Telangana and Rayalaseema had to compete with the *reddy* community of the two regions. Throughout thirty years period of Congress rule Kamma never occupied the position Chief Minister.

Though the top-level leaders of the Communist Party were from Kamma caste, they hardly secured the majority to form the Government in the state; their influence was confined to some assembly and parliament seats in coastal Andhra and Telangana. Therefore, since long time the *kammas* were waiting for capturing of the state political power. The dream was realized in N.T.Rama Rao becoming Chief Minister.

It is true that NTR and his most vociferous followers belong to this class, whether the main body in the coastal districts is the expatriates settled along the irrigation canals around perennial tanks in Telangana and Rayalaseema. It is also true that most of his ardent voters belong to East Godavri, West Godavri,

²⁰ Balagopal, K., op.cit pp. 156-57.

Krishna and Gunture districts. Another important feature is that one man who almost single handedly led the campaign was Ramoji Rao, the editor of the largest circulated Telugu daily Eenadu, which operated as a pamphlet for NTR both at the time of his election and during the crisis in TDP (Nadendla Bhaskar Rao incident). This is a typical manifestation of commercial enterprise of this class²¹.

The 1980s brought about an important change in the political history of the state. The Congress Party tasted defeat for the first time in the electoral history of the state. It was a sequel to the intra-party factional conflict and repeated '*diktat*' from the 'high command' leading to frequent changes of Chief Ministers, as witnessed by four changes in a five-year period preceding the 1983 assembly election. As a reaction to these centralising tendencies in the Congress, neglect of the weaker sections, a regional party emerged with a proclaimed objective to represent the interests of Telugu people. NT.Rama Rao, who belongs to coastal Andhra Kamma caste, a popular film star launched the TDP on March 29th 1982, which within nine months of its formation emerged with full-fledged majority in the 1983 assembly elections by successfully rallying the non-Congress vote. The TDP won 202 seats out of the total of 294, where as the Congress Party could secure only 60 seats.

For the first time a non-Congress government was established, a similar pattern was discernible in the 1984 Lok Sabha elections. The Congress Party secured only 6 seats out of a total of 42 it contested, the TDP got 30 out of the 34 seats it contested. The emergence of NTR as political force not only changed the course of political developments but also the very style of politics itself. "While Indira Gandhi broke patron-client ties at the local level, she herself emerges as the key patron²². NTR's entry into politics also altered the traditional caste calculus in the state's electoral politics. He tried to create a support base among

²¹ Balagopal, K., op.cit p. 157.

²² Srinivas.k and Prakash Sarangi, op.cit, p. 2451.

backward castes, rural poor women by means of several populist policies by facilitating their accommodation in the power structure.

An event of critical significance to the consolidation of NTR in state politics was the revolt of section within the TDP in 84. Nadendla Bhaskar Rao, NTR's finance minister, revolted against NTR and became the Chief Minister with the support of the Congress after having got NTR dismissed from the chief ministership. NTR went back to the masses with an appeal to 'save democracy'. He was reinstated in power within a month because of massive public protest. But he recommended the dissolution of the assembly and fresh elections were conducted in March 1985. This time NTR entered into seat adjustments with non-Congress (I) parties like CPI, CPM, Janata and BJP. NTR's TDP cornered as many as 202 seats, whereas Congress could secure only 50 seats. With this massive mandate NTR went ahead with vengeance to introduce his welfare schemes and administrative reforms. He became very popular with his subsidised rice scheme, which provided rice at Rs 2/- a kilo for the poor and a slab rate of electricity for the farmers. To strike at an important institutional support base of the Congress, NTR abolished the village officers system, '*patel-patwaris*', and to make the bureaucracy responsive to the people, NTR initiated administrative decentralisation by dismantling revenue *taluka* and *panchayat samitis*²³.

The next Assembly and Lok Sabha elections were held in 1989, in which the TDP lost its dominant position to the Congress (I). The reasons for the defeat

²³ Patel-patwaris' were traditional village officers: the former was vested with powers to maintain law and order and the latter to collect land revenue. These hereditary positions invariably held by the upper castes, the former by the reddies and latter by the kammass or Brahmins, not only provided access to power and wealth but were also sources of corruption. Further they were traditional support structures of the Congress Party. By abolishing them, NTR not only gained popular appreciation as these institutions had acquired notoriety of sorts in the perception of the popular classes but also struck a serious blow at the Congress support system. In their place NTR created village administrative officers to be recruited through open competition. Some of the patels and patwaris fulfilling the requisite qualification were also accommodated. These reforms were part of the larger administrative reforms (which include the restructuring of the revenue and *panchayat raj* institutions) introduced by NTR during his first term (1983-89) in office (Srinivasulu 1990)..

of the Telugudesham party are the failure of the Government in fulfilling the promises, which are given in the 1984 elections, authoritarian attitude of NT. Rama Rao, hike in the prices of the consumable and productive goods, corruption at the high level, upper hand of the Kamma domination and negligence of the backward castes in distribution of tickets, not showing interest in filing case in the Supreme Court on the increased reservations based on Muralidhar Rao Commission report, which was rejected by the High Court of Andhra Pradesh in 1986, women and other lower castes in terms of accommodation etc. These have become positive points for the Congress party to win 181 seats in the Assembly and came back to the power after a gap of seven years. TDP won only 74 seats. Similarly, in the Loksabha elections the Congress party secured 39 out of 42 seats and 51 % votes, whereas TDP secured a mere two seats and 34.5% votes. Though the Congress party came back to power it did not seem to have learnt anything from its past mistakes. It continued with the old culture of internal bickering and factional conflicts resulting in frequent change of chief ministers. These factors in significant sense contributed to the TDP's come back to power in 1994 elections. In the Assembly elections of December 1994, the TDP swept the polls capturing a massive 217 seats (251, if the share of its allies, the CPM and CPI is added) out of a total of 292 seats for which elections were held. The Congress party won only 25 seats.

Strategic to the TDP's overwhelming victory in the 1994 assembly elections were the promises of prohibition, subsidised rice, allotment of house sights and the supply of subsidised Janatha cloth. These promises could capture the imagination of the weaker sections, especially the SCs and OBCs and women. After NTR's comeback to power in 1994, the TDP, which had all along appeared as a monolithic organisation under the total grip of the supremo, saw an internecine struggle in its rank and file, which finally culminated in coup against NTR. In this coup Chandra Babu Naidu overthrown NTR and rallied a support of 190 MLAs and forced NTR to resign from the chief ministership and himself

assumed the leadership of both the party and the government. His strategies and tactics are successful in winning the TDP in 1996, 1998 and 1999 Loksabha and assembly (1999) elections. It appears in Naidu cabinet that backward classes are given priority but in reality, it is the Chief Minister dominating the entire cabinet and there are no major policy initiatives in favour of backward classes.

On Telugu Desham Party three *Kammas* have become chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh. They are NT Rama Rao, Nadendla Bhaskara Rao and Nara Chandra Babu Naidu. Though the representation of the backward classes in the cabinet has been increased, their control in the exercise of substance of power is nominal. None of the backward classes ministers are able to take independent decisions on either the matter relating to their ministry or the issues concerning backward castes.

Summing up: Changing political scenario in the state from prior to independence times to the present indicates that it is being dominated by the upper castes. During the social reform and national movements it was the Brahmins, in the peasant movements it is the Kammas, and Reddies that dominated the political leadership. In the post-independent period the landed dominant communities like, Reddies, Kammas, Velamas, and Kapus leading Congress and Telugu desham have been ruling the state. These regional ruling castes have been occupying the highest number of positions than their population in politics, government employment, contracts and other economic activities. But in this process the backward castes that constitute the largest chunk in the population of the state are marginalized.

The analysis, which is made in this chapter beginning from historical antecedent to contemporary political scenario, indicates that like any other state in the Indian sub-continent caste playing a significant role in the politics of Andhra Pradesh too. As far as caste dimension is concerned, Andhra Pradesh experience reveals that in order to become chief minister it should be either Reddy of Congress party or Kamma of Telugudesham party irrespective of the

region. In terms of distribution of the tickets higher the caste more the seats and lower the caste lesser the seats, but in the case of dalits, it is the Constitution, which is providing the reservation of seats, therefore, they are getting elected. So far as representation of the backward classes in the decision-making institutions is concern, their representation is very nominal. Since the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the total number of MLAs in the legislative Assembly never crossed 70 members. They are supposed to, according to their population, be more than 150 MLAs. Therefore, in the political process of Andhra Pradesh the backward castes are politically marginalized.

Even though there is a highly sophisticated contradiction between the dominant castes vs. the backward castes, the backward caste so far has not posed a big threat to the ruling party by forming an alternative political force. There is every possibility for the alliance of dalits, backward castes and women for the rise of potential political organisation, but that possibility is not yet realised in the state. The backward castes being the highest number in population among the deprived sections of the society, still they are not politically consolidating themselves due to the heterogeneous and social stratification, economic deprivation and class differences within the backward castes led to the political marginalisation. All these factors are reflected even in the inadequate mobilisation of the backward castes, which is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter-4

Backward Castes -The Question of Mobilization

Though the powerful contradictions exist between social, economic and political system vs. the backward castes, the mobilization has got fragmented due to internal contradictions like heterogeneous character and social stratification, class differences and political accommodation of few backward castes elite to prevent alternative political platform and to marginalize the majority poor backward castes. But attempts are being made since pre-independence period to mobilize the backward castes through four instruments like (i) Caste associations, (ii) Federation of caste associations or Backward Castes association, (iii) Political parties and (iv) Non-party organizations. Caste associations, which came into existence during pre-independence period, while working for their caste interests helped in emergence of Backward Classes Associations. The Backward Classes Associations or federation of caste associations emerged in the post-independence period. This chapter analyses the trends and limitations of these organizations and political parties and non-party organizations in the Backward Castes mobilization.

In this context the approaches to the study of social mobilization developed by Rudolph and Rudolph Applied to the study of political mobilization in TamilNad, i.e., Fission, Fusion and Decompression model, Hardgrave² study of the political mobilization of Nadars in three phases, such as the parochial, integrated and differentiated and Rajni Kothari³ model i.e., the secular, Integration and Ideological aspects or the associational, federal and

¹ Rudolph and Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition political development in India*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1967, p. 88.

² *Political Participation and Primordial Solidarity: The Nadars of Tamilnad*, in Rajni Kothari (ed) *Caste in Indian Politics*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1970, pp. 103-5

³ See Introduction in Rajni Kothari (ed), *Caste in Indian Politics*, Orient Lonman, New Delhi, 1970.

factional aspects are applied in the study of the role of caste in modern politics. The fourth instrument i.e., non-party organizations or grass roots level social movements is not discussed in these works, except Rajni Kothari discussed the rise of non-party or grass roots movements in some other work⁴ and relevant in the present context.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph the membership in a caste association is based both on birth and on choice: one must be born into a particular *jati* to qualify, but one must then choose to identify oneself with the association. The ascriptive element strongly suggests that there is a natural limit to the Para community's capacity to approximate a voluntary association. It can be argued that, however, far it may lead those who identify with it from the narrow confines of the traditional face-face community, which cannot lead them beyond ascriptive boundaries. The individual can never be fully free to define himself, to make his own destiny, nor can he/she, as a result, act politically in ways that are untainted by primordial group parochialism and selfishness.

Recent developments challenge this view. Ascription may not be so immutable; for India the choice may not be confined to having a society with or without some form of caste sentiment and structure. To be born with a social identity whose boundaries, norms, and culture are changing suggests that ascription is mutable. The changes that caste has and is undergoing are carrying it beyond traditional ascriptive definitions. These changes include internal differentiation (fission) and the operation of integrative institutions upon it; federation of castes (fusion) into larger associations that express shared interests, symbols, and norms; and the decompression of caste's village home.

Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr studied the political mobilization of the Nadars in three stages, such as the parochial, the integrated, and the differentiated political cultures. The parochial political culture of a caste is essentially that of tradition.

⁴ Kothari, Rajni, *State against Democracy: in search of humane governance*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1988, pp. 37-54.

While sharing a common economic position, with little internal differentiation, the caste is nevertheless fragmented by the relationships of dependence, which divide its members into opposing factions. In the multi-caste village, the relationship between each caste is prescribed through caste ranking. A single caste village, while lacking the elaborate distinction of ritual usages, may be taken as functionally equivalent, in so far as the economic groups, (often him or herself endogamous sub-castes,) are hierarchically ranked and the structure of the village is characterized by factionalism of economically dependent client groups.

The integrated political culture represents a high degree of cohesion and solidarity within the caste. The breakdown of economic dependence on other castes and the extension of horizontal caste ties over a wide geographic area *give* the caste a new solidarity. In the first stages of the integrated culture, there continues to be high caste ranking and a minimal differentiation within the single caste itself. While the elaboration of caste ranking continues to act as an agent to enforce solidarity within the caste, under the impact of economic change, there gradually emerges internal differentiation. While a multiplicity of factors affects the differentiation, which arises within a caste in the process of change, such as education, communication exposure, and general conflict; the most salient factor in differentiation, however, is the economic. The integrated political culture often gives rise to the emergence of associations for the social, economic and political uplift of the community. Ironically, the association itself inevitably contributes to the disintegration of community solidarity insofar as its goals are attained.

Differentiation within the caste community fundamentally affects the elaboration of caste ranking. The traditional correspondence between economic position and ritual status loses all meaning, for within each community there becomes available an increasingly wide range of occupations and economic positions. The demands of deference to new economic status erode the hierarchy

of ritual purity. With the decline in the elaboration of the caste ranking and the increasing differentiation within each caste, the political culture of the community is affected accordingly, rendering a breakdown in the caste solidarity in favour of new inter-caste associations. As economic interests within the community are differentiated and as the political culture becomes increasingly secular, so the political identity of the individual reflects cross cutting vertical and horizontal ties and a plurality of commitments, associations, and interests. The loosened moorings of caste and tradition, while freeing the individual for the possibility of association along class lines, also renders him available to the flux of ambivalence, apathy and anomie. The differentiated political culture represents, decline in the former homogeneity of the community, but provides the foundation for the emergence of a political culture reflecting identities based on economic interests and growing political awareness.

In view of Rajni Kothari Secular aspect emphasizing caste as a stratification system in which distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals, caste as a system of conflict and interaction has received sparse attention. Yet the fact is that factionalism and caste cleavages, patterns of alignment and realignment among the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.

Integration aspect of the caste system is that it not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group in to which he is born but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration. This aspect is important in understanding the structural impact of democratic politics.

The ideological aspect is that the democratic politics of necessity led to such an involvement of the traditional structure and its leadership. Two results followed. The caste system provided structural and ideological bases to the

leadership for political mobilization, providing it with both a segmental organization and an identification system on which support could be crystallized. Second, the leadership was forced to make concessions to local opinion, take its cue from the consensus that existed as regards claims to power, articulate political competition on traditional lines and, in turn, organize castes for economic and political purposes.

With regard to the rise of grass roots level social movements or non-party movements, Kothari says that they came into existence due to the failure of political parties and bureaucracy in solving the problems of the poor, subaltern communities. These grass roots organizations are occupying the neglected space in the society. They are non-electoral organizations and renders voluntary service. The important issues taken by these organizations are concentrating on the issues like land, women, dalit, backward castes, and tribals. They work at the local areas while putting pressure on the system to react in favour of the poor.

Though three approaches are relevant, Rajni Kothari way of understanding of the role of various instruments of mobilization in modern period, theoretically, sounds. The brief summary of these approaches is as follows

In modern politics an individual alone cannot play the decisive role in shaping and sharing of the power and policies

To shape and share the power and policies group mobilization is pre-requisite for the modern democratic politics, therefore, caste providing numerical strength for the association

These associations might be ascriptive and parochial by nature but got the capacity to change itself and instruments for the change.

The common interests of the similar caste associations in terms of hierarchy, social status, economic position, functional equality, and occupational interdependence lead to coming together of the various caste associations and form as the federation of castes and to have a solidarity

Within the caste federations differences emergences due to education, communication, economic aspect etc will break solidarity for the rise of a political culture reflecting identities based on economic interests and growing political awareness and

Out of the new political awareness, the political leadership emerges with the structural and ideological base of the caste for mobilization to participate in the democratic politics, where political parties are the means.

When the political parties and institutions of the State neglect the subaltern people lead to the rise of the grass roots organizations or non-party movements.

In the light of these theoretical inputs, the strategical instruments of the backward castes mobilization in Andhra Pradesh are studied. These instruments are caste associations, federation of caste associations, political parties and grass roots organizations.

1.Caste Association;

According to Rajni Kothari Politics is a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of power for the realization of certain goals, and its process is one of identifying and manipulating existing and emerging allegiances in order to mobilize and consolidate positions. The important thing is organization and articulation of support through the organizations in which the masses are to be found. It follows that where politics is mass-based the point is to articulate support through the organizations. It follows that where the caste structure provides one of the principal organizational clusters along which the bulk of the population is found to live, politics must strive to organize through such a structure.

In view of Rudolph and Rudolph caste associations are the Para communities that enable members of castes to pursue social mobility, political power, and economic advantage. The emergence of caste associations capable of effecting structural and cultural changes that Marx saw. Particularly important

for the spread of new ideas and systems of interaction, improved means of communication, western education, and the subjective and objective effects of new economic opportunities associated with the growth of a market economy and the penetration of State economic activity⁵. On the one hand, these forces undermined the hold of the traditional culture and social system as it was organized in relatively autonomous units; on the other hand, they created the conditions under which local sub- castes (*Jatis*) could be linked together in geographically extended associations. Opportunities outside the local *Jajmani* (patron-client) economy⁶ provided the material bases and new sensibilities that enables *Jatis*, or sections of them, to raise themselves. Caste associations linking the more advanced sections of similar *jatis* undertook to upgrade the position of the caste in the social hierarchy. They pressed for the extension of privileges and rights by adopting the attributes and emulating the behavior of higher castes and by turning to the State for recognition of their claims⁷.

When the caste associations turned to the State for furthering their purposes, their initial claims were aimed at raising caste status in terms of the values and structure of the caste order. But as liberal and democratic ideas penetrated to wider sections of the population, the aims of the Caste association began to shift from sacred to secular goals. Instead of demanding entry into temples, prestigious caste names, and "honorable" occupations and histories in the census, the associations began to press for places in the economy, new administrative and educational institutions and for political representation. Independence and the realization of political democracy intensified these new

⁵ M.N.Srinivas' Seminal articles, "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, Xvi, August 1957.

⁶ Pauline Mahar Kolenda, "Toward a Model of the Hindu *Jajmani* system," *Human organization*, xx, spring, 1963, pp. 11-31

⁷ Rudolph&Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition political Development in India*, Orient Long man, 1967, Delhi, p.31

concerns. Caste associations attempted to have their members nominated for elective office, working through existing parties or forming their own; to maximize caste representation and influence in State cabinets and other governing bodies; and use ministerial, legislative, and administrative channels to press for action relating to caste objectives in the welfare, educational, and economic realms. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the caste association in the contemporary era, however, has been its capacity to organize what appears to be a politically illiterate mass electorate. Doing so enabled it to realize in some measure its newly formed aspirations and to educate its members in the methods and values of political democracy.

The caste association is no longer an ascriptive association in the sense in which caste viewed as *jati*. It has carried features of the Voluntary association. Membership in caste associations is not purely ascriptive; birth in the caste is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for membership. One must also "join" through some conscious act involving various degrees of identification-ranging from providing financial support to an association's educational, welfare, or commercial activities, to attending caste association meetings, to voting for candidates supported by caste association leaders. The caste association has generally both a potential and an actual membership; when it speaks, it often claims to speak for a much wider group than its active followers. Although the purpose of caste is wide-ranging and diffuse, affecting every aspect of members' life paths, the functions and interests of caste associations have become increasingly specialized. The traditional authority and functions of the *jati* are declining, but the caste association's concern with control or influence those who hold political power and thereby allocate resources, opportunity and honor has revived and extended caste loyalties in changing contexts. At the same time, its followers tend in the early phases of the caste association to retain the more intense and exclusive loyalties and identities characteristic of ascriptive associations and to be, as a consequence, less subject to the crosscutting pressures

that affect members of more strictly voluntary associations⁸. With the passage of time and internal differential within the association, however, loyalties are diluted and the membership becomes more amenable to political mobilization from without.

Since modern means of transportation and communication have had the effect of broadening caste consciousness and structures, binding together *jatis* that had been relatively autonomous on to geographically extended associations, caste associations today usually act as parallel administrative and political units- States, districts, talquas, and municipalities whose office and powers of legislation or decision making are the object of caste association efforts⁹. Some caste associations have even reached to substantial cross-regional constituencies.

Leadership in the caste association is no longer in the hands of those qualified by heredity- the senior or more able members of the lineage, which traditionally supplied jati leadership. The existence of association leaders is conditioned by their ability to articulate and represent the purpose; they must be literate in the ways of modern administration and the new democratic politics. Men whose educational and occupational backgrounds assure these skills helped to form caste associations and the more "democratic" of them occupy leadership positions. The new leaders stand in a more accountable and responsible relationship to their followers because their authority depends to a great extent on their capacity to represent and make good the association's purposes.

Finally, at the organizational level, the caste association abandons the latent structure of caste for the manifest structure characteristic of the voluntary association. It has offices, membership, incipient bureaucratization, publications, and a quasi-legislative process expressed through conferences, delegates, and

⁸ For the most influential contemporary analysis of multiple group membership and crosscutting pressures that arise from them, see David Truman, *The Governmental process*, New York, 1951.

⁹ Rudolph & Rudolph, *Modernity of Tradition Political Development in India*, Oriental Long man, 1967, Delhi, P.32

resolutions. On the other hand, the shared sense of culture, character, and status tends to create solidarity of a higher order than is usually found among more rigid voluntary associations where multiplicity of social roles and the plurality of member's values and interests tend to dilute the intensity of commitment and identification. The Para community contributes to fundamental structural and cultural change by providing an adaptive institution in which traditional and modern social features can meet and fuse.

The important implications from the above theoretical framework are that the caste associations are the instruments of organization, mobilization, and articulation. They are instruments to train the leadership and provide the financial support and other activities and also instruments of spreading ideas through its publications. In the line of these implications the changing profile of the caste associations in Andhra Pradesh is examined. For this purpose, deliberately three caste associations are chosen, such as Munnurukapu, Padmashali and Gouds or toddy tappers for the analysis.

Though there are many caste based associations, for instance the Yadav, Vaddera, the fishermen, Medara etc., these associations are not chosen to discussion due to non-availability of the literature. Another strong reason for choosing these caste associations is that they have long history of mobilization started much before independence, while taking part in the anti-jagirdari, anti-zamindari, and anti-colonial movements. Some of the castes in the backward castes are not yet started mobilizing, for example Neelishikaris, Kummari (pottery), Naibrahmin, Pusala, Uppari, Gajula, Pamulavallu, etc. Therefore, the backward castes may be classified into two categories one is mobilized and another one is non-mobilized castes. That is why here three castes, which have history of mobility, are taken for the illustration, for that matter under the heading of the role of caste associations in the social mobility one can take any caste including either upper caste associations or lower caste associations, but here in this context only backward castes are relevant.

