

**POLITICS IN A SCHEDULED CASTES
CONSTITUENCY : A STUDY^{of} LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN JALESAR; U. P.
(1962-1985)**

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation entitled,
"POLITICS IN A SCHEDULED CASTES CONSTITUENCY:
A STUDY OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN JALESAR,
U.P. (1962-1985)" submitted by SUBEDAR SINGH ARYA,
is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Philosophy of this
University. This dissertation has not been
submitted for any other degree of this University
or any other University. This is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed
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Dedicated to my parents

and family members

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PREFACE

The Scheduled Caste have remained socially, economically and politically backward since the beginning of caste stratification of Indian society. Only in the wake of the independence movement and effectively in the second half of the present century, there has been a marked developmental activities for them to facilitate their mobility. For many years, the sociologists have been suggesting that mobility in Indian caste system is extremely difficult. A particular caste remains in the same place of the hierarchy of society even after acquiring economic and political status. A Jatav will be called as Jatav even if he starts performing sacerdotal performance.

The present study is an attempt to assess the participation of Scheduled Castes in electoral politics in U.P. To study their participation and role in politics, Jalesar State Assembly reserved constituency was chosen as a sample of study and the study covers the seven election periods from 1962 to 1985. The period has been selected keeping in view the change in the nature of politics in Jalesar reserved constituency. From 1962 onwards, the double member constituency

has been replaced by the single member reserved constituency. This change is significant in the sense that the participation of the Scheduled Castes politics has not only consolidated the Scheduled Castes votes but also now they depend on the non-Scheduled Castes population. The role played by the Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes in a reserved constituency like Jalesar is dependent on non-Scheduled Castes and vice-versa. The informations regarding their political mobility have been collected from 25 respondents (Gram Pradhans, Local leaders, Ex-Town Area Chairman, Ex-MLAs and MLAs etc).

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Professor S.N. Jha for his inspiring guidance, encouragement and affection towards me during the last two years. His valuable suggestions, critical comments and prompt help have been mainly instrumental in completing this work. I also wish to express my profound sense of gratitude to Dr. Nandu Ram, CSSS/JNU; Prof. R.S. Mathur and Dr. Bhupendra Shankar, Dept. of Political Science, Jawaharlal Nehru Post-graduate College, Etah, for their valuable advice and suggestions from time to time.

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Subedar Singh Arya

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ABBREVIATIONS

BAMCEF	: Backward And Minority Community Employees Federation
BKD	: Bharatiya Kranti Dal
BJP	: Bharatiya Janata Party
BJS	: Bharatiya Jan Sangh
BLD	: Bharatiya Lok Dal
BSP	: Bahujan Samaj Party
CFD	: Congress For Democracy
CM	: Chief Minister
CPI	: Communist Party of India
DMK	: Dravida Munetra Mazagam
DMKP	: Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party
D-S4	: Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti
INC	: Indian National Congress
IND	: Independent
JNP	: Janata Party
LD	: Lok Dal
OBC	: Other Backward Class
PSP	: Praja Socialist Party
SSP	: Sanyukta Socialist Party
SC	: Scheduled Castes
ST	: Scheduled Tribes
SWT	: Swatantra Party
UP	: Uttar Pradesh

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Scheduled Castes in India, not only comprise a very sensitive group of social system but also it is a concept for studying political development, social stratification and power-sharing in India. They are used as a paradigm in studying the social dynamics in the realm of politics and research. Since independence, despite various legislative measures, there has been a dismal improvement in the condition of these downtrodden sections of the Indian society. These sections still carry the stigma of being 'untouchables' and perform menial jobs. Marc Galanter observes that most untouchables continue to suffer disabilities which are onerous in themselves and which severely restrict their life chances.¹ He notes that implementation of the law is generally poor and the cases reported are only a minor percentage of those that actually occur. Even the cases that are brought, he observes, are usually at the intervention of political and social reformers.

1. Marc Galanter, "The abolition of Disabilities, Untouchability and the Law" in Mahar J.M.(Ed.), The untouchability in contemporary India (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1972), p. 262.

The political survival of the Scheduled Caste representatives of a particular area is in the hands of upper castes of that reserved constituency. Obviously for them under such circumstances, the Darwinian "survival of the fittest" still holds true. He has to remain a puppet and a cog in a big machine which is operated by another hand. The candidates have to succumb to the diktats of upper caste leaders in reserved constituencies. In the process what results is that the Scheduled Caste legislators improve their own socio-economic status and ultimately identify with upper castes. In the Scheduled Caste constituencies even the Scheduled Caste voters are wooed by several unconstitutional and extra constitutional methods or otherwise blackmailed. This 'political blackmail' is perpetrated by the upper castes on the poverty-stricken, ignorant and exploited Scheduled Castes masses. In pre-independence period, they were the puppets of landlords. But after independence, they have become the puppets of major political parties. The Scheduled Castes politics is not politics of Scheduled Castes but it is the game played in proxy by upper castes in the Scheduled Castes constituencies who act from behind the curtain and direct as they desire. The Scheduled Castes and upper

castes elect the Scheduled Caste leaders in the Scheduled Caste constituencies.

Problem:

Upper caste politics dominates and determines the dynamics of Scheduled Caste politics. Both are inextricably interlinked. It is primarily the upper caste leaders who decide the political role of Scheduled Castes in reserved constituencies. Many studies have been done on the politics in the Scheduled Castes constituencies. But some scholars failed to take into account the role of upper castes in the politics of Scheduled Castes constituencies. The present study would attempt in bridging this gap. We feel that the Scheduled Castes in reserved constituencies are not capable of involving themselves in electoral politics. They are not yet upto that level of consciousness, required for exercising franchise in such a political system. They still depend on the so-called enlightened forward castes. "Untouchability" segregates them from the mainstream of Indian politics. And the same factor also makes them inhabitants of the proverbial "Dark continent" with utter ignorance of political processes in a democratic polity. The problem of untouchability is an age-old practice with manifold social and economic implications.

The lower castes remained untouchables by traditional belief according to the law of Karma. That practice has been operated in its various forms by the upper caste who try to malign and use them as tool of politics. Ghanshyam Shah says, that the socio-economic status and political participation go together. Leader with high socio-economic status are inclined to high political participation. The Scheduled Castes however, deviate from this pattern.²

In Scheduled Castes constituencies the upper castes are responsible for getting the Scheduled Caste candidates elected. The selection of candidate is of utmost importance for political parties and dominant castes of the constituency. Among all the procedures that make up the final electoral process as Ramashray Roy has observed, "The selection of candidates to various political positions is most important. The distribution of ticket is decided by upper caste leaders".³ The most

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2. Ghanshyam Shah, 'Politics of Scheduled Castes and Tribes' (Bombay Vora & Co. Publishers Pvt.Ltd., 1975), p. 102.
 3. Ramashray Roy, "Selection of Congress Candidates-I", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. I (December 31, 1966), p. 833.

important concessions made to Scheduled Castes in the political field is political representation, which is the key to make the Scheduled Castes into political men. And the pattern of politics in Scheduled Castes constituencies is the core of the present study. But it has been observed that upper caste voters and politicians, in fact, continue to monopolise the Scheduled Castes constituencies. The upper castes of any constituency are better informed and therefore, more astute about protecting their interest.⁴ The upper castes who are better informed about politics, dominate the local politics. It is thus, upper caste political leaders who decide the fate of Scheduled Caste leaders in the Scheduled Castes constituencies.

The Scheduled Castes are economically not sound enough to carry on political activities on their own. The upper castes which are at the top of social hierarchy, and are socially and economically well off, assure financial support to Scheduled Castes for the game of politics during elections. It can be said that financial

4. Barbara R. Joshi, 'Democracy in Search of Equality: Untouchables political and Indian Social change', (Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation (India), 1982), p. 143.

support given to the Scheduled Castes during the election is one of the most influential factor for the Scheduled Castes politics. "Money is power in politics and other people have the money, not Scheduled Castes people".⁵ It is observed that without economic support of upper castes, the Scheduled Castes candidate cannot get elected. Because, the political system in India in the recent years has been so cumbersome, that the money power plays the dominant role and it is a very costly affair synonymous with the luxury of the rich scoundrel.

The Scheduled Castes are not a homogenous group. There are so many castes and sub-castes among the Scheduled Castes. Non-homogenous factor denies the community of advantages which paved way for upper castes in their way of politics. Each of the sub-caste of Scheduled Castes have their own leadership. And this impairs emergence of united Scheduled Caste leadership. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that Scheduled Castes are a tremendous force to be mobilised, as far as Indian politics is concerned.

5. Barbara R. Joshi, Ibid., p. 161.

Thus, the crux of the present study are mentioned hereunder:

- a) The Scheduled Castes in Jalesar are economically not sound. And this makes the Scheduled Castes dependent on the upper castes in political field. The study would examine if at all, whether the Scheduled Castes would be able to form a sound leadership so as to be able to win elections on their own.
- b) Secondly, the study would evaluate the impact of reservation policy with special reference to political reservation for Scheduled Castes in Jalesar constituency. How far Scheduled Castes after four decades of political reservation have been able to come nearer to participatory politics?
- c) Thirdly, it would examine the factors which influence the Scheduled Castes to become politically mobilised in a Scheduled Caste constituency like Jalesar.
- d) Fourthly, the political leadership shifted from one sub-caste to another in 1977, 1980 and 1985 State Legislative Assembly elections. Why did Jatavs started losing the election after 1974?

- e) Last but not least, before taking it for granted that the upper class holds the reign of politics, we would study how far the Scheduled Castes have been a formidable force in determining the shape of a particular Government and politics by studying the political interaction between the upper caste or Scheduled Caste of Jalesar constituency as a specimen of our observation.

Finally the study would examine the dynamics of politics of different social groups in Jalesar constituency and determine the factors that are responsible for such frequent shifts in power.

Review of Literature:

Some of the studies done by scholars on the politics of Scheduled Castes lack of close observation of the problem. Lynch, in his study, gives more emphasis on political activities of the Jatav community in Agra. He feels that social mobility comes through political participation. But it is not always true. If social mobility can be considered as an independent variable, political participation has to be studied as another variable. In his study he says that the Jatavs of Agra claim themselves belonging to Kshatriya status because

they were influenced by Swami Atma Ram. But simply adopting the Brahmanic way of life they cannot change their social position. They would be called as un-touchables. He borrowed the idea of 'Sanskritization' from M.N. Srinivas with less attention to the fact that M.N. Srinivas's concept in the sense that it has no universal applicability and it only explains the cultural dimension of change and does not appear to take into account, the entire spectrum of social change that is taking place in modern India. Srinivas's explanation of social change in modern India in terms of 'Sanskritization' is to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural terms.⁶ Majumdar holds that what Srinivas characterises as vertical mobility through the process of sanskritization is actually the 'horizontal spread'.⁷ Bailey has noted that even when positions "within the traditional structure were altered" by the process of

6. M.N. Srinivas, "Caste in Modern India and other Essay" (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p.35.

7. D.N. Majumdar, "Caste and Communication in an Indian Village" (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958), pp. 334-335.

Sanskritization "the structure itself was unimpaired".⁸ Chauhan empirically examined the usefulness of the concept of Sanskritization by explaining social mobility in upper Assam. The generalization that has emerged out of the study is that the concept of Sanskritization formulated and developed by Srinivas, is an adhoc concept in the sense that it has neither universal applicability nor the capacity to explain the whole range of social change that is occurring in modern India.⁹ We feel that politics and education would be able to alter the entire spectrum of social change that is taking place in modern India.