Munnurakapus are, basically, agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers and listed now in the backward classes, consisting a major section of the population in Telangana. Their presence in the remaining other two regions is almost nil. According to the census of 1910 in the Nizam State, their population was 1,83,356. At a time when the people's level of consciousness was at its lowest ebb on account of the regimentation of the monarchic-cum-feudal order, a set of dedicated leaders worked strenuously for the cause of toiling masses in general and Munnurkapus in particular. This included Bojjam Narasimhulu, Tunga Sambaiah and Erram Satyanarayana, who responded to the then contemporary conditions and movements.

In fact, Bojjam Narasimhulu could really be regarded as one of the most distinguished founding fathers of the Munnurkapu movement in particular and Backward Castes movement in general in the state of Hyderabad. He joined the Congress party in 1920 to fight against the colonial /Nizam rule and also worked throughout his life for the social, economic and political advancement of the Munnurkapu.

The genesis of the Munnurkapu movement in the erstwhile Hyderabad state can be traced back to the first conference on 31st May - 1st June 1935 at Hyderabad¹⁰. The first Munnurkapu conference concerned itself with social, educational backwardness, economic deprivation and social evils like dowry system, child marriages, indiscriminate pomp in spending money, drinking, enforced widowhood etc. The Conference also addressed itself to the spread of literacy and improvement of economic position. The Munnurkapu movement started a process of socialization of their caste. It worked in unison with the Nizam Rashtra Andhra Maha Sabha Movement.

¹⁰ Narasimhulu, Bojjam. *Munnurkapu Kula Abhyudayamu: Karyakalapalu* (1920-67), Venkatarama Paper Products, Hyderabad, 1968, p. 52.

With the initiation of Bojjam Narasimulu, Munnurkapus raised donations and helped construction of "Munnurkapu Bhavan" and set up Munnurkapu Trust Fund at Hyderabad to provide the hostel facilities, scholarships, books etc for the Munnurkapu students. The regular meetings and training camps for their caste were also conducted in the Bhavan. While working for the reforms among Munnurkapus he also took the initiative to start the Hyderabad state Backward Classes Association in 1954. His whole life was, thus dedicated to the cause of the liberation of the country, backward castes in general and Munnurkapu in particular for the awakening and organizing them.

Due to the efforts of Munnurkapu Association in social reform, education facilities, training camps, spreading ideas through media and continuous motivation, a large section of them entered the politics, business, real estate, finance, bureaucracy, academics etc in the post-independent period. In politics, the Munnurukapus occupied top position among the backward castes in Telangana region such as village sarpanches, Mandal Presidents, Zilla Parishad Chairmen, M.L.As and M.Ps of the Congress, TeluguDesham and other parties. Shiva Shankar rose to the level of Union minister, Governor and at present the president of the All India Congress Committee Other Backward Classes Cell and Hanumantha Rao is the secretary of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) and D. Srinivas, the Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) president.

Almost contemporaneous to this is, another leading backward castes, weavers of the state organized Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham. One of the prominent fighters and stalwart backward castes movement leaders, Konda Laxman Babuji started taking active part in the affairs of the Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham right from 1939 onwards. Konda Laxman came into contact with the Padmashali Youth Organization, the caste, with the other Backward Castes were subjected to various kind of atrocities by the then authorities, particularly in the extraction of the forced labour by the Vatandars, Zamindars and also by the Government officials. Konda Laxman with the help of a few

workers, started organizing Padmashali Youth even touring on bicycles in the districts, deriving immense support from the silent spade work, that was being done by Guntaka Narasaiah Panthulu. That was the beginning of a new awakening among the Padmashalis and a new experience for Konda Laxman as well. Since then he has actively participated in many conferences, including the conferences of all India Padmashali Mahasabha held at Solapur on 16th -18th May 1941. During this period an All-India Padmashali Yuvajana Conference was also held. Laxman for taking leading part in these conferences was elected a member of the working committee of the All-India Padmashali Yuvajana Mahasabha. In the same year he presided, for the first time, over the Padmashali Yuvajana Sabha at Nizampet in Sangareddy taluq of Medak district. In 1943, he had actively participated in the *Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Yuvajana Sangham* conference, held at Tulja Bhavan, Kachiguda, at Hyderabad. In 1944, he presided over the first *Padmasliali Kashta Nirvana Sabha* in Mortad, Armoor taluq of Nizambad district.

It was during this session that Konda Laxman as the president of the conference, gave a lead to the delegates and called upon them to chalk out a programme for the *Sangham* with the main aim of introducing social reforms and securing and safeguarding their social rights and privileges, with particular emphasis on educational problems and economic uplift of the community as a whole.

In the year 1945, Konda Laxman was chosen as the president of the *Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Maha Sabha* in the conference held on 4th-6th May 1945, at Sirisilla in Karimnagar district, where a three-folded programme as spelled out viz., social and cultural uplift, economic uplift and educational uplift¹¹.

Again a conference of the *Nizam Rashtra Padmashali Malta Sabha* was held at Warangal on 26th and 27th April 1946, presided over by Konda Laxman Bapuji

¹¹ Souvenir on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of Konda Lax man Bapuji on his 52nd birthday, 27-9-1966 at Hyderabad, PP. 14-15.

when the three-folded programme was reiterated and reaffirmed. Under the conditions then prevailing in the Nizam State, even the leaders of political parties and others in social and literary fields like Madapati Hanumantha Rao were encouraging even caste organizations, to awaken all sections of people and communities to assert their individual freedom.

Consequent on the new lead given by Konda Laxman Bapuji to the weavers as president of the Padmashali movement, greater attention was given to the problems facing the poor weavers, who were experiencing great hardship to earn their meager livelihood due to the controls on the yarn. As Padmashali was one of the fourteen or fifteen weaver's caste in the state, Laxman Bapuji thought it better and advisable in bringing the weavers of all castes under one organization. In the quest for a ready solution for them to better their lot, in the year 1943, he started a separate organization, which was then known as *Nizam Rashtra Handloom Weaver's Association*, of which he was the first president. Soon local committees were promoted at the Taluq and District levels. The association saw to it that the deserving got their yarn quota and also successfully put an end to the malpractices in the distribution of the controlled yarn¹². Besides the weavers found a movement of their own and association was in a position to make demands to the Government for the distribution of yarn to them through the Weaver's Association, which the Government, as expected, turned down.

Konda Laxman Bapuji took up the responsibility of organizing a conference of the All India Padmashali Mahasabha at Sindhawai in Chanda District Central Provinces and paid frequent visits to Nagapur and other important centres, besides Bombay, Pune and Sholapur. Along with this conference, the conferences of All India Padmashali Youth, and All India Padmashali were also held. Thus Padmashali movement in the Nizam State

¹² Ibid. p. 16.

could successfully mobilize the members of the weaving community from all parts of the country.

After the Police Action, the State Handloom Weaver's Association could claim magnificent achievements to its credit such as organizing primary weavers co-operative societies at grass-root level, establishment of HYCO and a Padmashali Hostel in the city of Hyderabad.

It was through Konda Laxman's concerted efforts that the Hyderabad State Government included all the weaver castes, consisting of fifteen communities in the list of Backward Classes, for the purpose of providing educational facilities, etc. He also encouraged different Backward Castes to organize and establish their own hostels for the poor students. He had actually participated in the activities, more or less of all the BC Hostels, including Gouda Hostel, Kurma Hostel, Bhavasara Kshatriya Hostel, Viswakarma Hostel and Gangaputra Community Hall and others-all located in Hyderabad.

The Padmashali movement is successful so far as weavers' cooperatives and caste-based hostels are concerned. Due to the efforts of the caste association in social reform to eradicate the social evils and education many people came up in the business and education and employment than any other backward caste, but in politics their performance is not up to the mark. Since, they have got a lot of sentiments towards Hinduism, most of them are in the BJP, and therefore, Narendra elected as M.P and Vanam. Jhansi Rani is the President of the state women wing of BJP. Now a days, Padmashalis are the rapidly marginalizing caste due to the decline of weaving industry.

Another important occupational community, which has been organizing since long time is the Gouda association. There are distinct caste-based organizations, which are working for the welfare of the Gouds¹³ (toddy tappers).

¹³ See for details, Ramabrahmam & Venkatesu.E, *'Role of Caste Associations-A case study'* in Balasubramanian (ed.) *Social and Economic Dimensions of Caste Organizations in South Indian States*, University of Madras, 2001.

These are (1) Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers & Workers Federation (APTTWF), which came into existence in 1950s politically nurtured by Communist Party of India; (2) Council for the Protection of the Rights of the Toddy Tapping Professional & Industrialists (CPTTPI), with the backing of Swantantra Party and Krushikar Lok Party in 1950s; (3) Goud officials & Professionals Association (GOPA) in 1980s.

As an occupational caste group in Andhra Pradesh toddy tappers have different caste names such as Ediga, Gouda, Srisaina, Settibalija, Yatha¹⁴ etc. Their counter parts in TamilNad, Karnataka and Kerala are known as Nadars, Edigas and Izhavas respectively. The tappers are the largest group among the backward castes. According to the estimations of the AP Toddy Tappers Associations the toddy tappers, demographically, constitute about 6% of the total population of Andhra Pradesh. The tappers lived in social structure located somewhere between Shudras and the outcastes or the untouchables. They occupy the last place along middle caste ladder. They have been described as "poor, but are not paupers, known to be rude and unlettered, yet, by many degrees, removed from a savage stage"¹⁵. In their oppressive routine, the majority of toddy tappers climbed, as many as 40 trees twice a day during the six months season, extracted toddy, which would then be made into jaggery/sugar are different forms of desserts and marketed in the form of drink. The tappers are concentrated predominantly in Telangana region. In other parts of the state, such as coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, they are scattered in every village. They took the brunt of social disabilities of their community. They were forced to reside out side the village itself in a street and were refused the service of washer man and barbers. Economically dependant tappers pay three types of taxes; tax

¹⁴ See for details, *Excise Policies and Political Mobilization-A case study of Toddy Tappers in Andhra Pradesh*, department of political science, University of Hyderabad, 1997.

¹⁵ Hard grave, Jr. Robert. L, *Political Participation and Primordial Solidarity: The Nadars of Tamilnadu*; Rajni Kothari (ed), Caste in Indian Politics, Orient Long man, New Delhi, 1986. p. 100,

on drawing the tree, sales tax to the government and tree tax to the landlord and also bribes (Mamuls) to the excise department and local goons. The tappers climbed the palmar trees during the tapping season and worked as agricultural labourers during the rest of the year¹⁶.

It must be mentioned that even in places where they are large in number their condition is worse than their counter parts of the two other regions. They serve the landed families. Individual surveys reveal that their condition remains unchanged over the years. The Toddy Tappers Associations has been making intensive efforts to politically sensitize and mobilize them. In mid-twentieth century a mass movement, led by the Communist Party of India, brought into its fold a good number of toddy tappers in Telangana region primarily fought against the Nizam's feudal domination, the Zamindars domination and colonial rule in coastal and Rayalaseema areas. Perhaps, this is the reason why still an overwhelming majority of toddy tappers continue to support the Communist Parties, especially in Telanagana region¹⁷. They saw the Communist Parties as their protectors, and in that they perceived the possibilities for economic change and advancement. Increasingly, with the support of Communist Parties the tappers could secure at least some benefits. Further through their economic position had not greatly improved; the ideology of the Communist Party had given the tappers a ray of hope for improvement from their sufferings under the dominance of the landlords during the Nizam rule. Despite economic subservience, the tappers appear to have found a new unity through the organization of the Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers & Workers Federation, and AP Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists Association. Further, education appears to have enabled rise of the toddy tappers into business classes.

¹⁶ Goud. B. Adinarayana Murthy, *Samagra Gondola Charitra (A Comprehensive history of Gonds)*, Sri Sarada Publications, Bheemavaram, West Godavari District, AP, 1993, p. 307.

¹⁷ Ramabrahmam and Venkatesu.E, opt, cit, p. 250.

It gave them a sense of economic independence. Laying of roads and other communication facilities appear to have broken down the barriers of spatial distance; the increasing interaction within the caste over a wide geographic area erased distinction between the endogamous sub-castes into which the community had been divided. This incidentally also paved the way for the formation of caste associations for political mobilization.

With the formation of AP Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation and Council for the Protection of the Toddy Tapping Professionals and industrialists began resisting the phase of the exploitative excise policies, such as monopoly phase, the commercial phase, the phase of reduction of indigenous liquor, of the Colonial government in the old Madras Presidency and, for instance the nazarana, the contract phase, the amani phase of the Nizam's government¹⁸. The colonial and Nizam's excise policies left the toddy tappers underdeveloped, backward, underprivileged, marginalized, illiterate and agricultural labourers' etc. The policies were formulated in a manner through which the rulers, the Zamindars, jagirdars, the landlords, the contractors and the excise staff got unduly enriched at the cost of an ordinary tapper. Even though, the rulers and the policies had been subjected to constant review, the position of the poor toddy tappers had remained unchanged even today in the rural areas. They had a highly impoverished, miserable, helpless and low standard of life. The roots of political mobilization of the deprived tappers can, therefore, be seen in the exploitative policies pursued by the Colonial State.

The movement of the toddy tappers can be explained in two folds (a) to liberate them from the exploitation of the feudal domination and age old colonial and feudal policies by massive mobilization, and (b) the incremental approach, i.e., to improve their low economic status and accommodate them in power-sharing gradually in the post-independent political process.

¹⁸ See for details, Venkatesu.E, opt, cit M.Phil thesis.

An attempt is made to study these two in regard to the mobilization aspect of the movement and the political accommodation. It calls for presenting the genesis, growth, and internal dynamics of the movement and the state response to such processes.

The earlier part of this association, referring to the position of the toddy tappers in the Colonial Madras Presidency and Nizam's region, contain information as to how, through different policies they were exploited. Meanwhile, as a response to their plight, leadership emerged, which articulated the conditions and worked for greater politicization of the community and spearheaded the movement focusing on the issues.

Free India created an atmosphere for mobilization of toddy tappers. They reacted to their oppressive conditions by forming an association based on caste identity first in Telangana in 1930s Coastal Andhra in 1940s. The formation of the Goud Sangham is especially noteworthy. Formed in 1955 in the Hyderabad State with the toddy tappers of Nalgonda, Khammam, Warangal, and Karimnagar. The Andhra Toddy Tapers and Workers Federation actively worked during the same period. Initially there were not many interactions among the caste associations of Andhra and Telangana. Soon after Independence, the toddy tappers transcended their caste identity and felt the need to organize more on the issue of the rights of the toddy tappers to begin with and then on their caste solidarity. The euphoria of the radical left movement in Telangana and nationalist movement in the Madras Presidency further added to the consolidation of the political organization of the leadership irrespective of the party affiliations. All those who felt victimized joined together setting aside their regional and ideological stances.

It must, however be stated in this context that there was resistance to the moves for mobilization from power brokers and contractors within the Goud community for a state level organization, as they perceived it a threat to their control and leadership then. Despite this, the leaders belonging to the Telangana

and Andhra attended a meeting in 1956 in Hyderabad. In which two significant decisions were taken. Firstly it was decided to unite the two regional associations of toddy tappers of Telangana and Andhra and secondly, it was decided to hold the first state level conference of the newly constituted Andhra Pradesh Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation at Garla of Khammam district in 1957.

The conference, (held in 1957) at Khammam, set the agenda phase. It came out with specific demands, including the abolition of auction system, group auctioning of societies, sanctioning of toddy shops to villages, lifting of prohibition, land patta, educational facilities to the kin of the toddy tappers, and the publication of the excise laws.

A parallel development at the same time deserves mention here. Under the leadership of Sardar Gouth Lachchanna an organization called "Council for the Protection of the Rights of the Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists" came into existence. Following the strategy of petition, the Council ventilated the grievances of its members with a mandate to help its entrepreneurial class.

These associations continuously put the pressure on the government through petitions, memorandums, dharnas, demonstrations, public meetings and formation of the all India Toddy Tappers & Workers Federation in 1970 to demand the State and Central governments to make policies on (a) tree for tapper scheme and toddy tappers co-operative societies, (b) welfare measures, (c) ex-gratia for those who fall down from the trees, (d) providing employment opportunity, (e) old age pension, (f) maternity allowance to the woman workers, (g) providing fund and insurance coverage, (h) a separate machinery for regulating and implementing the programmes and their welfare measures.

In response to the massive mobilization of the toddy tappers, the Government of Andhra Pradesh abolished the *Harraj* (auction) system. Political compulsions than welfare of the toddy tappers appear to have prompted the Congress in AP to abolish the *Harraj* system. Realizing the strong base for the

TDP-left combine among the toddy tappers, the Congress in AP tried to wean away considerable number of Gouds from their hold by abolition of *Harraj* system in 1993.

The TDP as a political strategy since 1995 has been continuing its political patronage of the toddy tappers. The following decisions reflect this trend. The strategy is to nurture its political constituency.

(A), Hike in the ex-gratia

(B), Bringing all sub-castes of the toddy tappers community under an umbrella caste called 'Goud' through an executive order

©, Allocation of five acres of land to the tappers co-operative societies to grow the trees.

The toddy tappers achieved some of their demands due to continuous organized efforts by the committed and articulate leaders and support of the political parties. But at this juncture, where the globalization rapidly marginalizing the caste based occupations and destroying the sources of livelihoods without alternative sources, therefore, now the mobilization of the toddy tappers should be to counter globalization, while aligning with similar traditional occupational groups to protect their rights.

In addition to the major caste organizations, such as Munnurkapu, Padmashali and Gouds, the other Backward Castes have successfully organized their own associations. Some of the associations are: National Association of Fishermen, Andhra Pradesh unit, Sree Nayee Brahmana Sabha, Andhra Pradesh Mudiraj Association, A.P; Vishwa Brahman Sangham, A.P; Rajaka Sangham (Washer men Association), A.P; Surbhash Association, etc. All these individual organizations have been struggling for protection of their occupational rights and they have been serving as agencies of recruitment of political elite from time to time.

It seems from the above analysis of the role of caste associations in the social mobilization of their caste people that the first generation of leaders, who

were influenced by the contemporary movements have realized about the social deprivation of the lower castes or their caste fellows, therefore, they have started the caste associations for the organization, hostels for their students, trusts for the scholarships and other financial activities. Based on these activities of the caste associations, later, the government of Andhra Pradesh adopted providing hostel and scholarship facilities as part of the social welfare policy.

These caste associations also, from the very beginning demanding for the protection of their economic base by forming the occupational cooperative societies for all those castes, which are practicing the traditional occupations, and these are the caste associations, which contributed to the emergence of the federation of caste associations such as the backward caste Associations. These organizations are playing their own role in the consolidation of the Backward Castes Movement, while developing their own individual identities. The Backward Caste Associations have been playing the role of preparing its people to participate in the newly emerged democratic political system by organizing, mobilizing, articulating their interests and participate in the political process as voters, pressure group organizers, and contenders in the elections.

2) Federation of Caste Associations:

The concept of federation of caste associations refers to a grouping together of a number of distinct endogamous groups into a single organization for common objectives, the realization of which calls for a pooling together of resources or numbers, or both. By and large, the objectives pursued are secular associational, although the employment of traditional symbols for evoking a sense of solidarity and loyalty towards the new form is not uncommon. The traditional distinctions between the federating groups are on the whole retained, but the search for a new organizational identity and the pursuit of political objectives gradually lead to shift in-group orientations. A caste federation is, therefore, to be distinguished from a caste association both because of the range of social reality that it covers, and because of its search for an inclusive rather

than a 'functional' identity. The former often takes a class or *Varna* form and cuts across the ascriptive identity of caste in its *jati* form. The caste federation is thus no mere agency of an endogamous group or groups set up for undertaking a specific task. Rather, it represents a new notion of caste organization based on real or supposed sharing of interests and status attributes, and gives rise to its own symbolism.

The formation and purpose of caste associations and federations have expanded the *jati's* boundaries and the ambit of caste fellowship. These developments have been accompanied by the propagation and spread by caste associations of norms that challenge the validity of established endogamous boundaries, most commonly by calling for their expansion to other hitherto endogamous groups within the *jati*, similar *jatis*, or fellow *Varna* members, rarely by calling for their destruction.

By pursuing the goals of social mobility, self-help, and political power, caste associations and federations have played a major role in the decompression of village life. Reaching out toward state and national legislative constituencies, *Zilla parishads*, *Mandals* and village *panchayats*, state secretariats and assemblies, and even the government in Delhi and the politics of the nation has educated and elevated caste consciousness. In attempting to share power and shape decisions in such contexts caste structure and norms have broadened. If the pursuit of political power has engaged the ambition of those enveloped in village and caste parochialism, it has also aroused their imaginations, led them to larger and more inclusive identities, and placed them in contexts of action that are structurally more specific but effectively less intense. The drift of power, profit, and honour away from the locality is not likely to make Indian villages into bedroom suburbs, but it is breaking their ancient monopoly on all aspects of life. It would be relevant here to discuss the social mobilization of the backward castes from 1949 to 2003 or from the demand for reservations to share in the political power. There is one major shift in the mobilization process of the

backward castes in post-independence period. The shift is in response to the change of political system, which was liberated from the colonial rule and incarnated as the democratic regime, therefore, the nationalist leaders from the backward castes realized that in order to get the lion's share in the new political system, it is essential to have a broad based organization of the backward castes to organize, mobilize, articulate and put the pressure on the rulers to make favorable policies. Demand for the policy making was absent during the pre-independence period, when the backward castes organized through the instrument of the caste association, which had mobilized its resources from the respective castes for the construction of the association's hostels, for the trusts and cooperatives and other activities. But in the post-independent period the backward castes associations demanding and fighting for the formulation of the policies through mobilizing the resources from their castes.

The Backward classes Mahasabha for the first time formed and conducted a meeting in 1949 at Guntur with the influence of self-respect movement led by Ramaswamy Naicker in TamilNad. Sardar Gouth Lacchanna, being a MLA of the ruling Congress party in the Madras Assembly, pioneered in establishing the Backward Classes Mahasabha. Lachhanna is closely associated with the anti-colonial and anti-zamindari movements and a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi and N.G. Ranga. He was the founder of the INTUC (a trade union affiliated to Congress party) in Andhra Pradesh. Like any other backward caste leader he also initiated the reform activities among the toddy tappers. But participated in burning of the toddy shops, when the call was given by Gandhi and Congress to ban the liquor during freedom movement, after independence he supported the cause of the tappers by starting Counsel for the Protection of the Rights of Toddy Tapping Professionals and Industrialists. In the post-independence period he was in Congress, Swantantra, Janata, Lokdal and Bahujan Samaj party. He worked for some time as social welfare and labour minister in T. Prakasham Panthulu cabinet of Madras Presidency.