Lynch feels that "the change is due to the fact that Sanskritization is no more effective a means of political participation which is achieving a change style of life and a rise in the Indian social system, now composed of both caste and class element".¹⁰

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8. F.G. Bailey, "Caste and Economic Frontier" (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.265.
 9. S.K. Chauhan, "Social Mobility in Upper Assam" Social Action 22(3), (Indian Social Institute, 1972) 22(3), p. 236.
 10. Owen M. Lynch, "The Politics of Untouchability: Social Change in a City of India" (New York: Columbiya Press, 1969), p. 97.

While studying the politics of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Gujarat, Ghanshyam Shah, in his study, talks about the political attitude and behaviour of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He studied the role of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in 1971 Gujarat parliamentary election. Here he differs with Lynch. He says that Sanskritization does not allow individual mobility and it cannot improve their status in caste hierarchy. He says that Scheduled Castes and Tribes easily acquire political position that to obtain higher social status and economic opportunities.¹¹ The leaders with high socio-economic status are politically more active than leaders with the low socio-economic status. He feels that elected representatives of the deprived communities depend on the caste Hindu leaders of the party for guidance, though the latter do not treat them as equal. They do not share political gossip with Scheduled Castes and Tribes leaders.

Ghanshyam Shah observes that during the last two decades, political participation of the SC/ST has

11. Ghanshyam Shah, Ibid., p. 3.

considerably increased. In the campaigning activities, they actively participate. But their participation decrease in the activities which involve complex procedures and which require initiative on the part of the actors. This may be true with the case of SC/ST of Gujarat, not with the Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh. The Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh are dependents on the upper castes during the elections.

Another study was conducted by Barbara R. Joshi, on equality of untouchables in Indian democratic system in which she focused on equality for democracy. She feels that without equality there is no democracy. The Scheduled Castes in India are struggling for their equal share in power. In Indian context it is, on one hand, the peculiar social reality of the untouchables and on the other, the bold creation, at the time of Independence, of legal and constitutional provisions to guarantee equal opportunities to this most deprived group renamed as the "Scheduled Castes". She says that the Scheduled Castes exist in socio-culture and political sphere, and they are struggling for equality. She concentrates her attention on four major areas: public policy, impact of modernisation, attitudes of

Scheduled Castes and their resources. The political and legal approach initiated at the time of Independence, according to her may never produce ideal results and certainly cannot accomplish miracles in a short period of time. The poor socio-economic cultural status continues to limit the ability of the Scheduled Castes to influence political decisions in the country. Political reservation introduced at the time of Independence, however, poorly implemented, have significantly contributed to change their untouchable status. These changes include the presence of a significant number of Scheduled Caste members in Parliament and in the State Assemblies, improvement in their educational and employment opportunities and most significantly, in their ability to mobilize themselves in the social and political sphere. Joshi says that reserved Scheduled Castes constituency is dominated by the more advanced community. They play a vital role in electing a Scheduled Caste leader from the reserved constituency. Higher status communities controls the reserved constituency. She has observed that the Landlords control all the rural constituencies, and the parties, therefore the landlords control the government.¹²

12. Barbara R. Joshi, "Democracy in Search of Equality untouchables politics and Indian Social Change" (Delhi: Hindustan Pub. Corpn. (India), 1982), p.152.

In her study, she has completely neglected the attitudes and actions of the dominant Hindu majority in framing policies, in determining social and economic programmes and in giving a religion-based definition to the Scheduled Castes which have significantly affected the fate of Scheduled Castes.

Gopal Guru, in his study, the politics of Scheduled Caste says that Scheduled Caste candidate's victory depends on non-Scheduled Castes voters. This is because the Scheduled Caste is not a homogeneous group. This factor impairs the unity of Scheduled Castes during the election. He studied, the politics of Scheduled Castes in Washim constituency, but he did not touch the role of upper castes in a Scheduled Caste constituency. The Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes elect a Scheduled Caste representative from the Scheduled Caste constituency. He says that Scheduled Caste candidate gets party ticket for election by the support of the upper caste leaders but he did not elaborate their political activities. He indicates in his study that Scheduled Caste in a Scheduled Caste constituency politically polarise themselves, which is not true. Because of economic deprivation the Scheduled

Castes candidates may join hands with upper castes during the election. The upper castes in the reserved constituency have an edge over the Scheduled Caste candidates. Because of the penetration of sub-caste oriented politicization into the local political groups of Scheduled Castes, it has become necessary to rely on the votes of upper castes for the electoral success.¹³ He failed to study the voting behaviour and electional activities of upper castes.

At last he says that the politics of a reserved constituency is dominated by only few castes among Scheduled Castes, for instance, Mahar of Maharashtra and Chamars of Uttar Pradesh.

Another study was conducted by Satish Saberwal on Modelpur reserved constituency in Punjab. He studied few general Assembly elections i.e. 1967 and 1969 of Punjab. He feels that in Modelpur reserved constituency, three main caste groups, Ramgarhia, Ad-Dharmis and Balmiki are the leading groups in Punjab election.

13. Gopal Narayan Gawarguru, "Politics of Scheduled Castes in Reserved Constituency: A case study of Washim Constituency in Maharashtra (Unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, J.N.U.; New Delhi, 1979), p. 59.

Until 1962, Modelpur was a safe congress seat. A Congressman, Joshi had held the constituency for several times. But in 1967, this constituency was declared reserved for Scheduled Castes. In 1967, Gur Prashad filed nomination as an independent candidate. But Mohan Lal won the election under the banner of Congress. The author feels that in this constituency a candidate whoever gets some affiliation with the Congress party, gets elected. Among these three main caste groups, he feels that Ramgharia caste is the dominant caste among Scheduled Castes. Author says that it is the higher caste leaders who make out the more cogent case regarding the Harijan tendency to demand material benefits in return for political support.

To sum up, he feels that Modelpur's Harijans had no leaders who understood the institutional mechanisms underlying and renewing the current inequalities.¹⁴ But this always cannot be generalised. This needs to be studied more in detail.