Lacchanna was elected as the president of the Backward Classes Mahasabha and Tulabandula Nageswara Rao was the general secretary. In the first conference itself the B.C Mahasabha demanded for the introduction of 'reservations'¹⁹ in educational institutions, employment and scholarships for the students and free education till the end of high school for the backward castes, just like Madras government, where education and employment facilities are provided to those who were denied the basic human rights for centuries together. Lacchanna not only confined demanding the Government to introduce reservations for the backward castes but also organised the public meetings and awareness camps for the public support in the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency. Neither the Andhra government, which did not form after the separation of Andhra in 1953, nor Andhra Pradesh Government came into existence in 1956, responded to the backward castes demands.

Similar organisations were existed in Telangana under the leadership of Konda Laxman Bapuji. Konda Laxman Bapuji immediately after his victory in the first General Elections as M.L.A held in 1952 started taking keen interest in organising the Backward Castes for their social, economic and educational progress. The experience he had gained during his election campaign in the backward areas of Adilabad district, where he saw for himself the pitiable plight of the hill-tribes and other Backward Castes, made him decide to mobilise all the disadvantaged castes for their common betterment. He was also minister for sometime. In Hyderabad State Bojjam Narasimhulu organised the backward castes. He was the first leader to organise Hyderabad Backward Castes Association and strove hard for its consolidation. In 1953, he was a co-opted member of the first all India Backward classes Commission headed by Kakasaheb Kalelkar and toured the entire state along with the Commission. Later he wrote a book on the problems of backward classes. He was the president of

¹⁹ Appalaswamy. V, *Sardar Gouth Lacchanna (Jeevitha charithra) (Biography of Sardar Gouth Lacchanna)*, Shramika Ryothanga-Janavignana-Peetam, Vishakhapatnam, 1990.pp., 406-7.

the reception committee of the Hyderabad State Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes Conference held in 1954 at Hyderabad. On 8th May 1954, the Hyderabad Backward Classes Association was started with Bojjam Narasimhulu as its first president. He was a member of the Standing Committee of all India Aborigines Association.

In response to formation of Andhra Pradesh and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's, the then chief minister of the State, attitude of intolerance and looking down the weaker sections in general and backward castes in specific led to the merging of the four backward classes associations paving the way for emergence of the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (APBCA) after the formation of Andhra Pradesh with Andhra, Telangana and Hyderabad as the united state. Four of the Backward Class Associations, which merged into the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association, were Andhra Backward Classes Association (A. Bhagavantha Rao was president and Gouth Lacchanna was the secretary), Andhra Congress Backward Classes Association (Pragada Kotaiah was the president), Hyderabad Backward Classes Association (Bojjam Narasimhulu was the president) and Telangana Backward Classes Association (Konda Lakshman Bapuji). The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association was formed in 1957 with the initiative taken by Annam Viswantham irrespective of political parties.

The newly formed united Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (APBC Association) is representing for the spirit of nationalism and democracy. All the first generation of the backward caste leaders directly participated in the anti-colonial movement and got the rich experience of organising their specific caste people to change themselves in response to the changed socio-economic conditions and they also elected as the representatives of the public. The anxiety of all these leaders in forming the APBC Association was that to involve the backward caste people in the post-independent democratic political system.

When the newly formed APBC Association leaders met the chief minister Sanjeeva Reddy for his blessings, he asked the then social welfare minister D. Sanjeevaiah to enquire that whether the association is formed for the welfare of the backward classes or for something else. The basic interest of Sanjeeva Reddy was that Lacchanna should not become the president of the APBC Association, because he is associated with the opposition group led by N.G. Ranga against Sanjeeva Reddy. Meanwhile, Lacchanna came to know the intentions of the chief minister and openly declared that he is not interested in becoming the president of the BC Association, even if the leaders propose his name. That is why the ex-mayor of Hyderabad had assumed the first president of the newly formed APBC Association.

In 1958, Lacchanna was invited to the first anniversary of the APBC Association, none-of the Congress BC leaders attended meeting, but they all supported Lacchanna to be elected as the president. In this anniversary itself he was elected as the president and once again demanded for the reservations in the government institutions.

The Chief Minister Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy instead of introducing the reservations for the upliftment of the backward castes started creating factions within the backward classes by forming another Andhra Pradesh Congress Backward Classes Association under the chairmanship of Konda Laxman Bapuji in 1959 and to defame Lacchanna among the backward castes. Therefore, it is Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was responsible for the planting of faction and caste politics in the state by creating political rivalry within the same groups.

Despite the hurdles created by Sanjeeva Reddy, in order to make the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association as part of the All India Backward Classes Federation (AIBCF), which was established in 1950, Gouth Lacchanna, as president of the APBC Association, participated in its convention at Delhi in 1959. Babu Jagjeevan Ram inaugurated the convention, the then union agriculture minister and chairman of the All India Backward Classes Association

Punjab Rao was the president and Gouth Lachhanna was the convenor. In this convention the extensive discussion took place on the first all India Backward Classes Commission, i.e. Kakakalelkar Commission.

The important resolutions of the convention were 1) the recommendations of the Kakakalelkar Commission that all women should be identified as the backward classes should be dropped. 2) The backward classes list should be announced and 3) Memorandum should be submitted to the union government. As convenor of the co-ordination committee Lachhanna and others met the union home minister Govind Vallab Pant and memorandum was submitted.

Lachhanna also participated in the all India Backward Classes Conference, which was held after seven years of gap, conducted by All-Indian Backward Classes Federation in 1966 at Delhi, which was attended by about 1000 delegates from all over the country. In this conference several speakers stressed that the Other Backward Classes are educationally and economically backward, therefore, the caste criterion should be adopted. They pleaded for the abolition of the *jajmani* system in which the landlords exploited the artisan and serving castes and declared that the Brahmin-Baniya raj should end.

After a gap of six years from that of All-India Backward Classes Federation meeting in 1966 at Delhi, the Congress backward caste leaders of Andhra Pradesh in order to impress on the Central Government an "All India Backward Classes Conference-Rally" was organised on 22nd February, 1972 at Hyderabad to which the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi was invited and a memorandum was submitted to do away with the discrimination between privileged and under privileged classes forever.

The Congress Backward Classes leaders of Andhra Pradesh such as Konda Laxman Babuji and K. V. Keshavulu took initiative in mooted the idea of organising a South Zone Conference of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities in collaboration with Devraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka. Their efforts fructified and a South Zone Conference was held at

Bangalore on 28th October 1973, which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi. A large number of delegates from the Southern states- Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, Karnataka and Kerala- representing the weaker sections lent special significance to the conference. This is the first such Conference to be held and it is worth noting that all the weaker sections of the South Indian states have come together on a common platform to ask for a just allocation of the benefits of planning and development. The Conference devoted its time for evolving acceptable criteria for determining backwardness and device measures to help the B.C, S.C, STs., and Minorities reach a level of equality with the forward section of the community. It reiterated the demand that "the vast majority of the people belonging to the weaker sections and the party (Congress) cannot afford to ignore the strength of the weak as otherwise it would go the way the elephant did in the quick sand"²⁰.

Though there is strong feeling of deprivation among the backward castes at the national level, the backward classes conventions have become occasional meetings rather than continuous movement to give the direction with the proclaimed aims and objectives and values with vision.

If this was the pattern of the activities of the backward caste leaders at the national level, at the state level different type of activities are taking place. The decision of the Andhra Pradesh High Court annulling the Government policy of giving reservations for the Backward Castes created a big stir in the Backward Castes Movement. The different Backward Castes Associations held a joint meeting on 27th May 1971 under the chairmanship of M. Govinda Chary at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad. The three stalwarts of the BC movement in the state, Gouth Lachhanna, Konda Laxman Bapuji and Bojjam Narasimhulu attended the meeting to form a Joint Action Committee to fight for the reservations in the Supreme Court.

²⁰ Address by Devaraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka at South Zone Conference of Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Minorities held at Bangalore on 28th October 1973.

The Congress Government in the state led by Kasu Brahmananda Reddy wedded to the cause of the upliftment of weaker sections in the society, took initiative in organising a Backward Class Conference at Vijayawada. "Backward Classes Congress" was constituted under the chairmanship of A. Bhagavantha Rao, a prominent B.C leader of the state. It was treated as a wing of the Congress party and thus regarded as political organisations. The other organisation of the BCs known as Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Congress led by Konda Laxman Bapuji was claimed to be non-political organisation since members in this organisation hailed not only from different political affiliations but Government service as well.

Even during the regime of PV. Narsimha Rao as the Chief Minister of the State, a B.C Conference was held at Vijayawada in 1972 under the Chairmanship of Chadalawada Venkateswara Rao, M. P. as a part of the mobilisation of the weaker sections for undertaking ameliorative steps as well as to create his own BC leader in the state.

The next important milestone in the history of Backward Class Movement was that the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association held its fourth Conference on 10th-11th February 1979 under Chairmanship of Gouth Lacchanna, at Hyderabad to focus the attention of the Government on various problems concerning backward castes. The Conference held its meetings at Bojjam Nagar (Nizam College Grounds) Hyderabad. The Conference was well attended by members of all lower castes, such as Harijans, Girijans and other socially, educationally Backward Castes. The distinguished leaders who attended the conference included the then Deputy Prime Minister, Babu Jagan Jeevan Ram, the Union Minister of state for Home, Dhanik Lal Mandal, the Backward Classes Commission Chairman, B.P. Mandal, the Chief Ministers of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Karpoori Thakur and Ram Naresh Yadav respectively. Gouth Lacchanna in his presidential speech recalled the services of some prominent National leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Ram Manohar

Lohia, Periyar E. V. Rama Swamy Naicker, Anna Dorai, Tripuraneni Rama Swamy Choudhary, C. Rajagopalachary, etc. He asserted that the injustices that were perpetrated on weaker sections for about 5,000 years have now created intensive problems to Harijans, Girijans, and Backward Classes. He observed²¹ "the problem did not arise because the Backward Classes are uniting and mobilising but it is the Indian society and its leadership that has created and nurtured the problems for Backward Castes. The Backward Castes are now getting united only with a view to solve the problems and pave way for all-round development of Indian Society but not to complicate the issue".

In this Conference itself, Gouth Lacchanna held that mobilisation of all Backward Classes on one common platform would do away with sectarian, casteist tendencies and finally pave the way for the eradication of casteism. But it is certainly not meant to aggravate the caste menace²². He demanded for social equality and gave call to the backward classes to continue the movement in order to realise the objective.

R. Krishnaiah started, another, Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Welfare Association in 1970s as its president. Krishnaiah started with social welfare scholarships agitation, while being a student in Osmania University, later there is a wide spread feeling among the backward castes that he is being sponsored as spokesperson of the BCs by successful Chief ministers of the State. From the beginning association has been struggling for the interests of the backward castes. The APBC Welfare Association has been concentrating on education, employment and reservation in the political institutions. It has been fighting for the protection of right to education and employment also. In order to make

²¹ Presidential speech of Gouth Lacchanna at the *Fourth Conference of Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association* held at Hyderabad. Dated 10th-11th February 1979 in the Souvenir published on the occasion, pp.1-2.

²² Ibid.P.2

aware of the backward castes about their rights, it has been organising training camps, conferences, dharnas, and keep on submitting the memorandums to the state and central Governments. It is also taking up the issues of the unemployed of all categories like SCs, STs, BCs, and OCs. When we study the history of APBC Welfare Association, it has solved many problems of unemployed even than the backward castes such as recruitment for the teachers, nurses, excise constables, engineers, physically challenged, cheque power to the sarpanches etc. In solving the problems of unemployed it has adopted the strategy of press notes, dharnas, half-naked demonstrations, signature campaigns etc, through which the organisation put the pressure on the government for the immediate action. The organisation is actively working for not only the collective problems but in lobbying the individual problems as well.

The APBC Welfare Association has got the committees of all the districts in the state. It has BC Employees, Women, Youth and Students wings to work at various levels. As far as elections are concerned the association campaigns for the BC candidate and strongly believes in the slogan of the "BC votes for the BC candidates". But the association is yet to take the decision on the issue if two candidates happen to be backward castes; the organisation has no clarity on this important issue. Krishnaiah is also lacking substantial ideological base in criticising rulers and policies.

After defeat of the Congress in 1983 elections, the BCs within the party got together and formed another Congress APBC Association and convention was held under the chairmanship of the then union minister Shivashankar and T. Balagoud was elected as the president, but the prominent Congress Backward Classes leader Konda Laxman Bapuji did not attend this convention. The convention demanded implementation of the Muralidhar Rao Commission report for the backward classes.

In 1984 the AP Backward Classes Association led by Gouth Lacchanna held the public meeting in Nizam College ground, the chief minister NT. Rama

Rao was the chief guest. In this public meeting also the backward classes leaders brought it to the notice of NTR that the recommendations of the Muralidhar Rao be implemented.

With the success of the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association (Sangham) public meeting at Hyderabad, the other associations of backward classes led by Balagoud, Konda Laxman Bapuji decided to hold a BC conference at Tirupathi under the leadership of Lacchanna. The important resolution of the Tirupathi conference was to implement the Mandal Commission at the centre and Muralidhar Rao Commission at the state.

Samasanghrshana Samithi came into being in 1986, when the government of Andhra Pradesh, during N.T.Rama Rao period, announced to implement the recommendations of Muralidhar Rao Commission to increase backward classes reservations from 25% to 44%, and to lead the pro-reservation movement. As soon as Government announced increase in reservations, the anti-reservation agitation was started by the upper castes. In order to counter the anti-reservation movement the Samasanghrshana Samithi began to mobilise the backward classes all over the state to protect the reservations. The Navasanghrshana Samithi, which was leading the anti-reservation movement, got the support from political parties, bureaucracy, finance, media, and finally judiciary²³.

Due to heterogeneous character of the backward classes, lack of support from the media, bureaucracy, political parties and finance, the pro-reservation movement might not be as strong as the anti-reservation movement but it was supported by the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, the Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha and other S.C, ST, and B.C employees Associations. With the verdict of the AP High Court against the backward classes, the anti-reservation movement was withdrawn. Whereas the Samasanghrshana Samithi appealed in the Supreme Court.

²³ Naragoni, V.G.R, *Bahujan Samaj Party in Andhra Pradesh*, Geetha Publications, Hyderabad, 1989, Pp., 34-36.

Another instance, which mobilized all the deprived castes, is the 1990 anti-Mandal agitation. This can be mentioned as the most significant period to come together and formed a broad pro-Mandal front, to fight for the cause of social justice, with various associations such as the Backward Classes, the Dalits, and Progressive Democratic forces. As part of solidarity of the other backward Classes the dalits and the progressive democratic forces distributed the pamphlets, booklets, conducted the seminars, public meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, dharnas and strikes for the protection of the democratic rights of the backward classes.

The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Federation came into existence in 1990s before the assembly and parliament elections under the leadership of Akurathi Mural Krishna and Jnaneshwar Mudiraj with slogan of the political power to the backward classes and disappeared after elections, when some of these leaders got positions in the mainstream political parties. There is another organization called Andhra Pradesh Backward Castes Federation led by Venkateswarlu Yadav and Vinjamuri Babu Rajak. The organization is active in Nellore and other coastal districts. It has been conducting the periodic meetings on backward castes issues and awareness and pro-BC candidate campaigns during elections.

In the Region of Rayalassema, the Akhila Rayalaseema Backward Classes Association (ARBCA) came into existence in 2003 and affiliated to Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes United Front. A.P. Ramaiah Yadav active in Yadava Sangham and sometime in Anna TDP (HariKrishna) and NTRTDP (Lakshmi Parvathi). With the failure of these parties and his defeat in the elections as M.L.A forced him to form the association. Nagaseshanna Goud active in Gouda Sangham and worked for sometime in APBC Welfare Association (Krishnaiah) and fed up with its activities and joined in the ARBC Association. The important aims of the organization are proportional representation and need for the formation of separate backward castes political party in the state.

The Backward Classes United Front came into existence in the year 2003 on the occasion of completing hundred years of reservations to unite 93 backward castes. V.G.R. Naragoni is the convenor of the front is a Government employee by choice, activist in the left, dalitbahujan literary and cultural organisations and directly and indirectly the brain behind the Bahujan Samaj Party in the state. As far as his understanding of the social movements are concerned it is quite well. The important criticism of the BC United Front on the backward classes movement in the state since 1949 is that it has confined only to the reservations, it has no ideological base to autonomous character and limited to the educated middle class backward classes and finally either the organisations or the leaders are affiliated to political parties. That is why the BC United Front decided to prepare as many leaders as possible from the backward castes with the theoretical base of Mahatma Jothibha Phule, Narayana Guru, Periyar Rama Swamy Naicker, Ambedkar and Sardar Gouth Lachhanna. In order to unite the various castes of the backward classes the strategy is to form the committees at the village level. It says that there are backward castes people in each and every village but there are no backward castes association in every village. Another intention of the village level BC committees is that to practice the principle of the transformation of the vote bank, as an alternative strategy to increase the number of BC MLAs. The strategy is in response to failure of the State in introducing the reservations for the BCs in the Legislative bodies and political parties in giving the proportional seats to contest in the elections. The transformation of the vote bank means, suppose, if there is a candidate from any one of 93 BC castes on the BC United Front, the remaining BC castes should cast their votes to that particular candidate only. Even if there is a BC candidate on any dominant caste political party in the same elections, BCs should cast their votes to the BC Front candidate only²⁴. This experiment is in the process, one has to wait and see for the results in future.

²⁴ See for details BC *United Front*, *bulletin no. 1.*, Hyderabad, March-April 2003.

In the history of backward castes movement, every decade has at least one significant event, for instance establishment of the Backward Classes Association in 1940s, merging of the various backward castes associations into Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association in 1950s after the formation of the state, Government decision to appoint the Backward Classes Commission in the state and rejection by the High Court in 1960s, decision to implement the reservations for the backward classes in the government education and employment institutions in 1970s, anti-reservation agitation against Muralidhar Rao in 1980s, decision to implement reservations in the central government employment for OBCs and proliferation of the BC media in 1990s with number of journals like B.C Today, Janavani, B.C Times, B. C Media, and B.C Garjana etc. The caste-based deprivation is recognised by the Telugu dailies such as Vaartha, Prajasakthi to have a discussion on the backward caste issues and an initiation to launch the ideological and autonomous backward classes movement in new millennium.

When we look at the associational aspect, there are two types within the backward castes associations, such as the Backward Castes Associations or the leaders are affiliated to the political parties, and the Backward Castes Associations committed for the cause and ideological struggle. The strategy of backward castes associations to influence decision making is through mobilising backward caste people to strengthen their identity and put the pressure on the rulers for policy matters through organising the meetings, inviting rulers to conventions, Dharnas and submission of the memorandums both at the state level and national level. Important demands of the Backward Castes Associations are combination of educational, employment, economic and political (see annexure-6). An analysis of the working of the Backward Classes organisations has proved that they have been acting as interest groups

performing the interest articulating functions and in turn moulding the policy of the Government from time to time. It is interesting to note that these community associations have been symbolising both tradition and modernity manifesting themselves into primordial structures as well as modern functional structures.

The Backward Castes, being an integral part of the body politic, is not lagging behind in responding to the demands of parliamentary democracy. Thus by their consistent political participation, right from the time of nation's struggle for independence could develop a considerable level of politicisation among themselves. This fact is better illustrated by ever-increasing number of political leaders hailing from Backward Castes elite and thus strengthening the base of the Backward Castes mobilisation. A deeper investigation in the dynamics of Backward Castes Movement has made it clear that the different backward classes organisations could bring about a spectacular process of socialisation among its members living in every nook and corner of the State. The Movement was not simply confined to urban areas only, but it could successfully reach the far off hamlets in rural areas.

The Backward Castes Mobilisation in the State of Andhra Pradesh, despite its humble beginning, has been gaining from strength to strength and today the Backward Castes constitute one of the most preponderant forces in the fast moving dynamics of the state politics. But at the same time, it is quite evident from the fact that any one of the distinguished leaders of the backward classes is not leading the state of Andhra Pradesh until today by setting aside the dominant caste leaders.

The first generation of the backward caste leaders correctly understood the changed political situation and also changed the nature of backward classes organisations, they were also successful in launching the united state level Backward Classes Association, but when they come to the process of consolidation from the grass root level the dominant caste political rulers are more successful in dividing, creating factions and fragmenting them.

However, a deeper diagnosis of the Backward Castes Movement in Andhra Pradesh reveals that it suffers from three-fold maladies, namely quest for a common identity, elitism, and leadership crisis. The Backward Castes movement is the handiwork of different castes and community organisations such as Munnur Kapu Association, Toddy Tappers Association, Padmashali Association, and Fishermen's Association etc. Each of these caste organisations developed their own individual identities, championing the cause of their own brethren, but paradoxically enough overlooked the evolution of a common identity for the Backward Castes Movement as such. Each individual caste association, while struggling for its own legitimate rights and existence must simultaneously identify itself with over all Backward Castes Movement. In doing so, they help the backward caste movement to strengthen and finally pave the way for political platform. Thus the need of the hour is evolution of a common identity for the Backward Castes Movement. The identity and ideology of the backward castes are important tools, which are helpful in consolidating the backward castes movement in the state. These two are still in the process of evolving to strengthen the movement since 1949, when the first Andhra Backward Castes Association was formed.

Lack of autonomous or independent backward castes movement from the time of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy to contemporary rulers of Andhra Pradesh, all most all the Chief Ministers always tried to divide the backward castes organisations. Every Chief Minister created his own BC leader and association to weaken the mainstream movement and to protect ruling class/caste from the threat of the backward castes unity.

Another disturbing development among the backward castes in recent times has been an unhealthy growth of elitist tendencies, thus restricting the benefits of socio-economic development to a privileged few. This tendency has to be curbed by a process of democratisation of the movement, ensuring distributive justice to the underdog as well.

In recent times one more harmful aspect of the movement has been the rise of leadership crisis among the B.Cs organisations. Identity crisis of the leaders goes against the very spirit of the Backward Castes Movement seeking for equality. Introduction of power politics and group approach has led to factional politics in Backward Class Organisations. The best palliative for doing away factionalism in the Backward Class organisations is to put aside individual rivalries and each identifying himself with the movement of the downtrodden for the realisation of their common objectives.

One important limitation of the backward castes movement is that it never demanded for the implementation of the land reforms, therefore, the movement was unable to break the dominance of the landed dominant communities in the state politics, because the main device of the dominant communities in Andhra Pradesh is the land.

Another limitation of the backward castes mobilization is that in the process of globalisation, the entire Indian economy is getting privatised, which is big threat to the reservation policy of the weaker sections. That is why the backward classes movement is neither strongly opposing the privatisation process nor demanding for reservations in the private sector. The entire process of mobilization is limited to the demands of educated middle classes of the backward classes. Since it doesn't have the mass character, therefore, the backward classes in Andhra Pradesh are lagging behind in capturing the political power, when we compare with backward castes movement of TamilNad, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where they have captured the leadership of the political parties, but in Andhra Pradesh still the political parties sabotaging the backward castes rather than the latter capturing the former.