14. Satish Saberwal, "Mobilemen: Limits to Social Change in Urban Punjab", New Delhi (Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1976), p. 190.

This study needs to discuss the role of non-Scheduled Castes in a reserved constituency. The author has not dealt with this aspect. Here, an effort would be made to have a comparative study of the politics of Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes in a reserved constituency.

All these studies do not discuss the role of non-Scheduled Castes in Scheduled Castes politics. The Scheduled Castes politics cannot be studied alone. It has to be co-related with other non-Scheduled Castes who also contribute to Scheduled Castes politics. Hence, the present study would co-relate the politics of Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes.

Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh:

The Scheduled Castes constitute 15.75 per cent of the total population of India. Every seventh Indian citizen belongs to Scheduled Caste, and of them every fourth person lives in Uttar Pradesh. The total population of Uttar Pradesh is 11,08,62,013 and Scheduled Caste constitute 21.16 per cent of the total population.¹⁵

15. Census of India, 1981.

They comprise one fifth of the total population of the State. There are sixty six castes which have been listed in the schedule for special treatment in Uttar Pradesh.¹⁶ The Scheduled Castes are found in each district of Uttar Pradesh. They constitute the highest percentage in Mirzapur district with 32.55 per cent of the total population of the district. On the other hand Garhwal district has got the lowest(11.74)per centage of Scheduled Castes. Jhansi, Jalaun, Allahabad, Sitapur, Lucknow, Unnao, Barabanki, Etawah etc. districts have the higher percentage of Scheduled Castes of the State. On the other hand Tehri-Garhwal, Dehradun, Nainital, Rampur, Bareilly etc. districts have the lower percentage of Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh.(See Tab.1)

Table -1

HIGHER AND LOWER POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN DISTRICTS OF UTTAR PRADESH (IN PER CENT)

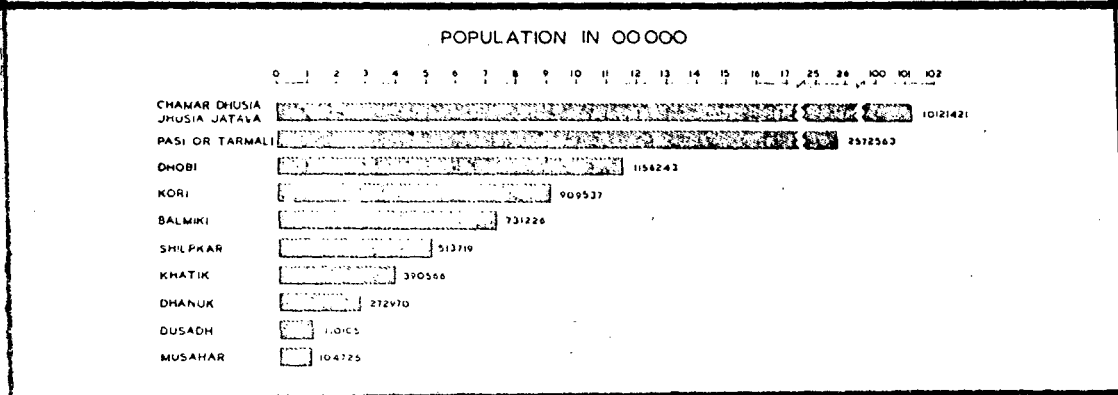
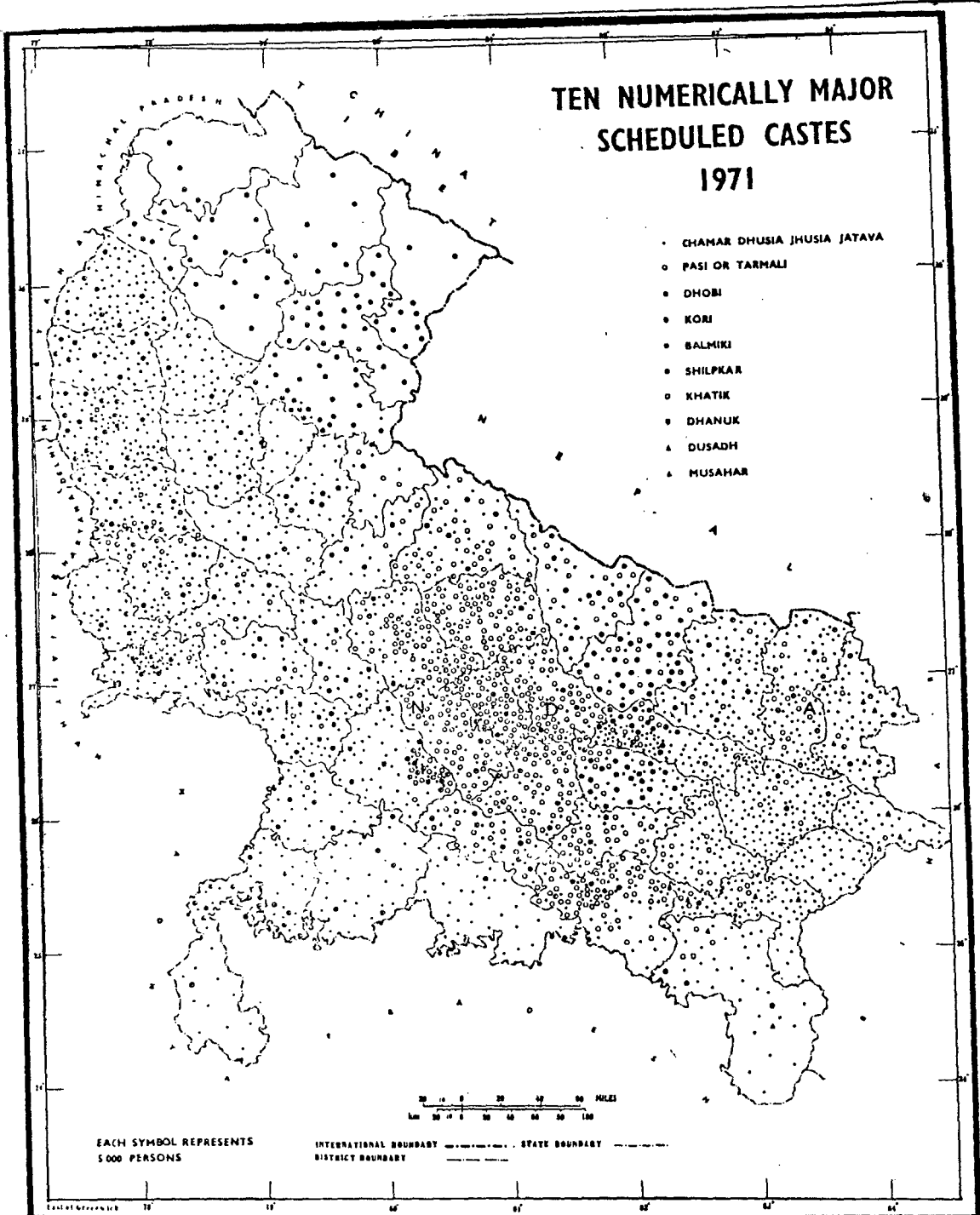
Districts of higher population	Percentage	Districts of lower population	Percentage
Mirzapur	32.55	Ballia	15.45
Sitapur	30.99	Gonda	15.41
Unnao	30.07	Muzaffar Nagar	14.80
Hardoi	29.93	Rampur	13.06
Rai Bareli	29.55	Tehri Garhwal	12.77
Jhansi	28.66	Bareilly	12.49
Bara Banki	27.68	Dehra Dun	11.93
Jalaun	27.12	Garhwal	11.74