3) Political Parties:

The third and important instrument in the mobilisation of the backward castes is political party. In the adoption of modern institutions of representative government to traditional societies, political parties play the decisive role. In

every modern polity, which aspires to modernity, political parties are an indispensable link between the society and the institutions of government. In traditional societies undergoing modernisation and political development, political parties have the double task of providing stable government and of bringing new groups of people into the political process while orienting them toward the political and economic goals of the modern state. With the expansion of adult franchise, it has become inevitable to the political parties to mobilise the people around its ideology, principles and activities to get the support and votes in order to capture the state power.

In a democratic polity based on the system of representation, political parties formulate policies for the socio-economic and political development of the country's population. Parties put into practise the public opinion, which they have been instrumental in moulding and expressing. They help in the formulation and expression of a general will which is the core of democracy. Parties provide the institutional means of initiating, sustaining and accelerating change and of absorbing impact of change.

Political parties in India like several other third World countries form a complex network of national, regional and local interests. In a multiple-identity country like India, successful operation of the political parties lies in accommodating all sections of the society and fulfilling their interests. Now it is relevant here to examine how far the political parties are successful in mobilising, accommodating and fulfilling the interests of the backward castes, who constitute major part of the population in Andhra Pradesh.

The parliamentary political parties strategies, whether left, right and centre or national and regional in mobilizing the backward castes are in three ways to making them as the vote bank, control and create the loyal leaders from the backward castes; one is supporting the policy matters, second is providing party leadership and third is distribution of tickets. As a part of mobilization of the backward castes, the left parties started awakening the occupational groups

about their rights since Telangana armed rebellion. But the formation of occupational caste associations was begun way back to the Telangana armed rebellion and peasant movement in coastal Andhra. For example Hyderabad State weaver's association, Gouda association, Yadav association, in coastal Andhra there was Andhra region Gouda association and other caste associations. It indicates that the associations of occupational groups existed in the pre-independence period itself. These associations put pressure on the contemporary political parties to fight for their interests in the post-independent period. The Communist party gave them modern political shape by affiliating to the party like AP Toddy Tappers and Workers Federation and the AP Occupational and Professionals Association affiliated to the Communist Party of India. The geographical area of these occupational associations has been expanded with the formation of separate Andhra Pradesh. The Communist party extended its full-fledged support to these occupational groups in mobilizing, articulating and putting the pressure on the state to formulate the suitable policies, like occupational co-operative societies and they have been taking initiation in educating and mobilizing the occupational groups to oppose the globalisation process, which has been adversely hitting the traditional occupations. But the entire concentration of the left supporting occupational associations is limited to the economic demands only.

With regard to the question of reservations the CPI has been supporting special provisions for SC, STs and BCs. In 1957 manifesto it demanded implementation of the assurance given in the Constitution to SCs, STs and BCs. It also demanded the extension of the period of assurance.

After split in 1964, the CPI in 1967 election manifesto bestowed serious attention on the evil influence of casteism and communalism. It strongly believed a powerful ideological campaign and education alone could attack and eradicate the very roots of casteist thinking in all layers of the society. Remnants of a caste,

the party felt, are a hindrance to the solidarity of the working class as a standard bearer of the future society of democracy, equality and socialism.

In its 1971 election manifesto, the CPI pleaded for the amendment of the special provisions relating to the rights of SC STs and BCs to make them more comprehensive and effective for enduring their all-round development. Condemning discrimination and atrocities on weaker sections as disgraceful and scandalous, the party pleaded for the special measures for removal of social disabilities. In 1980 manifesto it favoured the appointment of a high power panel consisting of the members of SC, ST, and backward castes to ensure the benefits of various fiscal policies of the Government to the weaker sections.

The CPI along with the CPM vehemently condemned the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat in 1981. It explained at length why the policy of reservation was originally adapted in order to alleviate some of the inequalities and handicaps from which SCs, STs and certain other backward communities suffered due to the remnant of an age old and out moded socio-economic system. Supporting the present policy of reservations, the party, however, is convinced that " reservation, while it serves to build confidence among the various, communities, cannot by itself solve the problems of uplifting the socially and economically handicapped communities. The fact that the SCs and STs continued to languish and live in degradation and backwardness even thirty years after the policy of reservation began shows that reservation by itself is no solution.... It is essential to bring about far-reaching socio-economic transformation... that this is a task that successive bourgeoisie Governments in our country have ignored..."²⁵ The CPM have more or less, views similar to the CPI.

When the National Front at the centre announced for the implementation of 27% reservations for the Other Backward Castes in 1990, the CPI was the first to come out in defence of the reservations. The CPI (M) central committee has

²⁵ New Age, April 26.1981.

taken two weeks to formulate its pro-Mandal stand with the internal differences among the leaders. Interestingly enough, none of these left parties had the Mandal Commission Report in their election manifesto.

The Congress government's opposition to preferential treatment for the OBCs created arenas of conflict at the level of both state and society. The Congress party in the initial years of independence did not pay attention to the problem of reservation. The party in 1952 election manifesto simply reaffirmed its commitment to the advancement of SCs, STs and BCs. "The work taken up by Gandhi", the manifesto said, "must continue until these classes enjoy the same economic and educational opportunities and advantages as others". In the 1962 election manifesto, for the first time, the Congress toyed with the idea of economic backwardness as a basis for special provisions. The base for giving particular attention, the Congress felt, should be that of economic backwardness. The low-income groups, irrespective of castes and communities should receive special consideration. The Congress through its manifesto in 1971 appealed to the voters to give it a clear mandate to defend secularism, guard the interests of the weaker communities, particularly SCs, STs and OBCs, so that they may attain equality of opportunity and fraternity ensuing the dignity of the individuals. In 1972 the Congress pledged a new to a socialist, peaceful and democratic, which embraces all the people and permeates all spheres of national life. It proclaimed that it was "the only party which has the capacity to achieve a socialist revolution". Socialist Revolution included in it the desire of the party to take special care to promote the education, employment and welfare of the weaker sections particularly SCs, STs, and BCs.

After the emergency the Congress pledged to continue its crusade against the social disabilities and work unremittingly to raise the living standard and social statues of SCs, STs. It is categorically stated "any discrimination is wholly repugnant to the vision of a free and equal society bestowed on us by our leaders, like Gandhi and Nehru".

Before the 1980 Lok Sabha elections after the downfall of Charan Singh Government the issue of continuation of reservation of seats in legislatures attracted the attention of many people. The Congress unhesitatingly expressed its readiness to take immediate steps to amend the Constitution so as to extend reservations for further period. For the welfare of weaker sections the party pledged to renew 20-point economic programme, which was hijacked by the ruling caste in the name of the poor the landless, the artisans, handloom weavers and a host of other weaker and socially depressed sections.

The Janata Government constituted the Mandal panel in 1979. But the Commission submitted its Report in 1980 to the Congress Government headed by Indira Gandhi as the Janata coalition had collapsed. The two successive Congress Governments did not take any action on the Report. The Congress Governments were unwilling to implement it as they enjoyed electoral support of twice-born castes along with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Congress did not have much of support among the OBCs hence it was not under pressure to implement the Report, though there were sporadic demands from the OBCs. The Congress kept on promising to consider the Report but did not act on it²⁶.

In the context of politics of Andhra Pradesh the Congress Party has long history of national movement and the ruling party in the post-independent period, specifically with separation of Andhra in 1953 and the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. Till 1978, when Indira Gandhi adopted the policy of patronising the weaker sections to replace the landed community in the state, the political power was in the hands of single caste Reddy (details are discussed in the third chapter). Therefore, the Congress party had no specific policy towards the backward classes to mobilise, accommodate and fulfil their interests. Throughout this period the Congress party exclusively concentrated on the ex-

²⁶ See for details, *Society State and Positive Discrimination: Institutional Interface with Mandal Commission*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis in the Department of political science, University of Hyderabad, 1999.

Zamindars, landed rich peasantry, urban middle class and businessmen, minorities and the dalits. Due to defeat of the Congress party after emergency in 1977, rise of Janata party to capture the power at the centre with the social base of backward classes in north India, opposition tendencies within the Congress party against Indira Gandhi by the landed dominant community leaders led to the adoption of the patronising of the weaker sections in to the party and power structure in 1978. The Congress party neglected the backward classes to the maximum extent and it has maintained distance and by the time Congress party realised about the backward classes it lost power in the state.

The Janata party was an amalgam of the ideas of leaders and supporters of the many parties that joined together to form it. The constituent units of the Janata party contested the 1977 Lok Sabha elections on a common election symbol and issued a common election manifesto. The moving spirit in the formation of Janata party and in its great success in Lok Sabha elections was Jayaprakash narayan, who was treated as the "messiah". The party favored the establishment of a civil rights commission, an independent and autonomous body, competent to ensure that minorities, SCs, STs and other backward classes do not suffer from discrimination or inequality. Lamenting at the miserable conditions of the weaker sections in the post-independent period it promised preferential opportunities for education and self-employment to these sections. It favoured 25%-35% of all appointments to Government services for backward classes as recommended by kakakalelkar Commission. It pledged to formulate a special program within a framework of five-year plan for the substantial advancement of SC, ST, and BCs. It was also for special machinery to implement the program and ensure fulfilment of Constitutional guarantees. It was during the Janata party Government at centre the second Backward Classes Commission was appointed to suggest the measures for the upliftment of the backward classes under the chairmanship of BP. Mandal. After ten years gap of its submission, again it was Janatadal leading coalition at the centre announced to

implement one of the Mandal Commission's recommendations i.e. 27% reservations in the recruitment of the central services.

In 1980 the Janata party sought a mandate to finish the unfinished tasks: Giving the people bread and liberty, giving the country stability with freedom. The party while listing its achievements affirmed that the concessions and facilities provided in the Constitution for the weaker sections including reservation of seats in Parliament and state legislatures should be continued as long as social discrimination remained.

The rise of Telugudesham Party in state politics with the vote bank of backward classes under the leadership of kammass with the identity of regional autonomy in 1983 is a new wave in the state politics. The populist policy agenda of the Telugudesham party attracted the large chunk of the backward castes population in 1983 elections. Victory of the TDP in Andhra Pradesh politics and its policies like abolition of the age old village level *patel*, *patwari* system, introduction of the *Mandala* system in the three tier panchayat raj institutions in the place of *talukues/firkas* for the decentralization of the administration, Rs 2/- k.g rice, Janata cloths, construction of the *pucca* houses for the weaker sections, etc gave a sense of satisfaction to the backward classes²⁷.

The Telugu Desham took the lead in mobilizing OBCs who are disillusioned with their exclusion from leadership positions in local organizations. Although the differences between upper castes and OBCs were not a major political issue in the 1983 election campaign, it was an important election for BCs because, for the first time, they got an opportunity to challenge Reddy dominating Congress supremacy. The BCs did not see for themselves a future in the Congress which was increasingly becoming 'socially conservative. During the time of NT Rama Rao, Telugudesham Party, announced for the

²⁷ Reddy, G, Ram, *The Politics of Accommodation Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh* in Frankel and Rao (eds), *Dominance in Modern India Decline of a social order*, vol-1, Oxford University Press, N' Delhi, 1989, p. 290.

implementation of the Muralidhar Rao Commission, it recommends for the increase of reservations from 25% to 44% for the backward classes, and reservations in the local body institutions. That is why today we can see the backward classes representatives from village level ward members to chairmen of the Zilla Parishads. But even the TDP is also not successful in providing the proportional representation to the backward classes in the distribution of Assembly and Parliament elections.

Almost, every political party in its agenda talks about the weaker sections welfare and development. It is inevitable to the political parties to have weaker sections agenda due to the numerical strength and vote bank, which decides the direction of democracy in the country. As vote bank backward classes are needed for every political party, but when it comes to the distribution of power, they are thrown-out and the domination of the upper castes is being perpetuated. This phenomenon will be examined with the illustrations.

The illustrative analysis is based on an empirical survey conducted by V.G.R. Naragone²⁸ in 257 out of 294 assembly constituencies, except Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts, (Since survey is not conducted in these districts the total number of seats are not added to total) in 1985 and 1989. In 1999 for all 294 assembly constituencies are surveyed. Out of 257 assembly constituencies in 20 districts, the Congress party gave 86 tickets to Reddy community in 1985, 87 in 1989, and 80 in 1999²⁹ (in the first list more than 120 tickets are given to Reddy community due to the pressure from above and below, their number reduced to 80). The Reddy community on all the parties in these three elections won 95, 72 and 75 seats in three elections respectively.

²⁸ Naragoni, V.G.R, *Rajakiya Antaranithanamlo BC lu (Backward Classes in Political Untouchability)*, B.C Garjana, February 2000, pp.36-39.

²⁹ For 1985 and 89 only 257 out of 294 are surveyed and in 1999 all 294-assembly constituencies are surveyed, these 257 and 294 should be kept in mind when reading about the numerical strength of the castes on various political parties.

Table 1 shows the distribution of tickets by various political parties

Name of the Caste/Community	Distribution of tickets on Congress Party			Distribution of tickets on TDP & Alliance			Total No, of Seats won on all parties		
	1985	1989	1999	1985	1989	1999	1985	1989	1999
Reddy	86	87	80	70		58	80	95	72
Kamma	27	35	27	54		50	65	38	43
Other FCs	65	57		59	180				
BCs	33	34	72	30	32	61	40	43	56
SC/STs	37	36+8		36+8	37+8		37	36+8	
Others									
Total	257	257		257	257				

In Congress party for Kammas 27, 35 out of 257 and 27 out of 294 are given in three elections.

Bahujan Samaj Party in the state: The Bahujan Samaj Party (here after BSP) was started in the state in 1989 with combination of the SC, ST, and BCs. The ideology of the BSP is very powerful in attracting and to shake the ruling and opposition dominant caste political parties. The slogans like 'votes are ours seats are yours', '80% seats to the 80% population had raised the hopes among the lower castes. When it comes to the reality, the performance of the BSP was very poor. The BSP contested 77 assembly seats in 1989 could not secure even a single seat.

The entry of BSP into state politics in a big way during the 1994 assembly elections, once again, raised hopes of a third force in the state. BSP supreme Kanshi Ram generated initial euphoria among the SCs, STs, and OBCs by raising the slogan of political power to 'bahujans' (majority). There was anticipation that the BSP would be able to cut into the fortunes of both the Congress (I) and the

TDP. It could not win a single seat though it contested for 218 assembly constituencies. In fact, all candidates, except one lost their deposits. Only 12 candidates could secure more than 5,000 votes.

From the above analysis of the role of political parties in mobilising the backward castes reveals that it is the social basis of the parties, which has decided whether the backward castes be accommodated or extended the support for the policies rather than the democratic principle of the proportional representation. Though the Communists from the beginning supported the reservations, they have neither taken it as an agenda for the campaign among the rural backward castes nor encouraged the leadership from them. Since the time of initiation of the Congress party, representing for the interests of the upper class and castes and neglected the backward castes in the party and power. With the rise of backward castes in north India, the Janata and Janatadal inevitably taken the pro-backward castes stand to defeat the Congress and BJP. The rise of Telugu desham party under the leadership of Kammas is the long pending overdue of becoming chief minister of the state. Since the Kamma community is confined to coastal Andhra only, it is difficult to win over the Reddy castes in Telangana and Rayalaseema that is why some of the backward caste elites are accommodated. The Bahujan Samaj Party miserably failed in making any demarcations in the politics of Andhra Pradesh.

Despite all efforts of the political parties to marginalize the backward castes, a minor section of the BC elites are made to protect the interests of the upper caste rulers from the threat of forming an alternative political platform by the neglected BCs. The marginalized majority backward castes, whose interests are not taken into consideration, are getting attracted towards the grass roots movements, which came into existence in 1970s. It seems that there is a clear class division within the backward castes; the rich and elites are accommodated in the parliamentary political parties and majority poor mass backward castes are attracted towards the grass roots movements since 1970s onwards

With the partial accommodation of the backward castes in the ongoing political process of the state as discussed above by the post-independent democratic political system, based on the multi-party system and led by the provincial propertied dominant castes gave way to rise the non-party movements in the state. In order to protect the rights of the marginalized grass roots level people a number of social movements came into existence in the state.

4) Non-Party Organisations: Rise of the non-party movements, such as Naxalite, Civil Liberties, Dalit, Women, Dandora and in numerous civil society organisations like Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiah Foundation, Rural Development Trust, Deccan Development Society, Loksatta, the Self Help Group movement etc can be attributed to the negligence of the political parties and bureaucracy in solving the problems of larger mass of the society and these newly emerging organisations are occupying the space left by them. These movements and organisations are also called as the subaltern social movements or micro movements, which have questioned not only the provincial propertied castes and classes' rule but also demanded for the structural changes in the existing socio, economic and political domain of the society.

The subaltern movements, active at the grass roots of the state politics for over three decades now, have been confronting the Indian state and the entrenched structures of local power on issues concerning local populations. They have created for themselves large local spaces generally vacated by political party organisations, which, over the years, have become devoted to pure electoral politics. These movements are now also locked in conflicts with the institutions and organisations representing the global economic and political power. The global structures, which have begun to penetrate local spaces without much mediation by way of either protection or control from the state's centralized institutions of planning and bureaucracy, have created for themselves another variety of local organisations including public affairs lobbies of international companies working on their behalf or collaborating with them.

The result is that local politics have become a variegated scene of conflict and collaboration with global economic structures as well as institutions of the Indian state.

Thus the new spaces for political action created at the local level by expansion of economic activity, on the one hand, and by the retreat of political parties, on the other, have been filled by a variety of political formations. These include the non-governmental development organisations, human rights organisations, organisations for the protection of the rights of women, lower castes. Tribals and children, and a variety of movements such as the ones for freeing the labour in social bondage and for protecting cultures and livelihood patterns of local populations (forest dwellers, fishermen, artisans, small and marginal farmers, and so on); the subjects of these organisations and movements are fast being eroded in the process of integration of the national economy and, in turn, the latter's integration into the world economy. A few survive this process in which the local, rural population are required to relocate their life and activity at a quick pace into the expanding mass culture of wage labour and consumership; a few even prosper, but many fall by the wayside. Those with assets like land social privilege, and education find new opportunities for social mobility and acquisition of wealth, but many who lack these assets are being pushed into a state of socio economic deprivation, even destitution.

It is to this situation, experienced by people in different geographical locales and cultural milieus that the aforementioned organisations and movements are responding. A new breed of political actors leads them. These new actors made their home in the rural areas and tribal belts of India. Many of them left their careers in professions and political parties and have founded or joined people's organisations and movement groups. They usually locate their politics outside the party-electoral framework. Their politics are thus essentially of movements around issues that are of great concern to people in the local

communities in which they work. Some of the grass roots movements are as follows.

1) Naxalite Movement:

The Naxalite movement has got more than three decades of history in the country; still it is limited to the few pockets. Due to the existence of numerous groups within the Naxalite movement like People's War, Janasakthi, Prajaprathigatana, Bahujana sramika vimukti etc, pave the way for conflicts among them. The state is also taking it as the chance to dilute the groups and to curb the spread of the movement by killing the party workers. That is why there is a strong criticism (Keshav Rao Jadav) on the Naxalite movement that it has become 'war' between police Vs Naxalites. Another criticism from the dalit, adivasi and backward classes is that all those people who were killed in the movement are majority of them belongs to the lower castes of the society.

While fighting against the semi-feudal and semi-colonial Indian State, all the naxalite groups have recognised that the caste is one serious issue both at the ideological discourse and ground level fighting. As a part of it the people's war, Janasakthi groups supported the implementation of the Muralidhar Rao and Mandal Commission for the backward classes. In protest against the anti-reservation movement the naxalite movement organised the awareness camps, meetings, bandhs etc.

Despite its long history and sacrifice of thousands of the people still the Naxalite movement is unable to capture the state power, but they are running parallel government in some parts of the state, for instance Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nalamal forest area and also extending its hands towards the poorest of the poor and lower castes.

2) The Civil Liberties Movement: In order to protect the civil liberties, which are given in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Constitution of India from the violation of State, propertied classes, upper castes and the domestic violence, the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee came into existence in 1970s. The

prominent revolutionary poet Srirangam Srinivasa Rao was the founder president of the Committee. Since its inception the APCLC has been opposing State violence like fake-encounters, emergency imposed by Smt. Indira Gandhi, atrocities on the Dalits, Adivasis and women and other weaker sections. The APCLC is standing for the cause of the poorest of the poor in the society whether it is in the case of distribution of land, supporting of the reservations for the Dalits, Adivasis, Backward classes, Women etc.

3) Dalit Movement: The Dalit movement also got long history in the state but the powerful assertion of the movement started with the physical attacks on the dalits. The major events of such attacks are Madigas of Karamchedu in 1985 by the rich Kamma community during the time of Telugudesam rule, when N.T. Rama Rao was the Chief Minister. Another incident that forced the lower caste people to assert themselves is the Chundur in 1991 at the time of Congress rule, when N. Janardhana Reddy was the Chief Minister. The Dalit movement, which came into existence in the wake of Karamchedu, Chundur has created a powerful consciousness among the dalits and backward classes on their rights. The Dalit Mahasabha made a B.C (Chakali) as its President. It has strongly supported the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations to provide the reservations for the OBCs at the national. In order to protest against the anti-reservation movement the Dalit Mahasabha organised the demonstrations and public meetings all over the state. The Dalit Mahasabha also generated a powerful awareness among the dalits about the S.C, S.T atrocities Act, produced a lot of dalit literature, put a lot of pressure on the Central and State Governments to mobilise the funds and to introduce the favourable welfare policies and to strictly implement the reservation policy.

Though the Dalit Mahasabha put powerful ideological attack on the provincial dominant castes, but it has not rose to the stage to challenge them in the economic and political spheres by uniting dalit, adivasi, backward classes and minorities in the state.

4) Anti-Arrack Movement: The anti-arrack movement was the first one in the state led by women exclusively both urban and rural. In fact the anti-arrack movement was started in 1980s by the Naxalite movement in three phases. In the first phase Naxalite groups demanded for the reduction of the rates of the arrack, in the second phase for punishing the contractors by collecting funds. By 1990s the arrack created a situation in which women unable to breathe from financial problems of the family and physical attacks by their drink addicted husbands. In the initial stage the movement was started in Nellore district during Congress regime in the state. The Askharajyothi was the programme implemented for the rural illiterate woman in Nellore district, when K. Raju was the Collector, in this there was a story revealing that the women revolted against the liquor addicted husbands, which has influenced the rural dalit, backward castes woman.

Soon the movement attracted the intellectuals like Dr. K. Balagopal, Prof. Haragopal, Dr. Ilaiah, K.G.Kannabhiran, Shatragna and a number of progressive organisations like Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, AP Dalita Mahasabha in the state. The movement also attracted the largest circulating Eenadu Telugu daily to campaign. The movement got intensified all over the state. But there is criticism on Eenadu, since the paper belong to the kamma businessman and then in the state Congress party was in power and was dominated by the reddy community, therefore it had created a favourable atmosphere for the Telugu Desam, which is dominated by the coastal Andhra *kammas* to win in the forth coming Assembly elections.