Above districts constitute the percentage of Scheduled Castes of the total population of district.

Source: Census of India, 1981.

The major castes among the Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh are Chamar, Pasi, Dhobi, Kori, Balmiki, Shilpkar, Khatik and Dhanak etc. These castes constitute about 89.87 per cent of Scheduled Castes population of Uttar Pradesh.¹⁷ The Chamars¹⁸ constitute 54.57 percent of the total population of Scheduled Castes. They are numerically largest in 44 districts out of 56. The Pasi is the second major caste among the Scheduled castes. They are concentrated mainly in eastern Uttar Pradesh and constitute 13.87 percent of the Scheduled Castes population of Uttar Pradesh. The Dhobis are placed numerically the third among the Scheduled Castes. They constitute 6.24 percent of the Scheduled Castes population of the State. The Koris constitute 4.90 per cent and they are spread in eastern and central parts

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16. For detail see list of Scheduled Castes population in Uttar Pradesh- 1971 (Appendix No.I).
 17. Census of India, 1971 and for detail see list of S cheduled Castes population in Uttar Pradesh, 1971 (Appendix No.I).
 18. Jatav is known as Chamar in U.P. But in Western U.P. the same Chamar are called Jatav.



Source: Census of India 1971, Series 21, Uttar Pradesh part B, Census Atlas, p. 130.

of Uttar Pradesh. Balmikis¹⁹ constitute 3.94 percent of the total Scheduled Castes population of Uttar Pradesh. They are highly populated in Western Uttar Pradesh. The Shilpkar is the major caste of the Scheduled Castes in Northern Uttar Pradesh. They constitute 2.77 percent of the Scheduled Castes population of the State. They are highly spread in northern districts of Uttar Pradesh viz. Uttarkashi, Garhwal and Nainital etc. The Khatiks and the Dhanuks constitute 2.11 percent and 1.47 percent respectively of the Scheduled Castes population of Uttar Pradesh (See Tab.2).

Table -2

SCHEDULED CASTES POPULATION IN UTTAR PRADESH, 1971
(IN PER CENT)

Scheduled Caste	Percentage (SCs = 100)
Chamar	54.57
Pasi	13.87
Dhobi	6.24
Kori	4.90
Balmiki	3.94
Shilpkar	2.77
Dhanuk	1.47
Others	10.13

Source: Census of India, 1971.

19. Balmikis are known^{as} Bhangis in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh. /

The Chamars constitute the highest percentage of Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh. They are better off than other sub-castes among Scheduled Castes. They are the leading political group among the Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh. Because they are economically and educationally developed than other sub-castes. From the political point of view, the Jatavs of Agra are politically conscious and advanced.

The Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh are mostly found in rural areas as agricultural labourers. Among the Scheduled Castes, 47.70 per cent are cultivators and 34.97 per cent are agricultural labourers in U.P. (See Table-3). Among cultivators, mostly Jatavs have got own land for cultivation. And other sub-castes work in upper caste's agricultural field.

Table - 3

SCHEDULED CASTE CULTIVATORS AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS
IN UTTAR PRADESH (IN PER CENT)

Cultivators	Agricultural Labourers
47.70	34.97
47.01	33.58
0.69	1.39

Source: Census of India, 1981.



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It is surprising to note that the Balmikis are mostly spread either in cities or towns. They do not get jobs in rural areas. That is why they migrate to cities. Contrary to this, the Pasi are concentrated in rural areas. Agriculture is the mainstay for Pasis. The Chamars are highly populous in rural areas. They still continue their traditional occupation. They take out the skin of dead animals in rural areas. Some of them have managed to get jobs in shoe factory in the city. The Dhobis are more or less evenly distributed in urban areas. They do not get jobs in rural areas.