The movement succeeded in banning the liquor in the state for a period of time and illiterate, poor, dalit, backward and middle class women proved that women could also lead a movement and change the public policy. At the time of anti-arrack-movement Telugu Desam Party promised to ban the liquor in the state. In 1994 Assembly elections the TDP capture the power with the vote bank of women and backward classes and put the ban on sale of liquor during NTR period. Due to the lack of political will of the Government to have liquor free

state, pressure from the liquor lobby and flow of illicit liquor from all sides of the borders of the state and corrupt, inefficient excise department miserably failed to control the flow of the liquor. Therefore, Chandra Babu Naidu Government lifted the ban on liquor in the state.

5) Dandora Movement: For the classification of existing scheduled caste reservations into A, B, C, D and E groups the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi, a social organisation, (hereafter MRPS) had emerged in the 1990s, soon it was capable enough to mobilise highly suppressed Madiga community in lakhs. The movement was succeeded in achieving its goal of classification of reservations through memondurams, petitions, dharnas, demonstrations, padayatras etc. After classification of the scheduled caste reservations into categories the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi formed a political organisation called Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi (MSS) demanding the proportional representation, power to the oppressed communities, distribution of land to the poorest of the poor lower castes, etc. The MSS was formed with a large number of proliferated caste associations like, MRPS, Lambadi Hakkula Porata Samithi, Gollakurmala dolu debba, Gouda mokudebba, Chakali's Chakirevudebba etc. Though the MSS contested in the elections, it has hardly got the deposits in any constituency. There is an allegation on the MSS that it was formed on the advice of the Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu to disrupt the unification of the oppressed communities and alliance with any political party. Within a short time the MSS has got divided, while opposing attitudes of the Convenor Manda Krishna Madiga, into two groups. One is original Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi and second one is the Mahajana party. These two organisations are in the process of mobilising the suppressed communities of the society in their own way with the aim of capturing the political power.

6). Rise of Civil Society Organisations: The non-governmental organisations or civil society organisations came into existence in order to put pressure on the State, Corporate sector and civil society to take up the highly neglected issues by

the political parties and bureaucracy. The NGOs like Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiah Foundation (MVF) has been working for the schooling of the child labour and building the pressure on the state to take the measures to eradicate the child labour. The child labours staying in the MVF camps for the bridge schools reveals that the children are from the marginalized communities of SCs, STs and BCs. Eradicating child labour means educating the lower caste children.

Loksatta is another organisation working for the democratic reforms in the country for the transparent, accountable, and responsive legislature, judiciary and executive. Loksatta is also advocating for the democratic principle of proportional representation. Ankuram Sangamam Poram is working for the co-operative movement among the dalitbahujans. With the success of the anti-arrack movement, for the social solidarity, economic sustainability and institutional strength, the Self Help Group (SHG) movement came into existence. Subsequently the United Nation's Development Program (UNDP) extended its support to the SHG movement in the state for the empowerment of women. Now the SHG movement is scaled up all over the state for the poorest of the poor women of the lower castes. But there is a criticism on the SHG movement that they are sabotaged for the political interests of the ruling party.

With the retreat of the state from the welfare activities in the globalisation process, the role of civil society organisations has been increasing. But few of them are working with commitment and dedication and majority are the fraud and manipulating for the financial support from the state, international donors and the corporate sector, which is talking about the social responsibility.

Despite all the limitations the grass roots organisations have been, basically, focusing on the neglected issues of the poorest of the poor backward, dalit, Adivasi, women etc by the state like land, reservations, anti-arrack, child labour, democratic representation, providing alternative source of economic activities like cooperatives, SHGs and other supportive initiations. The issues

addressed by the grass roots organisations have got both structural and incremental nature of the largest marginalized lower castes; therefore, their role has been increasing in the present global scenario.

Summing up: The examination of the four instruments of mobilization of backward castes reveals that the caste associations, as natural associations are successful in terms of mobilizing its caste people by raising consciousness. But there are number of castes out side the mobilisation within the backward castes due to lack of political awareness, support from the mobilised backward castes. Therefore, the differences between the mobilised and non-mobilised castes have posed a big problem for the backward castes movement in the long run. The consequences of these differences are rise of class variations and fragmentation in mobilisation.

The Federation of Caste Associations or Backward Castes Associations originated on the foundations of the caste associations. Though the base of the Backward Caste Associations is broader in terms of mobilizing the people and kind of interests articulated. When the leaders of these associations started mobilising the large chunk of the BC population, the ruling dominant caste elite divided the associations and created factions within the BC leaders. It is, probably, due to the lack of strategy of weakening the dominant caste rulers and their socio-economic base by adopting ideology like Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement, strong demand for the structural policies rather than ineffective, incremental and inadequate policies, occupying the leadership of the parties and solidarity, network and coordination of the backward castes movements in various states and strong coalition at the national level.

Mobilization of the backward castes by the political parties indicates that they are mobilized for the vote bank, for the social base, for changing of the regime of the one dominant caste by another and not for the democratic representation. Until today, there is no clarity in any mainstream political party, except one or two revolutionary groups, about the reservations and

accommodation of the backward classes. As a party the Congress, BJP, (on the name of economic criteria,), opposing the reservations and TDP also did not take any stand on the women reservation bill due to the concentration of the leadership in the hands of the upper castes at the decision making level. Therefore, all the upper caste political parties using the backward castes for their interests rather than the interests of backward castes.

Though the grass roots organisations came into existence in a historical turning point to work for the interests of the marginalized people of the society, they are limited to few pockets and few issues, which are not fully realised so far. There is a strong criticism on these organisations also from the lower castes people that the people are suffering in the process of struggle are belongs to the lower castes and leadership is in the hands of the upper caste urban elite class. Therefore, there is need to adopt the strategy of collective leadership with participatory decentralised decision making for the democratisation of the civil society.

The first generation of the backward castes leaders played different roles of fighting against colonial/*Nizam* feudal domination, for the reform of their specific caste and for the upliftment of the backward castes and contesting in the elections in post-independent period. By the time of second generation of the backward caste leaders there is a lot of chaos at the organisational level, where they are fragmented in terms of mobilisation, marginalized in the political parties and their leadership in the grass roots organisations is neglected. The root cause for the marginalisation and fragmentation of the backward castes in mobilisation and capturing the political power lies in not encouraging the non-mobilised backward castes.

Chapter-5

State Response to the Mobilization of Backward Castes

In order to understand the linkage between the politics of mobilization and non-mobilization, the policy response of the State is covered in this chapter. In response to the political mobilization of the backward castes through four instruments, discussed in the earlier chapter, the ruling party in the state of Andhra Pradesh took recourse to politics of accommodation through policies, having potential to ensure continuity of the hegemony of dominant groups through various policies and prevent the breakdown in the social system. Therefore, even after more than five decades of independence with a democratic Constitution, the principle of fair share to all the castes and communities is not realized. This was achieved despite sharp economic differentiation within the forward castes, increasing politicization of the backward castes and the lower castes. The State power provided the dominant castes ample scope for enlisting the support of aspiring backward castes. This was achieved by increasing number of positions and the quantum of resources available to their leaders. In the Indian social context, the attention paid to the demands of local leaders of backward caste groups could be assumed as accommodating the group they represented 'through the process of vicarious participation in the symbolic representation conferred on the whole community'¹. The vested interests created complicated issues through public policies intended for providing the social justice. In its actual functioning, the practice of political accommodation is adhoc and expedient in character in response to the various claims and counter claims by the competing social groups. Radical policies were thereby avoided. Attempts were made to woo all sections of society within an eclectic policy framework, and reject a dogmatic approach. The underlying assumption has been that every

¹ Ram Reddy. G, *The Politics of Accommodation Caste, Class and Dominance in Andhra Pradesh* in Frankel and Rao (eds), *Dominance in Modern India Decline of a Social Order*, vol-1, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989, p. 265.

aspirant to power had his price. The basic objective has been to contain discontentment, which could otherwise pose an effective challenge to the very distribution of power. Certain policies and programmes are used as instruments to contain the backward castes and get in their support to the socio-economic and political structure of Andhra Pradesh. These include (1). Ineffective public policies for the poor such as occupational cooperatives, Adarana and anti-poverty programs. (2). Incremental policies for the middle and elite class like reservations in employment and local institutions. (3). Inadequate policies for students such as Social welfare hostels, scholarships, residential schools, reservations in educational institutions, study circles for coaching to those BC candidates, who are preparing for the competitive examinations. These policies have continuously neglected the poor and as a result only the castes, which have mobilized among the backward castes got benefited.

I. Ineffective Public Policies for the Poor: In the post-independent period for the economic development of the people who are practicing the traditional occupations, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has taken two measures. One is introduction of the occupational cooperatives in the pre-globalization period and second is the Adarana in the post-globalization period. None of these policies have economically consolidated nor protected their occupations due to the contradictions between the micro and macro economic policies, which are being pursued by the State.

(A) Occupational Co-operatives: After formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, In order to meet the pressure from the caste associations, gradually over the years caste based occupational cooperatives came into existence. These societies are introduced to prevent artisans and handicraftsmen from migration, pull them out from poverty, strengthen the existing sources of livelihood, provide economic stability, lead to the formation of financial capital and accessibility to market. Therefore, a large number of occupational cooperative societies like, weavers society, fishermen society, toddy tappers societies, dairy cooperatives,

bamboo workers, washer men, barbers, contract laborers societies came into existence (see for details annexure-7).

Along with the adverse effect of globalization, today these societies are facing numerous problems such as vested interests of politicians, bureaucrats and contractors. They are also playing with lives of the weaker sections cooperatives. The complicated procedure, bogus membership, competition from the industrial products, partial credit supply to members, stress on short-term loans and partial coverage of the occupational population in the village and political influence in getting the membership in the society and lack of raw-material and market are the serious problems faced by these societies². Therefore, for the last one-decade these societies have been declining and diminishing.

(B) Adarana: Adarana is a project introduced by the Government of Andhra Pradesh just before 1999 Assembly elections to attract the backward castes vote bank. Adarana aims at providing modern and improved hand-tools to the Artisans with a view to improving their productivity, minimizing human drudgery, improving product/service quality and help modernize process operations. The ultimate goal is to contribute to increased income levels and improved standards of living of Artisans. It is proposed to cover 10.00 lakhs Artisans as part of the project during 1998-99 and 1999-2000. Approximately 1,10,000 Artisans to be covered per month, or around 5,000 units per District per month (see for details annexure-8).

Soon after the elections (1999), in which again Telugu Desham won and immediately stopped the Adarana from implementation. The Chief Minister offers three reasons for stopping the scheme; lack of quality tools, corruption in the purchase of the tools and mistakes in selection of beneficiaries.

² Interview with venkataiah, President, AP Occupational Co-operative Societies at Hyderabad on 10-7-03.

Important observations on ADARANA: On the implementation of Adarana the concurrent evaluation study³ made following observations.

1). More than 87% of the artisans are traditional by nature. Caste-wise analysis shows that most of the artisans are engaged in hereditary activities denominated by caste.

2). It was also observed that activities like milk-vending, tailoring, sheep-rearing, earthwork, fishing, electrical and musical set have a mix of different caste people. Persons of other castes after acquiring training are taking up the above-mentioned activities in the districts.

3). Per unit monthly expenditure is higher than income in all the districts.

The reactions of the artisans on the usefulness of modern tools and technology in their activity are as follows.

- a). The tools distributed were not to be put to full use.
- b). Not much modernization has taken place in the activities where values of the tools are less than Rs. 2, 500/-
- c). More than 80% of the artisans have selected their tools on their own, but provided lowest quality of tools.
- d). A small percentage of beneficiaries (3-5) diverted /sold the tools distributed to them.
- e). Nearly 43% were not satisfied with the distribution channels and inspection of tools, of them 38.2 % have also expressed doubts about quality of tools.
- f). The educational level among these beneficiaries is not satisfactory. Of them 41.2% are illiterate, 32.9% completed up to the primary level, 22.8% secondary level, 3.1 % have higher than the secondary level.
- g). The view of beneficiary on training was not encouraging. About 87% evinced interest in undergoing training in their respective trades.

³ Planning and Concurrent Evaluation of Adarana programme in selected districts of Andhra Pradesh, Center for Industrial Development, Yousufguda, Hyderabad, December 1999.

These observations are made based on the survey in six districts such as, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Mahabubnagar, Nizambad, East Godavri, and Prakasham. Two districts are selected from each region of Andhra Pradesh.

But there is also criticism on introducing and stopping of the scheme by the AP Backward Classes Welfare Association that instead of introducing reservations in the legislative assembly and Parliament, improved educational facilities and economic development schemes, the Government is trying to perpetuate the status quo by providing instruments to continue the traditional occupations on the one hand and destroying them through the globalization on the other hand. The Association also questioned that how can the Government modernize the traditional occupations with meager amount of financial assistance? This strategy has been leading to marginalisation of the backward castes.

Second criticism leveled against the Adarana scheme is that even the tools, which are purchased with the nominal amount, are also not provided to all the communities. There are 93 castes in the backward caste list; only 15 of them are eligible under Adarana. The third point is that the allotted Rs 80 crores is not at all released, only less than half of the money is spent but even in that also there is a lot of corruption. Ultimately, the scheme did not help the poor artisan communities; it is only the members of ruling party, who got the benefits and the Government official's co-ordinate the distribution activity.

(c) Anti-poverty programmes:

In order to meet the needs of the small and marginal farmers, the Government of India devised two agencies in 1960s. These agencies are Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA) and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Laborers Agency (MFAL). The SFDA and MFAL were expected to finance schemes, which generate additional income and employment to the rural poor. The SFDA undertakes the programmes for benefit of the three target groups viz; small farmers, marginal farmers, and agricultural labourers. Apart

from their production potential in providing low-cost modern technology to small and marginal farmers, these agencies subsidized the operation of uneconomic holdings to blunt the edges of polarization along class lines by preventing rapid proletarianization of the peasantry⁴.

Among the total farmers of Andhra Pradesh, 70% are small and marginal farmers and a majority of them belong to the backward castes. These backward caste small and marginal farmers are the erstwhile artisans and handicraftsmen. Among these castes, there is a considerable number of labour class as well. According to the criteria of the target groups of the SFDA, the backward castes are one of the important groups. But benefits derived from SFDA have not reached the target group.

According to a study⁵ the SFDA could not leave any significant positive impact on the conditions of the poor. This is more true in the case of those who are at the rock bottom of the socio-economic pyramid. On the other hand it is used by the influential individuals of the village in tightening their grip over the rural poor. And better-placed farmers cornered off the benefits intended for poorer sections. Further, hostile environmental conditions, the cultural values of the poor, corrupt leadership with its deep rooted vested interest, unfertile land, unhelpful attitude of the development functionaries, the integrated bureaucratic structure with its cumbersome procedures, the non-viable nature of the schemes and inadequate infrastructure collectively rendered the real poor helpless in availing the benefits of the programmes has not been successful in enabling the rural poor to cross the poverty line.

Another important anti-poverty programme known as integrated rural development programme (IRDP) was introduced in 1978-79 by merging SFDA,

⁴ Ram Reddy.G, op.cit. pp. 294-5.

⁵ Balaramulu.Ch, *Administration of Anti-Poverty Programmes (A case study of SFDA)*, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, Warangal (AP), 1984, pp.204-5.

DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas) and other community development schemes. With the implementation of this scheme, relatively poor household received non-viable and low cost schemes, while relatively better-off households cornered-off most viable schemes. This also includes considerable number of beneficiaries who are wrongly identified. This group knocked away a large portion of benefits intended for the poor. It is striking to note that the marginal farmers who also have some land are largely neglected⁶.

Therefore, these anti-poverty programmes led to three consequences such as (1) the intervention of the State in development is getting increasingly marginalized, (2) only land-based schemes have greater chances of success, and (3) the schemes are leading to stratification and not equalization⁷.

(II) Incremental Policies for Middle Class:

(a) Affirmative Action Policy:

The affirmative action policy has got a long history in India. By 2003 the policy of reservations completed hundred years. For the first time Sahu Maharaja of Kolhapur introduced the 'reservations' for the deprived sections of the society in 1903. In 1922 the government of Madras announced, to implement the reservations to non-Brahmins, in response to the self-respect movement led by Rama Swamy Naicker. The Justice party and DMK played a vital role in building the pressure on the Government and the Congress party.

The Composite Madras State for the purpose of grant of fee concession first took up the backward classes list. As and when a community was included in the list of Backward Classes for the purpose of fee concession it was followed by reservation of vacancies for the backward classes in public services.

⁶ Balaramulu, Ch., *Public Policies An Evaluation of Integrated Rural Development Programme*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1991. P.177.

⁷ Haragopal G, Forward to Balaramulu's, *Administration of Anti-Poverty Programmes (A case study of SFDA)*, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, Warangal (AP), 1984, P.viii.

In Madras province, which included earlier the Coastal and Rayalaseema Districts of Andhra, a system of *communal rotation* was introduced by the Government to accord to all the recognized backward classes groups with a view to remove inequalities of representation in public services. The non-Brahmin movement was so vigorous that it gave rise to a political situation forcing Justice Party to form the ministry under Mont Ford reforms. The system of communal rotation in public services was in full force from then onwards till the advent of India's independence. Soon after the commencement of Indian Constitution on 26th January 1950, the Upper castes filed a petition in the Madras High Court. The High Court verdict was that it is not possible to identify some castes as the socially and educationally backward classes. Immediately the Chief Minister of Madras presidency, Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, took the initiative to get the "stay orders" from the Supreme Court. Soon he realized that since the Indian Constitution gives equal opportunities and rights irrespective of caste, therefore, there is a possibility for the verdict, which would be anti-backward castes. If it is true, that it is difficult for the Congress party to win in the elections in the entire south India. That is why with the consensus of Rajagopalachari and Jawaharlal Nehru, the first amendment to the Indian Constitution was to provide the special treatment to the socially and educationally backward classes.

When the Constitution of India came into force, there were many states in which special preferences were available to Backward Classes in the field of education and recruitment to Government posts. It is observed that during 1951-52, educational concessions were available in about eleven states (Andhra, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu&Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamilnad and Utter Pradesh), Four of which also provided reservations in Government posts. One state (Saurashtra) provided reservation in Government posts but provided no educational concessions. All these states followed caste criteria in preparing the lists of backward classes for the award of these special preferences. With separation of Andhra from the Madras

Presidency and later formation of Andhra Pradesh, the ruling governments did not implement the reservations for the other backward classes till the appointment of the first Backward Classes Commission in 1968.

Another important landmark in the history of Backward Classes movement in Andhra Pradesh was that the ruling Congress Party had shown its cognizance of the existence of the grievances of the Backward Classes. During the regime of the Chief Minister, N. Sanjeeva Reddy the State Congress constituted a sub-committee under the presidentship of Pragada Kotaiah to look into the problems of backward classes. However, this step of the Congress Party was treated as an attempt to divide the Backward Class Movement on party lines⁸.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, in 1957 there was a startling development, Sanjeeva Reddy Government decided to prepare the Backward Class list not on the clearly laid down criteria of the caste but on the basis of economic backwardness. This led to difference of opinion among Backward Class leaders some subscribing to the view of Sanjeeva Reddy and others opposing the move. This controversy has persisted, since then.

Mention may be made here that the former State of Hyderabad was also maintaining a list of Backward Classes. As a result the State of Andhra Pradesh had these two separate lists applicable to the Andhra region and Telangana region respectively.

In 1963 the Andhra Pradesh Government amalgamating the two lists through G.O.No.1886 and brought out a new list of Backward Classes for the purpose of reserving 25 percent seats in Medical Colleges invoking Article 15(4). However, the validity of this order was challenged in the High Court of Andhra Pradesh in the case of Sukhdev V. Government of Andhra Pradesh. The High Court struck it down on the ground that the order has been made exclusively on

⁸ Sharma, B.A.V, Madhusudhan Reddy, (eds.), *Reservation Policy in India*, Light & Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1982, p. 293.

the basis of caste. The State failed to explain the reasons in taking the caste as the only criteria for determining the backwardness.

As a result of this judgment, the State government decided that the criteria for determining backwardness should be economic and it should be applied to an individual family rather than caste. Accordingly it issued another G.O.No. 301 in 1964, scrapping the earlier list of Backward Classes and ordered that financial assistance should be given only to the economically poor whose family income were less than 1500 rupees per annum. Further it also constituted a cabinet sub-committee to draw a new list of Backward Classes in 1966.

The cabinet sub-committee appointed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh adopted the following criteria for the preparation of the Backward Classes list

- 1). Poverty
- 2). Low standard of education
- 3). Low standard of living
- 4). Place of habitation
- 5). Inferiority of occupation and
- 6). Caste.

Andhra Pradesh Government adopted the list prepared on the basis of this criterion and orders were issued (in G.O. Ms. No.1880, Education, dated 29-7-1966). On the basis of these orders, Government in the Health, Housing, and Municipal Administration made provision for reservation of 20% seats for other Backward Classes, and amended the rules of admission accordingly. When these reservations were given effect, a batch of 104 Writ Petitions was filed in the High Court challenging the validity of the reservations. On hearing the writ petitions the High Court in its order dated October 7, 1967 struck down the list of BCs for the reasons that the list of BCs was not based on any statistical data that it was only a list of castes without the test of poverty, etc., being applied to it. The matter was examined in consultation with Law Department and Advocate

General and the Government carried the case in appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court confirmed the order of the AP High Court.

After quite a lot of legal vicissitudes, the Government appointed a Commission in 1968 under the Chairmanship of Manohar Pershad⁹ to enumerate socially and educationally Backward Classes, who would be entitled to the rights conferred upon them under the provisions of the Constitution. There is a connection between the appointment of the first Backward Classes Commission in 1968 by the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the central Government action on the first national Backward Classes Commission i.e., the Kakakalelkar Commission. Ten Parliament members requested, through a memorandum to the Prime Minister under the article 340 of the Indian Constitution, Jawaharlal Nehru in 1953 to appoint a Backward Classes Commission at the national level to study the socio-economic conditions of the backward classes, identification of the list and suggest measures for the upliftment of them. The Kakakalelkar Commission was appointed in 1953 and the Commission submitted its report in 1955. But the Chairman of the Commission himself dissented for taking caste as the criteria and without discussion in the Parliament the commission report was set aside.

The matter was discussed at a conference of State representatives on 7th April 1959 and subsequently reviewed at a meeting of State officers convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs, but no consensus emerged. The Central Government ultimately took a decision that no all India lists of backward classes should be drawn up, nor any reservation made in the Central Government service for any group of backward classes other than the SCs and STs. Consequently, on 14th August 1961, the Home Ministry addressed all State Governments stating: " while the State Government have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of Government of

⁹ He resigned on October 1, 1969 and K.N. Anantharaman was appointed as Chairman on 29th October 1969.

India, it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by castes". Regarding the preparation of the lists of backward classes it was observed: "Even if the Central Government were to specify under Article 338(3) certain groups of people as belonging to 'other backward classes', it was still be opened to every state government to draw up its lists for the purposes of the Article 15 and 16. The state Governments were to adhere to their own lists, any all-India lists drawn up by the Center would have no practical utility".

Anantharaman Commission: The first Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Anantharaman, in Andhra Pradesh, which is appointed in response to the Central Government action on Kakakalelkar Commission and pressure from the Backward Classes Associations, was asked to determine the criteria to be adopted in preparing the list of backward classes and make suitable recommendations for the uplift of the backward classes. The Commission prepared criteria for backwardness and examined the representations made by the various communities, which claim to be backward and has prepared a list of 92 backward classes taking into consideration their cultural background, economic, educational and social backwardness and made the suitable recommendations for their uplift: The Commission submitted its well-considered report on 25th June 1970, categorizing various castes to be treated as Backward Classes and recommended reservation of 30% of seats to the persons belonging to these classes in the educational institutions and other recommendations (see annexure-9).

In view of the rapid changes and developments that are taking place, the Commission recommended reservations for ten years in the initial stage and review position thereafter to consider desirability of extending the same.

Government Action on the Commission Report: In response to the BC Commission report, the government of Andhra Pradesh has taken the following action.

The State Government by an order (No. 1793, Education, dated 23-9-1970) announced reservations of 25% of the seats for Backward Classes. The benefits conferred under the G.O were initially limited to a period of ten years to be renewed thereafter,

(a) Reservations in educational institutions and employment:

The Government of Andhra Pradesh recognized 93 communities as Backward Castes on the basis of recommendations of the State Backward Classes Commission (1970) and 25% reservations are given to 40% of the population from 1972 onwards. These communities are divided into the following groups as show in the following table

Groups, Castes, and Percentage of Reservations

No	Groups	Name of the Communities)	% oF Reservations
1	A (38)	Aboriginal Tribes, Vimukta Jatis, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic tribes	7
2	B (21)	Vocational groups	10
3	C (1)	Harijan Converts	1
4	D (33)	Other backward classes	7
Total	(93)		25

(Source: Welfare of Backward Classes, a detail document published by department of Backward Classes, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1996, pp. 608-634).

25% of available seats are reserved for the children of backward classes in all educational institutions both in general, professional and technical courses right from first year to post-graduation.

Certain persons belonging to the advanced classes, claiming to be aggrieved by the order successfully assailed this G.O and a Bench of Andhra Pradesh High Court quashed the same. The Chief Justice of Andhra Pradesh

High Court Justice Pingali Jagan Mohan Reddy gave a judgment that the backward classes list is not valid, because the socio-educational profile of the listed backward castes is not studied. The then Chief Minister deliberately did not respond to the High Court verdict to have fresh list of backward classes. The allegation on Sanjeeva Reddy by the backward class leaders was that he deliberately avoids the reservations for them in the government educational institutions and employment¹⁰.

The State Government to carry the matter to the Supreme Court in appeal aggrieved by the judgment of the High Court. The Supreme Court went into the details as to the genesis of the G.O and upheld the same as also the list of the socially and educationally backward classes so enumerated there in, by their judgment rendered on 12th June 1972. The Supreme Court *inter alia* observed that a caste is also a class of citizens and as such a caste can be socially and educationally backward, the reservation made of such persons will have to be upheld notwithstanding the facts that a few individuals in that group may be both socially and educationally above the general average¹¹.

It is only by virtue of the above-referred judgment that the socially and educationally backward classes got a little benefit from 1972 onwards by way of reservations either in the technical and educational institutions or public employment at the initial stage of recruitment. Thus the concept of social justice for the socially and educationally backward classes became a reality because of the decision of the Supreme Court¹².

¹⁰ Appalaswamy. V, *Sardar Gouth Lacchanna Jeevithacharitra (Biography of Sardar Gouth Laccharuia, Shramika ryothanga-Janavignanapeetam, Vishakapatnam, 1990, p., 560.*

¹¹ The State of Andhra Pradesh vs. U.S.V. Balaram in AIR 1972 S.C.P. 1375.

¹² Shiva Shankar, p., *"Constitutional concept of Reservation in favour of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes of Citizens"* in the souvenir of the A.P Backward Classes Conference, 28th-29th April 1979.

The Backward Classes Conference (1979) Resolutions: The next important landmark in the policy matter of backward castes is the Backward Classes Conference. The historic Backward Classes Conference was conducted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1979 to discuss issues on, which policy matters to be made was divided into eight groups to cover on various issues of the backward classes. The groups are as follows

Dealt with Social Reforms and Political participation,
Employment and Services,
Economic Problems,
Land Reforms,
On Education,
On house sights and Housing

AP Women's Co-operative Finance Corporation and Self Employment Schemes, and Funds for the Welfare of the Backward Classes, Organizational set-up of the Department and Corporation and Central Backward Classes Commission.

The different groups passed various resolutions covering different aspects of welfare of Backward Classes. Some of the important resolutions passed by the State Backward Classes Conference are interesting¹³: (see annexure-10)

The State Government under the leadership of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy realized the force behind the upliftment of weaker sections and the need to tackle this problem on a war footing. The Government promptly announced in extending the reservations and other facilities for a further period of ten years commencing from 1980. The Government also constituted a Cabinet sub-committee to take up the follow up action after the Conference.

Muralidhar Rao Commission: On the demand of the backward classes leaders to increase the reservations, Muralidhar Rao Commission was appointed by the

¹³ Resolutions passed by AP Backward Classes State Conference held at Lalbahudur stadium at Hyderabad on 28th-29th April 1979.

state Government in 1981. The Commission submitted its report in 1982 with the recommendations (see annexure-11). It gathered dust for four years. The *Telugu Desham*, promised implementation of it in 1983 itself. In response to the backward classes NT. Rama Rao announced increase in the reservations from 25% to 44 % in 1986. But High Court of Andhra Pradesh rejected the Government decision. Neither the Government of Andhra Pradesh nor the Backward Classes Associations preferred an appeal the Supreme Court. Therefore the increased reservations were not implemented.

From its terms of reference it appears that the intention of the Congress government in constituting the Commission was either to comply with the letter of the recommendations of the Anantharaman Commission of 1970, which had recommended that the classification and quantum of reservations to the BCs should be reviewed after 10 years; to actually identify at least a few backward castes who had 'progressed' using reservations during the last decade and delete them from the list of beneficiaries. Muralidhara Rao ignored the terms of reference and set out to do all he could to help the backward castes, therefore refused to delete any of the backward castes from the existing list (with the exception of one section of the Kalingas of Srikakulam), but added nine more to the list instead.

He recommended increasing reservations from 25 to 44 percent for the 52% of the backward classes population in the state. He supported this by a simple piece of arithmetic. The Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and minorities together constitute about 30% of the State population. The remaining 70% are to be shared out between the BCs and the forward castes. Since no caste-based census has been taken after 1931, Muralidhar Rao chose to go by the estimate of the Mandal Commission, Which had taken the forward castes to represent 17.58% of the population, and came to conclusion that the BCs constitute 52% in Andhra Pradesh.

As the term of Muralidhar Rao commission recommendations will be completed by 1999 the Govt, of A.P during the time of Mr.Kotla Vijay Bhaskarareddy as, Chief Minister, appointed justice Putta Swami Commission for identification, inclusion and exclusion of castes in the backward classes list. So far, though the term of the commission is over, the Commission did not submit the report. Three years (2000) ago the period of ten years for the BC reservations is over. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, however, extended the reservations through an ordinance.

Reservations in the local body institutions: Introduction of reservations for the backward classes in the local body institutions is in repose to the pressure built by the Backward Classes Associations on the government and realization of the numerical strength and lack of proper representation of the backward classes. With the victory of the Telugu deshnam party; the dissatisfaction among the backward castes against the Congress rule has been recognized. It was during the Telugu deshnam period, NT Rama Rao, as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, introduced the reservations in the local body institutions.

In order to accommodate growing elite among the backward castes and reduce the dominant castes hegemony in the local power structure Government of Andhra Pradesh through an ordinance in 1986 introduced 34% reservations in the local body institutions i.e., village panchayats, Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituencies (MPTCs), Presidents of the Mandal Parishads, Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituencies (ZPTCs), and Chairmen of the Zilla Praja Parishads and in the Municipal Councilors and Chairmen. There are 21,943-Gram Panchayats, 1093 Mandal Parishads, and 22 Zilla Parishads at present in the state¹⁴. Out of these 34% will be reserved for the backward classes, which means that 7460.62 Gram Sarpanches, 371.62 Mandal Presidents and 7.48 Zilla Parishad chairmen and in the same proportion in the M.P.T.C and Z.P.T.C and the

¹⁴ <http://www.aponline.gov.in>

Municipalities seats are reserved for the backward classes. With the introduction of reservations the representation of the backward classes has been increasing, but it is not in proportion to their population. But there is the criticism from the Backward Classes Associations on two points. One is that the candidates to contest in the reserved local body elections are decided by the landed dominant castes at the local level rather than the backward castes themselves¹⁵. Second is with regard to important procedural aspect, that is the reservations in the local body institutions is not having Constitutional guarantee and they are introduced through an ordinance in the Assembly, therefore, at any point either the Government or the judiciary may abolish these reservations since the matter is before the Supreme Court¹⁶

Protective discrimination as a channel of mobility provided limited opportunities to the economically and politically mobile backward castes. Over the years they have been drawn into greater participation in political life but a major grievance has been that orders concerning reservations are violated due to two reasons. Some of the enforcing authorities do not have proper understanding about the open competition, roaster and recasting etc., and some are deliberately doing so. It was happened in the recruitment of the junior engineers in the electricity department in the year 2000. 78 BC candidates have got highest marks, they are suppose to get the posts in the open category but given in the BC quota. That is why the deserved BC candidates did not get the jobs¹⁷.

The reservation policy is one of the major instruments used by Government of Andhra Pradesh to co-opt the growing elite among the backward classes. Reservations have been made for them in educational institutions,

¹⁵ Interview with R. Krishnaiah, President APBC Welfare Association at Hyderabad on 14-1-03.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

employment, and local body institutions. This policy seeks to compensate for centuries of inequalities, which prevent the economically, socially and educationally backward classes from enjoying anything approaching a proportional share of formal positions in the most strategic areas affecting economic standing and political power. Reservation policy has immense potential to influence the political process: it has provided sufficient stakes for the backward castes and particularly elites in the backward castes to extend their support to the political system¹⁸. But it has taken nearly three decades to introduce the reservations based on the recommendations of the Commissions, but not Constitution based, therefore, for every ten years the BC Commission will have to be appointed and obviously, the BCs have to face the anti-reservation agitation and legal battle in the court. At the same time, it is the only reservation movement, which has brought together the heterogeneous backward castes; dalit and the progressive forces fight for the democratic rights in the state as well as in the country.

HI) Inadequate policies for Education: For the education of backward castes children, the Government of Andhra Pradesh introduced the social welfare activities. But ideas for the introduction of social welfare activities are derived from the caste associations, which have practiced the welfare activities like hostels, scholarships etc as a part of the social mobilization of their caste people before independence. In response to the pressure built by the Backward Classes Associations in the post-independent period, the social welfare activities (annexure-12) include hostels, scholarships, residential schools, study circles etc. But there is an allegation that these facilities provided by the Government are not sufficient enough, due to inadequate infrastructure and funds, even for 25% of the BC students in the state¹⁹.

¹⁸ Reddy Ram, G, *op cit*, Vol-I, pp. 299.

¹⁹ Interview with Kishor, president APBC students Association at Hyderabad, 10-11-03.

Gradually, consciousness among the backward classes about education has been increasing. The strength of the BC students in schools, colleges and universities is also increasing. But the Government is not providing sufficient seats to all the applicants due to the scarcity of hostels in the entire state. For instance in kurnool district alone during the academic year 2003-4 the district backward classes welfare department received about 8000 applications from the B.C students, who joined in the schools, for total number of 1842 seats in the entire district. Same thing is happening in all the districts and at all levels like junior, Degree Colleges and Universities. All BC students' applicants are not getting either hostel accommodation or scholarship and fees reimbursement for the professional courses. Similar situation exists even in residential schools, where each school receives four digits of applications and accommodates only double-digit number of pupil.

For the last few years, the department of BC welfare went on increasing the number of study circles in order to give coaching for those BC students, who are preparing for the competitive exams. Since beginning of structural adjustment, liberalization and privatization policy in the country, recruitment for the Government jobs has been declining. Therefore, mere coaching without employment opportunities is no way going to help the backward caste youth.

For the purpose of enforcing policy matters, which are introduced for the backward castes, and to solve the procedural disputes in the process of implementation the Government of Andhra Pradesh made following institutional arrangements. (A) AP Backward Classes Cooperative Finance Corporation (APBCFC), (B) AP Backward Classes Welfare Department (APBCWD) and (C) AP Commission of Backward Classes (APCBC): Broadly these three institutions are looking after the financial, welfare and legal aspects respectively. These institutions have, almost; become helpless due to scarcity of funds from the state government, lack of central government financial support and political will of both the governments. The finance allocations made for the

BC Finance Corporation hardly covering even 5% of the BC beneficiaries, regarding welfare only Rs 10 crores is allocated for 52% of the BC population and BC Commission do not have either the mandatory powers to take any legal action against the violation of the rule of reservations or decision making power, but it has got powers only to include and exclude the castes in the BC list²⁰.

Summing up: The benefits of the policies, that include occupational co-operative societies, Adarana programme and anti-poverty programmes, reservations in the education, employment and local body institutions and a nominal share through an accommodation strategy, only a few of the backward castes, that too from the mobilized castes have benefited, remaining large number of non-mobilized BC castes did not get any share and the state Government attitude towards the backward castes is ambivalent. Therefore, in the post-independent period those backward castes, which have occupational cooperatives and organization, mobilization and articulation alone occupied the political, administrative positions and availed educational facilities. A large section of the non-mobilized and non-articulated backward castes have not yet entered the state institutions.

Another aspect of the state policies towards backward castes is that of the continuous neglect of the poor. The policies, which are discussed so far, are for those BCs who are having some assets like practicing traditional occupations, small and marginal farmers, students and educated middle class, but there is no space for the poorest of the poor. Obviously these people also not having any assets or skills but only the labour power. They constitute the largest number within the backward castes and are vulnerable. For majority of the poorest of the poor backward castes, there is no proper policy to protect their rights or minimum guarantee of work.

Last dimension to the policy response of the state is that the policies, which are introduced by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, are ineffective,

²⁰ See for details, *BC Garjana* (monthly journal; published by APBC Welfare Association, Hyderabad, January 2001).

incremental and inadequate. Even for these type of policies also the BCs will have to fight for a long-time but there is no guarantee that it is going to sustain. It happened in the case of economic development policies, in affirmative action and now in the social welfare policy, because the State is retreating in the wake of globalization process. The institutions, meant for the implementation of these policies, are lacking sufficient funds, staff, monitoring and also a great deal of mal-administration.

That is why G. Ram Reddy²¹ rightly observed that "the distribution of patronage and rewards was carried out in ways that encouraged competition among the leaders of disadvantaged groups which prevented them from combining to establish a new political formation of all the disadvantaged. The result was that they could not rely on a substantial social base for sustained support. These 'leaders' therefore, were diverted from demands for structural changes, which could benefit the larger castes/communities they 'represented' and directed toward seeking rewards for family and factional groups to ensure their co-option in to the existing power structures". The large chunk of the poor among the backward castes is marginalized from the development process. The provincial dominant caste rulers in Andhra Pradesh consciously introduced the class division within the deprived castes, which has on the one hand the elite class of entrepreneurs, administrative elite in bureaucracy and politics and on the other hand a large number of laboring class deprived of the benefits of the State policies.

²¹ Ram Reddy. G, op.cit, p. 263.

Chapter-6

Conclusion

After all considerations, discussed in the previous chapters on the mobilization of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh, such as social deprivation, social mobilization and social transformation one can come to a conclusion that the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh are socially heterogeneous and stratified, economically iniquitous due to external and internal differences, politically marginalized; in terms of mobilization highly fragmented and have insufficient nature of state policy support.

In terms of social deprivation, the Backward Castes are given lower position, except untouchability, they are also facing as many problems as dalits. Throughout the Indian history the backward castes remained as either producers or service providers for the ruling groups in specific and people in general. Traditionally they are the practicing artisans, handicraftsmen and occupational groups such as weavers, fishermen, shepherds, buffalo rearers, bamboo workers, toddy tappers, washermen, barbers etc. The occupational differentiation in the process of historical changes has led to the heterogeneous character and stratification. The social formations based on the heterogeneity and stratification has been characterized as the 'caste system'. Socially divided caste system and nature of caste-based exploitation was subjected to changes. Roots for the origin of caste system lies with the Indus valley civilization; at the time of Aryan civilization the caste system is legalized through the Dharmasastras. During the phase of caste-feudalism the backward castes were exploited in the name of *jajmani*. In response to the new ideas, the lower caste movements came up during the colonial period against the caste-feudalism.

These lower caste movements are Self-Respect movement in TamilNad, non-Brahmin movement in Karnataka, Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana movement in Kerala, anti-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra and post-independent electoral alliance in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and backward classes

identity at the national level resulted in the appointment of Kakakalelkar and Mandal Commissions. These movements not only led to the identity formation and affirmative action policy but also gave spurt to social transformation of the iniquitous, oppressive social order. The impact of these social movements, in terms of ideology, strategies and tactics on the lower castes is essentially long term, in spite of all its limitations. In continuation of these movements, the social mobilization of the backward castes has been taking place in Andhra Pradesh since independence.

There is a similarity in social deprivation, against which the social movements took place all over the country during the colonial and the post-colonial periods. All these movements questioned the upper caste domination and demanded for policy of affirmative action in educational institutions, employment and political institutions and realized some of the demands. Like any other state in India, the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh also suffered from the hierarchically ordered, socially restricted interdinning, interactions, lack of choice of occupation, segmentally divided caste system. In the traditional society these communities had sources of livelihoods and interdependent life, which was destroyed during the colonial period. The colonial rulers followed the policy of exporting local raw material and importing machine based products from England. Therefore, the local products were unable to compete with the machine-based commodities of British. As a result of which the artisans and local producers suffered a lot.

In the post-independent period for those people who are still depending on the traditional occupations, the Government of Andhra Pradesh introduced the occupational cooperative societies in response to the pressure from the caste associations. Until the introduction of new economic policies in 1990s, the occupational cooperative societies have economically strengthened the backward castes. When the globalization process was begun in the country the traditional occupational cooperatives started declining. As a result of which the dependents

are forced to become farm and non-farm labor, therefore, now there is an increase in the percentage of labour force, which is more than the population growth due to lack of alternative source of livelihoods.

In terms of changing agrarian relations also the position of the backward castes is depressing due to the close relationship between caste and land. A number of studies across the state revealed that higher the caste more quantity and quality of land and lower the caste lesser the land and chances of being small and marginal farmers and agricultural laborers. A few of the backward castes emerged as small and marginal farmers due to the occupational cooperative societies, which helped them for economic consolidation; Therefore, they have purchased small pieces of land but a lot of backward castes continue to be a part of labouring class. Therefore, there is a clear-cut division within the backward castes that the landed BCs and landless BCs. These two types of BCs are subjected to deprivation of education and employment opportunities.

With regard to political representation the backward castes are highly marginalized due to lack of either ownership of the physical property or Constitutional Guarantees. Therefore, since independence the landed dominant castes particularly *Reddies* and *Kammas* are in position of power. The Congress, Communists and *Telugu Desham* are the political instruments for their rule. In their struggle for power the faction ridden *Reddy* and *Kamma* castes sabotaging the backward castes to protect their interests. As a result of which the backward castes are divided and so manipulated they are not able to strike political unity.

As aware of the nature of deprivation such as social, economic, education, employment the backward castes, while being a part of on going grass roots movements, in order to over come the contradictions they started mobilizing themselves through four instruments viz, caste associations, federation of caste associations, political parties and non-party grass roots organizations.

As far as caste associations are concerned, they are started by the first generation of leaders during pre-independence period, while actively

participating in the contemporary political movements like national, anti-*zamindari*, anti-*jagirdari*, for the social reform within the caste. As a part of which the caste associations started mobilizing the people for the caste consolidation, co-operative societies, construction of hostels, scholarships and trusts etc. Therefore, it is the castes associations, which have contributed to the rise of Backward Castes Associations, making of the leaders through training to participate in the political movements and pressurized for the formulation of social welfare policy of the post-independent state Government.

The basic motive behind the establishment of the federation of caste associations was to train and make the backward castes to take active part in the newly independent democratic political system. At the same time they also realized that in a caste ridden social system it is difficult for backward castes to compete with the landed upper castes. Therefore, reservations in the education and employment assume importance. From the very beginning of the BC associations the leaders have been demanding for the reservations but the Governments at the center and state did not care but bowed the seeds for the division and factions among the backward caste leaders. That explains why the backward castes are fragmented.

There is a clear-cut demarcation in the political parties with regard to backward castes issues. From the very commencement of the occupational cooperatives to present day issues the left, both Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary parties have directly or indirectly supporting the cause of the backward castes. For a long time the Congress party maintained distance from the backward castes due to its feudal character, by the time it has realized their importance the Congress Party lost the power. Janata party and Janata Dal played vital role in getting the identification for the backward castes at the national level by appointing the second national level Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of B.P. Mandal and implementing it. At the state level the rise of Telugu Desham party met some of the aspirations of the

backward castes by accommodating the backward castes elite to maintain the vote bank to win over the opposition parties. But the backward castes play subordinate role in the *Telugu Desham* party also.

One interesting observation on the political parties with regard to backward castes is that elite class among them is accommodated in order to protect the power of the dominant caste in the state by avoiding unity and formation of alternative political platform. The lower class within the backward castes are dissatisfied with the performance of the state and find the space in the grass roots organizations. These organizations have got the caste and class character and concentrated on the neglected people in the society. Some of the issues, which are taken up by the non-party grass roots organizations are, broadly, linked with structural aspect like land, anti-upper caste atrocities, anti-arrack, child labour, proportional representation etc. But in these organizations also their role in the decision-making is not that significant.

Though the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh has got a long history of mobilization still they are not consolidated to replace the dominant caste hegemony in the state and there is no independent backward castes movement. That is why they are presented in two camps like political parties and non-party movements. The former has been preventing them from forming an alternative political platform and the latter is not consolidating as united front to challenge the dominant caste\class rule in the state.

In response to the backward castes fragmented mobilization the Government of Andhra Pradesh has introduced the ineffective, for instance occupational co-operative societies, Adarana and anti-poverty programmes, incremental policies like affirmative action in educational institutions employment and local body institutions and insufficient social welfare hostels, scholarships, residential schools, study circles. The institutional arrangements are also made to implement these policies, but are lacking sufficient funds, power, staff, and monitoring mechanisms.