The majority of Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh suffer from the stigma of untouchability. The pinch of untouchability makes these weaker sections segregate from the mainstream of socio-economic life. After four decades of independence, there has not been any marked change and improvement the condition of these untouchables. In eastern Uttar Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes are kept as bonded labourers. In terms of atrocities on the Scheduled Castes, Uttar Pradesh comes to second place after Bihar. Like Bihar, there is always caste-war in the remote village of U.P. In spite of many welfare programmes for the upliftment

of downtrodden people, these people (SCs) are still lagging behind in every field. The rural development and employment programmes are so complicated that these illiterate Scheduled Castes are not able to avail themselves of these facilities. Due to lack of employment in rural Uttar Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes prefer to continue their traditional occupations which were being done by their fore-fathers. Lynch, in his study also agrees that in the villages, the Jatavs work as general menials for some paltry payments in terms of grain, clothes and small amount of food. The traditional occupations assigned to them are tanning hides, making shoes and removing the carcasses of dead animals.²⁰

The Scheduled Castes are socially, economically and educationally backward in Uttar Pradesh. The literacy in Uttar Pradesh is 27.16 per cent and that among the Scheduled Castes is 14.96 per cent. Their literary percentage in Urban areas is 27.39 per cent

20. Owmn M. Lynch, Ibid., p. 29.

and in rural areas is 13.51 per cent.²¹ In Dehradun district the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes is 32.25 per cent, which is the highest in Uttar Pradesh. On the other hand in Gonda district, the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes is 6.95 per cent. (See Table -4:).

The table indicates that the Scheduled Castes are educationally better off in northern and central part of Uttar Pradesh. The Scheduled Castes of eastern Uttar Pradesh are educationally backward. Most of the schools and colleges are either in northern and central parts of Uttar Pradesh. In the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes are not given equal treatment in the schools.

In some parts of Uttar Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes live in the outskirts of villages and in isolation of the main villages. They have the lowest ritual status in the caste hierarchy. The stigma of untouchability keeps them alienated from the human species to which they virtually belong. These tiny villages are named after their castes such as Pasi tola, Dhobi tola, Chamar tola etc. After Forty years of independence, the untouchability still prevails in many parts of U.P.

21. Census of India, 1981.

Table - 4.

THE LITERACY RATE AMONG SCs IN UTTAR PRADESH (IN PER CENT)

5 to 10		10 to 15		15 to 20		20 to 25		25 to 30		30 to 35	
Gonda	6.95	Sitapur	10.32	Tehri-		Agra	20.83	Jhansi	25.21	Dehradun	32.25
Bahraich	7.46	Basti	10.37	Garhwal	15.21	Meerut	23.20	Phitora-			
Mirzapur	7.89	Rai Bareilly	10.40	Uttar-		Mainpuri	23.25	garh	25.52		
Sultanpur	8.27	Banda	10.46	Kashi	15.46	Kanpur	23.57	Almora	25.52		
Barabanki	8.47	Shahjahan-		Gajipur	15.78	Ghaziabad	23.86	Jalaun	25.74		
Kheri	8.50	pur	10.95	Varanasi	15.86	Chamoli	23.87	Etawah	25.91		
Lalitpur	9.11	Pratapgarh	10.97	Ballia	16.53	Nainital	24.46	Garhwal	29.03		
Badaun	9.14	Pilibhit	11.89	Etah	16.60						
Rampur	9.86	Allahabad	12.11	Lucknow	16.97						
		Hardoi	12.43	Bijnaur	17.05						
		Moradabad	12.50	Shahrn-							
		Fatehpur	12.71	pur	18.12						
		Deoria	12.82	Buland-							
		Faizabad	12.90	shahr	18.36						
		Gorakhpur	13.00	Farrukha-							
		Bareilly	13.11	bad	18.62						
		Unnao	13.16	Mathura	18.90						
		Azamgarh	13.52	Aligarh	19.77						
		Jaunpur	13.92	Muzaffar-							
		Hamirpur	14.77	Nagar	19.77						

Source: Census of India, 1981.

Politics of Reservation:

The conflict today in rural areas is a struggle among the caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes/Tribes and backward classes. The new jealousies, rivalries and craving for power are in some measure related to the sharing of the new opportunities made available by government measures and denial of privileges once enjoyed. Political party comes here to give political colour in reservation struggle. The present part would discuss (a) The politics of reservation in general; (b) The politics of reserved constituencies in particular and (c) Reservation and social mobility.

Reservation for Scheduled Castes/Tribes has three main components:

- i) Reservation of Education;
- ii) Reservation of Employment; and
- iii) Political Reservation.

And these reservations have been the main factors for political parties to get sympathetic voters from Scheduled Castes/Tribes and backward classes by giving them a tip of concession.

The Constitution of India makes a special constitutional provision for upliftment of Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes. Central Government has reserved 15 per cent and 7.5 per cent seats in the central services for Scheduled Castes and Tribes respectively. Likewise, every state has reserved the quota for these specified class in jobs, educational institutions for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. The Table-5 gives the distribution of reservation quota in different States for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.

Table -5

STATUS OF RESERVATION IN STATE SERVICES (IN PER CENT)

State	SC	ST	OBC	Total
Andhra Pradesh	15	6	25	44
Assam	7	12	-	19
Bihar	14	10	20	44
Gujarat	7	14	10	31
Haryana	20	-	5	25
Himachal Pradesh	22.5	5	15	42.5
Jammu & Kashmir	8	-	42	50
Karnataka	15	3	40	58
Kerala	8	2	40	50
Madhya Pradesh	15	18	25	58
Maharashtra	13	7	14	34
Orissa	16	24	-	40
Punjab	14	-	1	15
Rajasthan	16	12	-	28
Tamil Nadu	16	2	50	68
Uttar Pradesh	18	2	15	35
West Bengal	15	5	-	20

Notes:-1. Reservation for OBCs does not exist in the

Central Government, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan, Union Territories and North East States.

2. In Madhya Pradesh the quota for OBC is not in operation because it is being withheld by the High Court.
3. Tamil Nadu figure from Mandal Commission (p.148) and Galanter.

Source: Ishwari Prasad, "Reservation Action for Social Equality (New Delhi: Criterion Publication, 1986), p. 70.

Recently, states like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka came with the proposal of increasing the reserved quota for backward classes. And this becomes the crux of the whole problem of agitation in the States. Gujarat came with a proposal of increasing the reserved quota from 10% to 28% for backward classes. This whole process of increment led to agitations, riots, arsons, caste and class war in the State of Gujarat. And this issue led to the fall of Madhav Singh Solanki from the political scenario. On the other hand, N.T. Rama Rao, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh followed the same path of

increasing reserved quota for backward classes from 25% to 44%. All these processes of increment in quota are meant to keep leaders in power for longer period by satisfying the backward classes. In 1977, Karpoori Thakur announced the new scheme of reservation for backward classes in Bihar. This led to violence in Bihar and at last Karpoori Thakur was ousted from Chief Ministership and Shyam Sundar Das (SC) took over as the Chief Minister of Bihar.

All types of anti-reservation agitation in most of the part of India, is the result of more of this expanding unequal system than due to any improvement in the conditions of Scheduled Castes/Tribes and OBCs and thereby posing a threat to the vested-interest class.²² According to S.N. Jha reservations have become an alibi to overlook other supportive measures. Thereby leading to social tension in many states in India.²³

The event of Gujarat have highlighted the fact

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22. K.M. Reddy, "Impact of Reservation Policy: Some Reflections" in B.A.V. Sharma and K.M. Reddy(ed.) Reservation Policy in India (New Delhi: Light and Life Pub., 1982), p. 463.
23. S.N. Jha, "In Public Services" Seminar 243, 1979, p. 20.

that the party in the power has made the issue of reservation for OBCs a technique of political advantage rather than an instrument to change the social structure of a caste-ridden society. The Government policy is to pay a lip service to these communities (SC/ST/OBC) and utilise them for political advantage in the long run. In case of Gujarat, the announcement of an enhanced quota of reservation from 10 per cent to 28 per cent at the time of election and withdrawing it after election, is indicative of the part of "Politics of Congress Party, by using the issue of caste based reservation to project itself as a pro-poor party, while actually serving the upper caste interest".²⁴

The upper castes are fighting against the reservations; especially, the reservation in jobs are strongly opposed by them.

Politics of Reserved Constituencies:

The original idea of reservation policy was confined only to legislatures so that representatives of traditionally neglected communities could participate

24. Sujata Patel, "Decade of populist politics", Economic and Political Weekly (April 20, 1985).

in the law making processes. After independence, the idea of reservation was extended to educational institutions and Government employment.

It is true to have a complete social and political equality in the democratic set-up, political reservation is very essential. Article 334 provides for reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and special representation to ^{the} Anglo-Indian community in the House of people and the Legislative Assemblies. But after forty years of political reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they are still trailing behind. In a reserved constituency, only Scheduled Caste contest the election. But the selection of the candidate is decided by the non-Scheduled Castes. It is also found that in a reserved constituency, the campaigning, public meeting and other political activities are done by upper castes people. They are sure that they want to send "their representative" to the lower house, Scheduled Caste candidate do not represent the entire Scheduled Castes as a whole. Of course, they (SCs) vote in favour of their community's leader. But at last upper castes are declared "victors". The Scheduled Caste Parliamentarians or legislative members become pawns

in the hands of upper castes.²⁵

In a reserved constituency like Jalesar at the time of election Scheduled Castes are divided on the basis of their sub-castes. And this is an appropriate time for upper castes to utilise this opportunity.

Political participation in a reserved constituency can be described in two ways (a) particular; and (b) General. By particular participation, it is meant the particular time, i.e. the political scenario at the time of election. And general, means post-election period. Generally, the involvement of Scheduled Castes in a reserved constituency is seen only at the time of election. But the political involvement of upper castes is fully institutionalised. They are the members of a particular party, who make their presence felt like fair weather friends. They burst into activities only in and around the election time.

Besides all types of reservation, the weaker section(SCs, STs & OBCs) of Indian Society still lack

25. Political representation is given to SCs/STs in Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha.

much to be improved upon. The gift of forty years of reservation is availed by 1.0 per cent Scheduled Caste elite who have become socially, economically and politically mobile. Political reservation is nothing but a political bride. It is suggested by ruling party that reservation in all spheres (job, education and political) should continue.

Reservation and Social Mobility:

Due to the caste system, Indian Society had been held to be largely immobile. But after the independence, growth of education through reservation policy for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, social mobility has caught up and is visible among the lowest stratum of Hindu Society, i.e. the Scheduled Castes social mobility is the transition of an individual from one social position to another. It is a movement among the individuals which brings social change. In India, social mobility has been studied as a part of social change. There are so many channels of social mobility, such as migration, education, occupation, income, reservation policy for SCs/STs etc. Among other cluster of variables of social mobility, it is believed that reservation policy is the core of

social mobility for the lowest stratum of Indian Society. It gives an impetus to social mobility which leads to mould the status of individual. Reservation of seats in medical, engineering college, higher education, reservation of jobs, and reservation of seats in the Parliament and Assemblies, all lead to educational mobility, occupational mobility and political mobility respectively. In this way, the lowest strata of Indian society is able to come up in the ladder of social hierarchy.

Reservation Policy: Action-reaction:

The goal of Indian society is to secure social justice to all Indian citizens. The main ingredient of social justice being considered to be the achievement of equality of opportunity to all. The lowest stratum of Indian Society i.e. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have for centuries been forcibly prevented by Hindu Society from educating themselves. The Constitution of India also makes a special provision for the upliftment of lower strata of Indian Society. The each lower caste has been identified and kept in backward classes listed for special treatment by the

State. This has generated a sense of protest among the upper castes in many parts of India.