The strong criticism among the social scientist has been that whatever demands have been made and achieved the privileged section within the backward castes have got benefited. Therefore, there is a class differentiation within the backward castes. This differentiation posed a big problem along with the heterogeneous and stratified mobilization of the backward castes in Andhra Pradesh to resolve the contradictions.

Appendices

Appendix-1

Salient Conclusions and Recommendations of the Kakakalelkar Commission

The recommendations of the Kalelkar Commission for the upliftment of the backward classes are extremely wide-ranging and comprehensive. The following is the summary of the important conclusions and recommendations of the Commission:

Census and Caste: All facts about caste have to be collected (through census) and classified in a scientific manner taking help from ethnologists and sociologists.

Special Groups: All *Muslims* are not socially and educationally backward. But there are a number of communities among them that are suffering from backwardness. Such communities are included in the list of OBCs. *Christianity* has consistently referred to recognize caste. But, in practice the segregation of converts from Scheduled Castes still prevails, particularly in south India. The Commission included such communities in the list of OBCs. If the SC converts to *Christianity* in parts of the country also suffer from similar social disabilities, they also be included in the OBCs list. *Anglo-Indians* cannot be classes as backward, either educationally or socially. *Sikhs* constitute an integral part of the Hindu religion. Although, in theory, *Sikhs* do not subscribe to caste system, in reality they cling to many Hindu practices. The communities who are treated as "untouchables among *Sikhs* should be included in the list of Scheduled Caste; any distinct community among them found to be socially and educationally backward must be included in the list of OBCs. Women, who live under great social handicaps, must be regarded as backward. But as they do not form a separate community they cannot be included in the list of backward classes. The condition of backward woman is worse. So special measures for the advancement of woman in the field of education, politics, employment etc,

should be taken up. *Backward area* in different States should be developed through specially designed developmental schemes.

Criteria of Backwardness: A variety of causes social, environmental, economic and political have operated both openly and in a subtle way for centuries to create the present classical problem of backwardness. The Commission is justified in interpreting the terms of reference as mainly relating to social hierarchy based on caste. So the Commission adopted four criteria of backwardness for real guidance. The same criterion was also employed to further classifying (see *supra*) the backward classes.

Backwardness and its Removal: Adult franchise has given to the masses the most potent and power instrument with which to share their destiny. So their hands have to be strengthened through education instead of offering another weapon to weak hands. Therefore" it would be suicidal to accord any additional/special political representation to any community". There are disruptive forces that are trying to entrench themselves by exploiting the prevailing social conditions. The objective should be full employment and the removal of economic inequalities. Conditions must be recreated in which the development of backward classes takes a natural growth. The main solution, therefore, is not so much to wait for the creation new avenues of employment, as to provide favorable conditions in which their lost or decaying occupations could be revived: this would relieve the pressure on land.

Law and Policy: All kinds intermediary tenures should be abolished to help the formulation and implementation of a national land policy. "Fixing a ceiling on land holding is a necessary social principle to remove the existing social inequality in the country side". It should be followed immediately by placing limits on incomes from others field of national economy.

Reservations (educational): In all science, engineering, medical, agricultural, veterinary and other professional and technological institutions, a reservation of 70% of seats should be provided for the qualified student of

backward classes till such time as accommodation is provided for all the students eligible for admission. In making selections to the reserved seats, candidates from extremely backward classes should be preferred: the principle of favoring the lower of the two claimants should be followed. A selection committee consisting of the representatives from all communities should be setup to assist the educational authorities in the selection of the candidates. Employment: Prestige, power, seats of pay, security and scope to distribute patronage-make Government service attractive. So long as it continues to be so, providing reservation of definite quota of vacancies in each class should recognize the claims of OBCs for adequate representations in the service. To lessen the keen desire for Government service on the part of OBCs, one way to render them as an attractive as possible is to reduce the emoluments attached to them. The interests of the State, the efficiency of administration and the increasing role of welfare which the service have to play in relation to the masses of the country- all these demand that reservations should be in proportion to the population of OBCs. Therefore in all Government and local body services, the basis of representation of OBCs should be; Class-I: 25% of vacancies: Class-II; 33.5% of vacancies; and Class III&IV: 40% of vacancies. This percentage would be in addition to that which has already been conceded by the Government to the SCs and STs. At the end of ten years, the adequacy of representation of OBCs should be reviewed. While recognizing the desirability of selecting the best possible candidates in technical services, the OBCs should be increasingly given facilities in technical (educational) institutions. A permanent Board should be setup to enforce full and proper implementation of the reservation policy.

Separate Ministry: A new Ministry should be created, one at the Center and one in each State, to effectively address the problems of the backward classes

Appendix-2

The important recommendations of the Mandal Commission

Reservations:

In a democratic setup every individual and community has a legitimate right and aspiration to participate in ruling this country. Any situation that results in a near denial of this right to nearly 52% of the country's population needs to be urgently rectified. The chief merit of reservations is not that it will introduce egalitarianism among the OBCs when all sorts of inequalities seize the rest of the Indian society. But reservation will certainly erode the hold of higher castes on the services and enabled OBCs in general to have a sense of participation in running affairs of their country. The population of OBCs (both Hindu and non-Hindu) is around 52% of the total population. But in view of the Supreme Court judgments which hold that the total quantum of reservation under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) should be below 50%, the proposed reservations for OBCs would have to be pegged at a figure which, when added to 22.5% for SCs and STs, remains below 50%. So the Commission was obliged to recommend a reservation 27% only, even though their population is almost twice the figure.

States that have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27% will remain unaffected by this recommendation. In addition the Commission proposes the "overall scheme of reservation" for OBCs: (a) candidates recruited on merit basis (i.e., open competition) should not be adjusted against their quota of 27%. (b) The above reservation should be applied to promotions at all levels, (c) Relaxation of upper age limit for direct recruitment should be extended to the OBCs also, (d) The above scheme of reservation, in Toto, should also be applied to all recruitments to; public sector undertakings (both Central and States); nationalized banks; all private undertakings which have received financial assistance from the Government; and all Universities and affiliated colleges.

Educational Concessions:

Though our educational system is elitist in character and least suited to the needs of backward classes, they are forced to run the rat race with other, as no options are available to them. "As educational reform was not within the terms of reference of this Commission, we are forced to suggest only palliative measures within the existing framework". Various state Governments are giving a number of educational concessions to the OBC students-scholarships, exemption of fees, special hostels etc. They are all right as far as they go but they are not enough. What is required the framing of integrated schemes for creating the proper environment and incentives for purposeful studies.

Most backward class children are irregular and indifferent students and their dropout rate is very high. So an intensive and time bound programme for adult education should be launched in pockets with high concentration of OBC population; and residential school should be setup in these areas for the backward class students. As the OBCs cannot afford the high wastage rates of our educational system, their education should be highly biased in favour of vocational training. Even if all the above facilities are given to the OBC students, they will not be able to compete with others. Therefore, 27% of seats in all scientific, technical and professional institutions-run by the Central and State governments-should be reserved for OBC students.

Financial Assistance:

Rural artisans following hereditary occupations have suffered heavily as a result of industrialization. So suitable institutional finance, through separate financial institutions and technical assistance have to be provided to such members of village vocational communities who want to set up small scale industries. Cooperative societies of hereditary occupational groups would help the backward classes a great deal. The share of OBCs in the industrial and business life of the country is negligible. As a part of its over all strategy to uplift the backward classes, it is imperative that tall State Governments are suitable

advised and encouraged to create a separate net work of financial and technical institutions to foster business and industrial enterprise among OBCs.

Structural Changes:

Educational and job reservations, and all possible financial assistance will remain mere palliatives unless the problem of backwardness is tackled at its root. As most of the functionaries of the government are drawn from the "top peasantry" the class and caste linking between the functionaries and the top peasantry remains firm. This tilts the socio-political balance and helps the top peasantry in maintaining its dominance over others.

Despite constituting nearly three-fourths of the country's population, the SCs, STs, and OBCs have been able to acquire a very limited political clout. Through their literal monopoly of means of production, the higher castes are able to manipulate and coerce the backward classes into acting against their own interests. Until the stranglehold of the under privileged on the dominant higher castes will continue indefinitely. The implementation of various land reform legislations has been halting, half-hearted and superficial. The States like Karnataka, Kerala and West Bengal which gone about the job more earnestly have not only succeeded in materially helping the backward classes, but also reaped rich political dividends in the bargain.

A radical transformation of the existing production relations is the most important single step that can be taken for the welfare and upliftment of all backward classes. Even if this is not possible in the industrial sector for various reasons, in the agriculture sector a change of this nature is both feasible and overdue.

Miscellaneous:

Backward Classes Development Corporations should be set up both at the Central and State levels to implement various developmental schemes for their advancement. A Separate Ministry for OBCs at the Center and In the States should be created to safe guard their interests. The Commission strongly

recommends that all development programs specially designed for the OBCs should be financed by the Central Government in the same manner and to the same extent as done in the case of SCs and STS. Regarding the period of operation of the Commissions recommendations. The entire scheme should be reviewed after twenty years.

Appendix-3.

Estimation of Other Backward Castes population by the Mandal and Muralidhar Rao Commissions

Scheduled castes Scheduled tribes:	Percent
Scheduled castes:	15.05
Scheduled tribes:	7.51
Total:	22.56
Non-Hindu communities/religious groups:	
Muslims other than STs	11.19
Christians other than STs	2.16
Sikhs other than SCs and STs	1.67
Buddhists other than STs	0.67
Jains	0.47
Total	16.16
Forward-Hindu castes communities:	
Brahmins (including Bhumihars)	5.52
Rajputs	3.90
Marathas	2.21
Jats	1.00
Vaisyas (Bania)	1.88
Kayasthas	1.07
Other forward Hindu caste/groups	2.00
Total:	17.58
Backward castes among Hindus:	
Remaining Hindu castes and groups	
Which come under other backward classes	

(22.56+16.16+17.58=56.30) 43.70

100-56.30

Plus

Backward non-Hindu communities:

The population of the backwards in the

Non-Hindu religious communities

And denominational Hindu communities

Is estimated by Mandal Commission at

52% of 16.16 8.40

Total population of other backward

(Classes including non-Hindu

Communities) 52.00

Table-1 shows the non-OBC, non-upper caste population in Andhra Pradesh estimated by Muralidhar Rao.

S.No	Name of the caste/religion	Total population (1971) of AP	Percentage
		4,35,02,708	
1	Muslims	35,20,166	8.00%
2	Christians	18,23,436	4.00%
3	Sikhs	12,591	0.03%
4	Buddhists	10,034	0.02%
5	Jains	16,108	0.04%
6	Scheduled Castes	57,74,548	13.00%
7	Scheduled Tribes	16,57,657	4.00%
8	Total:		29.09%

Appendix-4

Caste-wise population in Andhra Pradesh Estimated by Ram Reddy

S. NO	Name of the Caste	Percentage of Population	Categories total
1	Brahmin	3	
2	Kapu	15.2	
3	Kamma	4.8	
4	Komati	2.7	
5	Kshatriya	1.2	
6	Velama	3	Forward Castes 29.9
7	Baliya	0.7	
8	Boya/Besta	4.2	
9	Chakali	2.1	
10	Devanga	0.4	
11	Dudekula	2	
12	Goundla	0.4	
13	Gavara	6.3	
14	Golla	1	
15	Ediga	0.4	
16	Jangam	2.1	
17	Kammara/ Viswabrahman	0.9	
18	Kummari	1.3	
19	Kurma	0.8	
20	Munnurukapu	1.3	
21	Mangali	3.3	
22	Mutrasi	2.9	
23	Sale	5.2	
24	Telaga	0.6	
25	Uppara	1.8	
26	Vaddera	5.4	B.C population 46.1
27	Others	7.3	
28	Madiga	9.7	S.C Population 17
29	Mala	7	Minorities 7
30	Muslims/Christians	100	100
	Total Population		

Appendix-5

List of Backward Castes in Andhra Pradesh

Serial Number	Name of castes/communities (including Sub-Caste synonyms) in the Common list of S.E.B.Cs.	Entry No. In State list	Entry No. In Mandal list
Group-A			
1	Agnikulashatriya		
	Palli	1	204
	Vadabalija	1	27
	Bestha	1	
	Jalari	1	204
	Gangavar	1	204
	Gangaputra	1	173
	Goondal	1	204
	Vannekulkshetriya	1	204
	Vannekapu	1	204
	Vannerreddy	1	204
	Pallikapu	1	204
	Pallireddy	1	204
	Noyyala	1	204
	Pattapu	1	204
2	Balasanhu	2	19
	Bahurupi	2	19
3	Bandara	3	20
4	Budabukkala	4	36
5	Rajaka	5	41
6	Dasari	6	52
7	Dommarra	7	61
8	Gangiredlavallu	8	67
9	Jangam (begging)	9	83
10	Jogi	10	87
11	Katipapla	11	110
12	Korcha Korcha	12	25
13	Medari or Mahendra	14	164
14	Mondivaru	15	167
	Mondibanda	15	167
	Banda _____	15	167

42	Ediga, Gouda (Gamalla, Kalalee), Goundla, Settibalija (of Visakhapatnam, East&WeastGodavari and Krishna district)	4	64
43	Dudekula, Laddaf, Pinjari or Noorbash	5	63
44	Gandla	6	65
45	Telikula,	6	65
	Jandra	7	81
46	Kummara or Kulala	8	137
47	Karikalabhkthulu, Kaklian or Kaikola (Sengumnam or Senfunther	9	104
48	Karnabhktula	10	106
49	Kuruba,orKuruma	11	43
50	Nagavaddilu	12	175
51	Neelakanti	13	182
52	Patkar (Khatri)	14	217
53	Perika (Paerikabalija, Purayirikshetriya)	15	220
54	Nessi or Kurni	16	183
55	Padmasalee (Sali, Saliyan, Pettusali, Senapathulu, Thogatasali)	17	196
56	Sriseyana (Segidi0	18	225
57	Swakulasali	19	260
58	Thogata, Thogati, or Thogataveerakshatirya	20	265
59	Vishwabrahmin (Ausula or Kamsali, Kammari, kanchari, Vadla, or Vadra, or Vadrangi and silpi)	21	284
Group-(C)			
60	Scheduled castes converts to Christianity and their progeny	1	242
Group- (D)			
61	Agaru	1	4
62	Arekatika, Katika	2	10
63	Atagara	3	12
64	Bhataraju	4	29
65	Chippoli (Mora)	5	48
66	Gauara	6	69

67	Godaba	7	70
68	Hatkar	8	78
69	Jakkala	8	78
70	Jingar	10	86
71	Kandra	11	97
72	Koshti	12	128
73	Kachti	13	89
74	Kalavanthula, Kanika	14	94
75	Krishnabalija (Dasari, Bukka)	15	151
76	Koppulavelama	16	124
77	Mathura	17	161
78	Mali (where they are not scheduled tribe)	18	153
79	Mudiraju, Matrasi, Tenugollu	19	169
80	Munnurkapu (Telangana	20	159
81	Naguvasam (Nagavamsa)	21	176
82	Nelli	22	189
83	Polinativelama (of Srikakulam and Vishkapatnam districts)	23	226
84	Posala	24	227
85	Sassi	25	216
86	Rangarez or Khatriya	26	51
87	Sdhuchety	27	236
88	Satani (ChattadasriVaishnavi)	28	241
89	Tammali	29	263
90	Turpukapu (of Srikakulam and Vishakapatnam districts who are subject to social customs of divorce and remarriages among their woman)	30	270
91	Uppara or Sagara	31	272
92	Vanjara (Vanjari)	32	278
93	Yadava (Golla)	33	72

Appendix-6

Important demands of the Andhra Pradesh Backward Castes Associations.

(A) EDUCATIONAL:

The hostels, which are well established and are run in self-owned Buildings by the backward class organizations for the benefit of the Backward Class students, be granted residential scholarships.

To reserve the seats at the ratio of 10:1 for the listed Backward Classes and Economically Backward Classes.

The Backward Classes should be provided with supply of textbooks, clothes, coaching centers, opening of more hostels and adequate scholarships.

Hike in the scholarships.

Opening of the more and more residential schools.

(B) EMPLOYMENT:

Issue order for reservation of 25% of vacancies in direct recruitment for the backward classes, including the appointments made under the self-employment schemes by the Government

To create separate cell in the Government to ensure proper implementation of the G. O in matter of recruitment in services

The recognized Backward Class Organizations should be informed of the vacancies reserved for Backward Classes to give wide publicity among the backward classes about the vacancy position.

The reservation in the case of post to be filled by promotion should be extended to listed backward classes.

(C) HOUSING:

The fixed for the listed backward classes in the housing scheme is quite meager compare to their population and felt needs. It was therefore, requested that a separate allocation of funds be made for this purpose.

(D) BOGUS CERTIFICATE-

Proper scrutiny should be undertaken during the time of availing the scholarships and Government Hostel accommodation and also reservation of seats in educational institutions as well as in services to avoid the bogus candidates. Particularly on the pretext of being Economically Backward, non-eligible persons were taking undue advantage of Government scholarships and admissions in Government Hostels to the detriment of the listed backward classes.

(E) IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MANDAL COMMISSION IN THE CENTER AND MURALIDHAR RAO COMMISSION IN THE STATE:

There is strong demand for the implementation of all the recommendations of the Mandal Commission at the central Government. The recommendations of the Muralidhar Rao Commission in the state also not implemented. The Commission recommended for the increase of the reservations up to 40%. Though there was an attempt to implement the recommendations of the Muralidhar Rao Commission during the time of NT. Rama Rao in 1986, but it was rejected by the High Court.

(F) PROPORATIONAL SHARE IN THE NOMINATED POSITIONS: every year both the central as well as state Governments have been nominating for number of institutions and organizations as the chairmen and members. Now the backward classes demand is to give the 50% of the nominated posts for them.

(G) RESERVATIONS IN THE LOCAL BODY AND LEGISLATIVE BODIES: Even though reservations are provided for the backward classes in the local body elections, but those reservations do not have the Constitutional guarantee. Given reservations in the local bodies is also not adequate for the proportion of the population. The present demand of the backward classes is for the Constitutional guarantee for the reservations in the local body institutions and reservations in the State Legislative Assembly and Parliament

(H) QUOTA IN THE WOMEN RESERVATION BILL: The demand is that in the present controversial women reservation bill, which provides reservations for the women in the political institutions, quota should be given for the OBC women.

(I) CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE FOR THE RESERVATIONS: The reservations, which are provided for the backward classes at the national and various state governments do not have the Constitutional guarantee. At any point of time, the reservations may be withdrawn from the implementation. They are given reservations on the recommendation of the Backward Classes Commissions and not based on the Constitution. Initially the Commission is appointed to give the report recommending and suggesting the measures for the upliftment of the backward classes only for ten years, again the new Commission will be appointed. Therefore the demand is to amend the Constitution to include the reservations for the other backward classes in the Constitution.

(Source: Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India by APBC Welfare Association in 2003).

Appendix-7

District-wise data relating to some of the occupational cooperative societies.

S. No	District	Weaver s	Toddy Tappers	Fishermen
1	Srikakulam	39	89	143
2	Vizianagaram	12	94	54
3	Visakhapatnam	15	176	112
4	E. Godavari	48	461	442
5	W. Godavari	19	498	253
6	Krishna	23	374	209
7	Guntur	20	215	127
8	Prakasham	22	46	84
9	Nellore	35	321	131
10	Chittor	6	108	32
11	Cuddapah	78	19	28
12	Kurnool	8	64	62
13	Anantapur	39		80
14	Karimnagar	58	859	423
15	Nizambad	5	278	327
16	Adilabad	5	225	144
17	Ranga Reddy	9	263	118
18	Hyderabad	5	106	16
19	Medak	29	466	319
20	Warangal		703	406
21	Khammam	8	389	155
22	Mahabubnagar	52	461	361
23	Nalgonda		834	298
	Total			4212

(Sources: Collected by researcher from the concerned departments)

Appendix-8
District-wise distribution of Adarana

District analysis

(Units in numbers)

District	No, of Man dals	Target	Benefici aries identi fied	Tools ordered		Tools supplied		Units grounded		Gro und ed	% units tools orde:
				< Rs.500 0	> Rs.500 0	< Rs.500 0	> Rs.500 0	< Rs.5 000	> Rs.5 000	< Rs.5 000	> Rs.5C
Srikakulam	37	49402	49402	33705	6247	14757	1087	8925	27	26	0.4
Vizianagara m	34	33900	23561	1100	16319	22	16319	3	69	0.3	0.3
Visakhapatn an	39	35281	35280	29500	7120	23164	1104	2207 5	89	78	1
E. Godavari	57	82185	53635	34525	2984	32769	1400	3276 9	848	95	28
W. Godavari	46	60634	50999	35704	10313	13009	775	1300 9	5	36	0.5
Krishna	49	59602	45311	20518	4759	12309	615	9463	145	46	3
Guntur	57	49732	43401	34812	5234	29209	868	2194 1	0	63	
Prakasham	56	35644	38680	27932	2728	20956	67	1978 8	33	71	1.2
Nellore	46	32294	28670	20069	7673	10480	1375	7128	13	36	0.2
Chittor	65	33442	28100	25495	6293	19670	1354	1413 6	10	55	0.2
Cuddapah	50	32761	2212	19005	3606	5999	57	5999	0	32	-

[Kurnool	54	51412	59666	41950	8334	32241	1690	22578	163	54	2
Anantapur	63	44521	39736	31824	8598	20725	402	20725	324	65	4
Karimnagar	56	57629	43071	43003	9004	25948	2500	25682	1500	60	17
Nizambad	36	32142	35000	30263	1325	29645	324	29222	10	97	0.8
Adilabad	52	29916	21770	17657	1288	8238	120	7800	0	44	–
Ranga Reddy	33	38599	42339	29742	3760	28775	775	28523	455	96	12
Hyderabad	16	12245	21000	15589	1911	8614	96	8314	45	53	2
Medak	45	38095	30205	22096	4612	12785	1915	12235	0	55	
Warangal	50	49920	39510	39213	14532	28526	2420	18159	460	46	3
Khammam	45	32008	29990	19215	8302	12513	62	10150	19	53	0.2
Mahabubnagar	64	49183	38630	36898	2798	17220	273	11035	40	30	1
Nalgonda	59	59453	57530	37951	9828	19568	1850	23192	0	61	
Total	1109	1000000	886322	670227	132349	443439	21151	390168	4189	58	3

(Concurrent Evaluation Report on Adarana By CID-2002, Hyderabad)

Allocation of the budget for the Artisans is as follows under the Adarana scheme.

Table-1 Occupational groups, economic activity and % of share in the population

S. No	Occupational groups	Major Economic Activity	% Share in the total occupational group population
1	Yadava, Golla, Kuruma, Kuruba	Cattle Rearing, Milk Vending, sheep Rearing and Kambali weaving	23.46
2	Goud	Toddy Tapping	16.34
3	Fishermen	Fishing	9.34
4	Weavers	Weaving	9.24
5	Odde, Uppara	Earth Works	7.2
6	Vishwabrahmin, Kamsali, Kanchari, Kammari, Vadrani	Gold smithy, Black smithy, Bras smithy, Stone Carving (Silpi) and Carpentry	6.73
7	Rajaka	Laundry	11.88
8	Dudekula, Noorbasha, Luddaq, Pinjaries	Cotton Carding	4.05
9	Kummara, Kulala	Pottery	4.10
10	Nayeebrahmin, Mangali	Hair Dressing	3.99
11	Gandla, Telikula	Oil Pressing	1.17
12	Arekatika, Katika	Butchery	0.87

13	Medari, Gundla, Gadaba	Basketry	0.64
14	Poosala	Petty Dealers (Beads & Needles)	0.22
15	Rangrej, Chippolu/Mera Bhavasara Kshtriya	Tailoring/ Dyeing	0.19

(Source: Adarana, a broacher released by APBCFC, Government of A.P)

Table-2 Category, unit cost and funding pattern

Category	Unit cost	Funding pattern (%)		
		Artisan's share	Loan	Subsidy
I	Up to Rs.2, 500	10	10	80
II	Rs.2, 501 to 5,000	10	20	70
III	Rs.5, 001 to 10,000	15	35	50
IV	Rs.10, 000 to 20,000	15	50	35

(Source: Adarana, a broacher released by APBCFC, Government of A.P)

Rs 80 crores are allotted for the distribution of Adarana tools for the above artisans with 80% subsidies. Twenty-two trades were covered on the strength of number of artisans

Distribution of beneficiaries:

According to concurrent evaluation¹ of the Adarana, of the 4,478 artisans studied, Anantapur district accounted for 23.5 per cent, followed by Nizamabad (16.8%), Mahabubnagar (16.0%), East Godavari (15.7%), and Prakasam and Cuddapah (14.0% each) respectively

¹ Planning and Concurrent Evaluation of Adarana programme in selected districts of Andhra Pradesh, Center for Industrial Development, Yousufguda, Hyderabad, December 1999,

In East Godavari district, 37.8 per cent represent Goudas and 37.3% are Rajakas followed by Yadavas (10.4%), Nayeebrahmins (4.5%), Padmasalis (2.8%), Odde (2.6%), Medari (1.6%) and the remaining (2.2%) are Dudekulas, Viswabrahmins and Kummaras respectively.

Most of them are engaged in toddy tapping, laundry, milk vending, weaving, earthworks, smithy-works, basketry, and hairdressing pottery and tailoring. In Prakasam district 27.7 per cent represent Yadavas, 20.5% by Rajakas, 14.2% by Nayeebrahmins and 10.9% Odderas which are the dominating caste; followed by Dudekulas (8.1%), Agnikulakshatriyas (6.1%), Kummaras (3.8%), Padmasalis (2.7%), Viswabrahmin (2.5%), Gowdas (2.4%), and (1.1%), in Medari community. Out of 628 units covered activity is concentrated mainly to areas of milk vending, laundry and tailoring, followed by hairdressing, earthworks, carpentry, basketry and electrical works.

In Cuddapah district 27.7 per cent beneficiaries are from the Yadava community, followed by Dudekulas (18.8%) and Viswabrahmins (18.1%) communities. Then come fishermen (11.3%) Nayeebrahmin (10.5%), Kummara (3.8%), Odde (2.5%), Padmasalis (2.4%), Rangaraj (1.5%), Arekatika (1.3%), Gouda (1.3%) and Rajaka (0.8%) respectively. Out of 629 sample units covered in the district, most of them are engaged in tailoring, milk-vending, smithy works, hairdressing, fishing carpentry and dyeing activities.

In Anantapur district of the total sample units covered, Yadavas (22.1%), Agnikulakshatrayas (15.7%), Rajakas (15.3%) and Odderas (14.3%) are the dominating castes followed by Nayeebrahmins (10.8%) Gowdas (9.5%), Padmasalis (7.5%), Dudekulas (2.1%), Viswabrahmins (1.1%), Kummaras (0.8%) and Gandla (0.5%), respectively. Of the 1,049 artisans, most are engaged in milk-vending, tailoring, hairdressing, laundry, sheep rearing and carpentry followed by dyeing, toddy tapping, fishing weaving, earthworks, black smithy, pottery and electrical works.

In Mahabubnagar district castes like Yadavas, (24.9%), Gowdas (20.8%), Agnikulakshatriyas (18.8%) are dominating, followed by Viswabrahmin (8.4%), Nayeebrahmins (7.7%), Rajakas (4.6%), Odderas (4.3%), Kummaras (4.0%), Arekatika (2.4%), Padmasalis (1.4%). The remaining 2.7% belong to Medari, Rangrej, Dudekula, Poosala and Gandla communities. Of the 717 sample artisans, most are engaged in milk vending, toddy-tapping, fishing, carpentry and hair-dressing, followed by tailoring, laundry, pottery, butchery, black smithy, basketry, weaving and dyeing. In Nizamabad district, of the 752 sample artisans 24.6 percent are Goudas, 22.1% Agnikulakshatriyas, and 19.3% are Rangrej which are dominating castes, followed by Yadavas (6.4%), Odderas (5.7%), Viswabrahmin (5.6%), Nayeebrahmins (5.1%), Kummaras (3.3%), Padmasalis (2.7%), Rajakas (1.8%). The remaining (1.4%) belongs to Medari, Dudekula, Arekatika and Gandla communities.

Appendix-9

Important Recommendations of the Anantharaman Commission:

1)(a) Provision for reservation of seats, scholarships, free hostel facilities at all level of education.

(b) Facilities for clothing, mid-day meals, special coaching, exemption from payment of all fees, monetary aid to purchase slates, books, stationary etc. up to high school stage.

© Provision of more high schools in rural areas and residential schools for nomadic and semi-nomadic communities.

2) (a) Provision of full non-residential scholarships (for those who could not get admission in hostels) and half the boarding and lodging charges to those students living with their parents.

(b) As in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes every one of the applicants of the Backward Classes should be given scholarship to prosecute higher studies, if he/she is eligible

© Sufficient and adhoc amounts to be placed with the heads of institutions and authorities concerned, for timely disbursement of scholarships, adjustment of fees and hostel charges etc.

(d) The income limit of the parents, for being entitled to economic aids to be raised to Rs 4,800/- and Rs 6,000/- for annum instead of the present income of Rs 3,600/- per annum

(e) Provision of at least one hostel in each taluq with suitable building accommodation, facilities of sanitation etc.

(f) Facilities for library books, guidance for studies and sleeping arrangements in school buildings at night, and tutorial classes in hostels by appointing B.A., B.Eds. As Wardens

(g) A vocational cell in hostels to guide backward class students for intelligent selection of courses at higher and technical level of education

3) The Commission with a view to give equal opportunities for all backward classes of people, recommended for reservation 30% of seats in all educational institutions, distributed in four groups as follows:

Table-2 groups, castes and percentage of reservations recommended by the Commission

1	Groups	Name of the Communities)	% Of Reservations
1	A	Aboriginal Tribes, Vimukta Jatis, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic tribes	7
2	B	Vocational groups	13
3	C	Harijan Converts	1
4	D	Other backward classes	9
	Total	93 castes	30

(Source: Anantharaman Commission Report-1976, Govt, of AP)

Appendix-10

Important resolutions of the APBC Conference Held in 1979

- 1) The Conference recommended the Government to extend reservations and other concessions by another 20 years (as they were due to expire in the year 1980)
- 2) The Conference resolved that minimum of 40% reservations should be made in all nominated and elected bodies from the village level to state level
- 3) The Conference resolved to request the state government to recommend the Government of India that enumeration of the Backward Classes should be undertaken during the forthcoming decennial census in 1981. If the Centre is not prepared to do so, the state Government may take-up the work.
- 4) It was resolved to request the government to constitute standing Commission on the lines of the Central Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Commissions.
- 5) The Conference resolved that the state Government should raise the percentage of reservations from 25% to at least 50% to start with even though this would be badly falling short of the population ratio itself
- 6) It was resolved that whatever Backward class candidates are not available for the posts reserved for them in the public employment, the Government should carry such vacancy for at least a period of three years
- 7) The Conference resolved to request the Central Government to immediately provide 50% reservations to the Backward Classes in all the public sector undertakings
- 8) It was resolved that the government should suitably amend all the University Acts providing reservations in appointments and promotions and for representation in all committees and bodies of the universities
- 9) The Conference resolved that the state should provide loans and facilities to the traditional occupational communities such as toddy tappers, Rajakas, Fishermen, Nai Brahmins, Weavers, artisans, Dudekula, potters etc.

10) It was resolved that Backward Classes students working for M.Phil and Ph.D. should be given the Universities scholarships on the U.G.C scales

11) The Conference demanded the Government to provide house sites to the Backward Classes

12) The Conference resolved to demand for self-employment schemes for women, of the weaker sections and loan facilities from the cooperatives and banks. It was also urged that the coverage of the AP Women's Co-operative Finance Corporation should be extended to every nook and corner of the state.

(Resolutions passed by AP BC State Conference held in 1979 at Hyderabad, A.P).

Appendix-11

Important Recommendations of the Muralidhar Rao Commission

A summary of the main recommendations made in this Report is given below: -

1. The list of Backward Classes is divided into 5 groups viz., A, B, C, D. and E in the place of the four existing Groups. 9 new communities are added and one community is deleted from the list. These are recommended for recognition by the Government.
2. The reservation quota for Backward Classes should be enhanced from 25% to 44% for appointments. The cycle of reservation to Backward Classes Group-wise may be revised to provide reservation to an extent of 44%.
3. Reservations shall be made applicable to all State Government Departments, Government Public Undertakings, Corporations, Local Bodies, Educational Institutions including Universities and all other institutions, which receive Government aid.
4. The rule of Reservation shall be made applicable for promotions and appointments by transfer also both in regular and temporary vacancies in all cases where such concessions are given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
5. Unfilled vacancies intended for Backward Classes should be carried forward to subsequent three years.
6. 44% of seats should be reserved for Backward Classes. The rotation shall be same as for appointments.
7. The rule of reservation shall also be applied for recruitment to Readers' and Professors' posts in Universities and Colleges.
8. The allotment of Budget provision in order to provide Scholarships and adequate Hostel facilities for Backward Classes students shall be enhanced on par with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students. There should be no difference in the rates of payment of Scholarships between Backward Class

students and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes students. The Scholarship amount for Metric and pre-Metric students should be raised to Rs.10.5 crores per annum for the present level of Rs.1.5 crores. For post-Metric the amount shall be raised from Rs.4.26 crores to Rs.7 crores.

9. The State Government should urge upon the Central Government to earmark necessary funds to grant financial assistance for the benefit of the Backward Class students on the same lines as in the case of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students.

10. Adequate number of seats in the Hostels shall be created in proportion to the number of Backward Class students applying for admission to the Hostels. Rs.20 crores should raise the present provision of Rs.7 crores every year.

11. Granting adequate funds to enable the Corporation to serve the needs of the Backward Classes in full should strengthen the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Co-operative Finance Corporation.

12. Artisans Complexes have to be set up to organize aid and help the artisans. The State Government should provide marketing assistance (Marketing Umbrella).

13. While promoting ancillary units Government should earmark at least 25% of the units in favor of Backward Classes.

14. A specific programme should be drawn up for self Employment of Backward Classes by pooling up resources to an extent of Rs.4, 500 crores for the benefit of the Backward Classes in the next ten years, at the rate of Rs.450 crores per annum i.e. 225 crores Institutional Finance.

15. The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Co-operative Finance Corporation shall obtain loans direct from the Banks and grant the consolidated sum to the Backward Classes on the security of machinery or land. The Corporation should raise Rs.225 crores every year from Financial Institutions to match the budgetary support. The State Government shall give directions to the Andhra Pradesh Industrial Development Corporation, Andhra Pradesh State Financial

Corporation and Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation to encourage Backward Classes to set up Industries.

16. Sheep and Wool Development Board may be established to help the Backward Classes.

17. Half of the number of Toddy Trees should be given to Toddy Tappers on nomination basis in the place of the present auction system.

18. The five professions of Viswabrahmin Community shall be recognized for the purpose of aid from Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Andhra Pradesh Backward Co-operative Finance Corporation.

19. The Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Co-operative Finance Corporation should be asked to finance fishing programmes for the benefit of fishermen. Fishponds may be leased out exclusively for fishermen community.

20. Quota of reservation of houses and house-sites in favor of Backward Classes shall be raised to 50% in proportion to their population.

21. There shall be reservations for Backward Classes to an extent of 50% of seats in Legislature, Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samithis, Municipal Corporations, Municipalities, and Gram Panchayathis etc.

22. The posts of district backward classes officers may be created with necessary supporting staff to work under the Commissioner of Backward Classes, in the districts. The post of Director of Backward Classes shall be upgraded to that of Commissioner of Backward Classes.

23. At Secretariat Level. A new independent Department of Backward Classes shall be created.

24. A district level committee with District Collector as Chairman and Leaders of Backward Classes as members may be constituted, in each district, to serve as a forum for redresser of grievances of Backward Classes. Similarly at State level under the Chairmanship of Chief Minister, a State Level Committee may be constituted with Backward Classes leaders and officers as members, to serve as a clearing house of the grievance of the backward Classes.

25. The A.P. Civil Services (CCA) Rules may be amended for providing punishment to the officers who fail to implement the rule of reservation properly.

26. A vigilance Officer's post with supporting staff may be created to conduct enquiries into the complaints received from Backward Classes. There shall also be an Administrative Tribunal to redress their grievances.

27. In order to avoid false caste certificates, a Revenue Officer not below the rank of Tahsildar shall be empowered to issue the certificates and the member of the District Level Committee, preferably belonging to the same Community, shall countersign such certificates. Amending the A.P. Civil Service (CCA) Rules, suitably, shall make the Officers issuing false caste certificates. The Commissioner of Backward Classes can keep a watch by obtaining Special Reports from the District Backward Class Officers, regularly.

28. The reservations and other facilities for Backward Classes should continue at least for a period of twenty-five years.

29. There shall be wide publicity about the facilities available to the Backward Classes so that they can take advantage of the facilities.

30. All the Universities in the State should be instructed to maintain roster system for all the posts including lecturer posts.

31. The Heads of Departments shall maintain statewide roster even though vacancies are filled in with Zonal candidates in order to provide employment to Backward Classes according to the rule of reservation.

32. The District Employment Officers should be authorized to inspect the rosters maintained by the appointing authorities in the District to verify whether the rule of reservation is being followed properly or not.

33. The selections made by any appointing authority, excluding Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission shall be declared invalid if the Backward Classes Department authorities are not included in the selection committee.

(Source: Muralidhar Rao Commission Report (1982), Govt of A.P.)

Appendix-12

Social Welfare Activities for the students of backward castes

(A) Hostel facilities for BC s (pre-matriculation) students: The department of BC welfare provides free boarding and lodging facilities to backward class children, through a total of 1427 hostels, of which 1161 are for BC boys and 266 are for BC girls. The breakup is as follows: 1330 hostels, 62 Ashram Schools for children of fishermen, 22 Ashram Schools for Wadderas and Shepherds, and 14 hostels for de-notified tribes. Generally, the sanction strength is 100 admitting students at the percentages of BCs-76%, (A-21%, B-31%, C3% &D-21%). SCs 10%, STs-5%, Minorities-3% others-6%. To achieve social integration, in the above hostels, 1,32,542 BC boarders are provided with free boarding and lodging.

There is a uniform menu for all the hostels at the rate of Rs. 270/-p.m. for 3rd to 7th class boarders, and Rs. 330/-p.m. for 8th to 10th class boarders. The department also bears the expenditure for soap and oil @Rs 20/- per boy p.m. and Rs 25/- per girl p.m. as cosmetic charges, trunk boxes, plates & dresses along with bedding material.

(B) Residential schools:

There are 27 Residential Schools for Backward Classes (18-Boys and 9-Girls) under the administrative control of AP Residential Education Institutions Society, funded by the Department of Backward Classes Welfare.

(C) Post-matriculation scholarships:

In order to promote higher education and impart quality on par with general students, this department awards residential and non-residential post matriculation scholarships to students belonging to Backward Classes at all levels of post matriculation courses in cases where the parents' annual income does not exceed Rs. 33,500/- p.a. for general courses and Rs. 44,500/- p.a. in case of professional and technical courses.

Table-1 Rates of post matriculation scholarships (in Rs.)

Groups	Boarders	Day scholar s	Students managed hostels
Engineering & Medicine etc.	525 PM	40 PA	250PM
P.G. courses in Science and Management and EGG. And Diploma courses.	525 PM	40 PA	250 PM
Other P.G. courses	400 PM	40 PA	250 PM
Degree courses	400 PM	50 PM	250 PM
Intermediate course	400 PM	15 PA	250 PM

(D) Reimbursement of Tuition Fees:

To reimburse tuition fees foregone by Private Colleges on account of fees exemption granted by the Government in favour of Backward Classes, students whose parents' annual income does not exceed Rs. 33,550/- p.a. for general courses and Rs. 44,500/- p.a. in case of professional and technical courses.

(E) BC study Circles:

To provide coaching facilities to eligible BC students to improve their performance in competitive examinations viz., Civil Services, SSC, and RRB, State services, EAMCET, DSC for the recruitment of teachers, etc.

Despite the efforts of the Government in implementing various Welfare programs all these years, the feeling that the benefits of development did not reach the really deserving sections, would not be wiped out and on the contrary the discontentment among the poorer classes continue to be on the increase.

All these facilities like hostels, scholarships, tuition fees reimbursement, study circles etc are not sufficient for the increasing number of students among the backward classes. There is big difference between the total number of

applications received and the total number of applicants accommodated due to the shortage in the budget allocations.

Appendix-13

Institutional Arrangements:

(A) AP Backward Classes Cooperative Finance Corporation (APBCFC): A.P

Backward Classes Cooperative Finance Corporation was formed in 1974 based on the recommendation of a backward classes commission appointed in 1969 headed by Anantharaman. The corporation was registered in 1974 under the A.P cooperative societies Act VII of 1964. To encourage self-help, thrift and cooperation among the affiliated societies and their members. The primary duty of the corporation is to undertake the tasks of economic enlistment of the members of the backward classes in the state.

The main objectives of the APBC Finance Corporation are

- 1) The corporation shall plan, promote, undertake and assist programs of agricultural development, animal husbandry, marketing, processing, supply and storage of agricultural products, small-scale industry, village industry, and cottage industry. Any other economic support and development activity, which will enable its member to earn a better living and help them to improve their standards of living.
- 2) To undertake a massive program of employment oriented agro-industries, cottage and small scale industries, village industries etc, by providing technical know-how, Managerial assistance, financial assistance and any other form of assistance, which may be required in achieving the above objective including providing the necessary financial guarantees to its members.
- 3) To provide working capital to the members by advancing loans and cash credits.
- 4) Coordinate, supervise and control activities affiliated to societies and individual members indebted to the corporation or who obtained supplies and services from corporation

5) To act as the agent of the government for procurement, supply and distribution of agricultural or other produce or other goods as and when require doing so.

6) To provide facilities for survey, research or study of the problems relating to cottage and village industries economic welfare to assess potentialities or village cottage and small scale industries and scope of their development with a view to promote such industries and economic support for the purpose of providing employment to its members especially the occupational groups among them

7) To arrange for publicity and marketing of the finished products manufactured by the members if necessary by opening show rooms, emporiums, exhibitions etc To do all other things as are incidental to or conducive to the attainment of the above objects. On the similar objectives the caste based occupational finance corporations like washer men, weavers etc., are established in the state.

(B) AP Backward Classes Welfare Department (APBCWD):

Jalagam Vengala Rao, when he was Chief Minister, Administration gave cognizance to the genuine interests of B.Cs. Till then the welfare of the Backward Classes was being looked after by the Department of Social Welfare and there used to be one Minister in charge of this portfolio. Vengala Rao during his chief ministership separated the SC/ST Welfare Department and put it under the charge of separate ministry. It was he who recognized the Directorate into two thus creating an independent Directorate for the Backward Classes.

The goal of the BC welfare department is to eradicate poverty and eliminate current inequalities that prevent members of the Backward Classes from realizing their full potential, and also to establish a just and egalitarian society.

Objectives:

To increase access to education to persons belonging to BC communities

To provide quality education to meritorious BC students pursuing studies at pre-matriculation level

To promote higher education and impart equality education on par with general students

To reimburse tuition fees

To provide coaching facilities to eligible BC students

(C). AP Commission of Backward Classes (APCBC):

In its landmark ruling in *Indra Sawhney Vs. Union of India* delivered on 16-11-1992 (Mandal Case), The Supreme Court *inter-nlia* directed the Union of India/ States and Union Territories to set up permanent Backward classes Commissions for the their respective jurisdictions; either by legislation or by an executive order; as they deem fit, 1993 (A.P Act No.20 of 1993). The Act of which received the assent of the President of India on 03-12-1993 on which date the said Act came into force. The Act provides for the constitution of a permanent Backward Classes Commission for the State and all other matters connected therewith. The Government constituted the present A.P Commission for Backward Classes by their order No.G.O.Ms.No. 9 Social Welfare Department, dated 26-01-1994, is functioning from 31-03-1994. The term of the present Commission is for 3 years from 31-03-1994¹³.

The Commission for Backward Classes performs the functions and duties related to the backward castes such as (1) The Commission shall examine requests for inclusion of any class of citizens as a backward class in the list and hear complaints of over-inclusion or under-inclusion of any backward class in such list and tender such advice to the Government as it deems appropriate.

The Commission shall examine and make recommendations on any other matter relating to the backward classes that may be referred to it by the Government from time to time.

The Government may at any time, and shall, at the expiration of ten year from the coming into force of this Act and every succeeding period of ten years

¹³ Welfare of Backward Classes, Department of Backward Classes Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1996, p.606.

thereafter, undertake revision of the lists with a view to excluding from such lists those classes who have ceased to be backward classes or for including in such lists new backward classes.

The Government shall while undertaking any revision consult the Commission.

5) The Commission shall have all the powers of a civil Court while performing its functions.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the Andhra Pradesh Commission for Backward Classes Act No. 20 of 1993, the Government constituted the Commission under the Chairmanship of Justice K. S. Puttaswamy on 26th January 1994. Ten years term of the Commission was already over, but the progress of the Commission is not yet assessed. The term of the first Chairman of the Commission is also over.

In order to coordinate the activities of all these institutions there is the secretary, department of BC welfare to the government of Andhra Pradesh under the control of minister for Backward Classes Welfare. Generally the BC portfolio is being given to a minister belongs to the backward castes along with his caste portfolio like if the minister is from fishermen community is also suppose to look after fishermen as well.

(Source: Based on interview with the Commissioner of BC Welfare, Govt of A.P, Hyderabad on 11-02-03).

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