The upper castes feel that when State gives reservation concession to backward classes, why can't the upper castes be given. Among the upper castes also one can find that a Brahmin who is poor but only thing that gives him a respectable status is that of his practice of sacerdotal function. Again, if the backwardness is based on economy of the individual than the upper caste could get the lower income certificate from the respective colleague who deals with it. But the lower castes who really deserves reservation cannot get certificate. The motivation for the ever increasing reservation is not to the benefit of the ostensible beneficiaries but a purely political game. Reservation is of electoral benefit to political parties. Now some "so-called intellectuals" talk of de-scheduling, de-listing of a particular community and keeping them in the OBC list. This way, they commit a blunder. This is done only to keep the voters in their hands. Another way it can be said, these intellectuals would like to stop the particular community's voice in the Parliament. Some by mistake say that reservation in

education and employment was for ten years. There was no time limit for reservation for SCs/STs. Of course, political reservation was for ten years. But it has been extended upto 1990²⁶ to have the vote bank of political party. We feel that as long as caste system is there in our society, reservation should continue. Because caste is impediment to the progress of Indian society. The question of efficiency and merit should not come while discussing reservation. Merit has to suffer in order to enable social equality to our unequal unjust society.

Methodology:

The methodology of the present study has bearing on what instruments are used and how the findings are interpreted. The technique of data collection, sampling and the unit of the study i.e. hypothesis are discussed hereunder:

A Case Study:

In view of studying the problem at micro-level,

26. Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes has been extended upto 1990. The word 'twenty' was inserted by the Constitution by (Eighth Amendment) Act 1959 for ten years, again by word 'thirty' by the Constitution (Twenty third Amendment) Act 1969,

the politics of Scheduled Castes, of Jalesar Assembly constituency has been taken up as a case study. In a way, Jalesar Assembly constituency represents the politics of Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh. Among 93 reserved legislative assembly constituencies, Jalesar assembly is one of them. In addition to State assembly constituency Tehsil Jalesar is a Lok Sabha constituency too. For our study, we have taken from Jalesar reserved state Legislative Assembly constituency a sample of observation. It is one of the constituencies of Etah district. For the present study of Jalesar reserved constituency is taken for the following reasons:

- (i) Jalesar is the reserved constituency for the Scheduled Castes in the State having one of the highest concentration of Scheduled Castes. Politics here in real terms is played by the non-Scheduled Castes;
- (ii) Secondly, there has been a constant change in the electoral politics of Jalesar. Even though

contd....

w.e.f. 23.1.1970 and again by word 'forty' by the Constitution (Forty fifth Amendment) Act, 1980 for the earlier words. See Durga Das Basu, "Shorter Constitution of India" (Eighth Edition), (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Pvt.Ltd., 1981), P.807.

this is a constituency of Scheduled Castes as a whole, there are different community groups among the Scheduled Castes, descending from a various other origins. So it so happens that the power does not remain concentrated in ones hand everytime. If the leader belongs to a particular group in this election, he may be from another group in another election. The factors which move powers from one community to another is an interesting subject that we wish to focus in study.

- (iii) Despite the fact that in this constituency the seat is given to the downtrodden section of the society, nevertheless, there is an acute interference by the upper castes at the time of election. They do not mind interfering in the business, which exclusively belong to a particular caste for their own political gain and hence see themselves in the game like 'ambulance chasers'.
- (iv) Among Scheduled Castes the Jatavs are dominant in the constituency. But since 1974 election, they are on the down-graph.

Jalesar being a reserved constituency is sensitive to the politics of the State and the Nation as well. During the election there are political rivalries in the constituency. "Booth capturing" is a common phenomenon. Like other reserved constituencies of Uttar Pradesh, it has got its unique political culture. Finally, the researcher is very well acquainted with the area and its language.

Compelled with the fact that the researcher belongs to that area, the above mentioned factors have evoked interest for the study.

Data Collection:

For the purpose of our study, different tools, such as observation and interviews were taken. For this study, 25 people from upper castes, backward classes and Scheduled Caste communities were taken. Among these, the M.L.A., Ex.M.L.As., the local leader, Gram Panchayat Pradhans and other eminent figures of Jalesar were selected for this purpose. The below given Table-6 gives the details of the sample used for the study.

: 40 :

Table -6

SAMPLE OF THE RESPONDENTS IN JALESAR CONSTITUENCY

Respondents' Caste	Their Position	Sample of Respondents
Brahmin (Higher Caste)	Gram Panchayat Pradhan and Local leader	3
Thakur (Higher Caste)	Block Pramukh and Local leader	3
Yadav (OBC)	Ex-Gram Panchayat Pradhan and local leader	3
Lodha (OBC)	Gram Panchayat Pradhan and local leader	3
Gadriya (OBC)	Local leader	3
Jatav (SC)	Ex-Town Area Chairman and local leader	3
Dhobi (SC)	M.L.A. and local leader	3
Nut (SC)	Ex-M.L.A. and local leader	2
Agaria (SC)	Ex-M.L.A. and local leader	2
Total :		25

During the personal and direct interviews with the respondents, people welcomed the study and were surprised to note that study is being conducted by a J.N.U. Research Scholar on the politics of Jalesar. This is the first study being conducted by any local research scholar. The researcher spend one month to keep stock of the political development in Jalesar. The interview was conducted on the following issues:

- i) As it is observed that power moved from one sub-caste to another in 1977, 1980 and 1985 legislative assembly election. Why Jatavs started losing the election after 1974?
- ii) It is observed that besides Jatavs, no other sub-castes of Scheduled Castes have been able to get the ticket from Congress Party. What were the reasons? After Chiranjilal's death, other sub-castes of Scheduled Castes were given opportunity by Congress Party. Why?
- iii) Besides, it is often noticed that the party selects a candidate from a particular sub-caste in every election.
- iv) A particular community has always been elected

from Jalesar constituency from 1952-1974 state assembly elections.

- v) What were the political activities adopted during the election by the Scheduled Castes and upper castes. We will observe the nature of such activities whether these were campaigning, contributing fund for the party, becoming member of a particular party, joining procession or demonstration etc.?
- vi) We come across in literature that the Scheduled Castes participate in politics during the process of elections only, whereas upper castes determine post-election politics.
- vii) The Scheduled Castes, as history testifies, are politically not conscious. So, it is the sole reason why they have been the puppets of the upper castes which have greater political consciousness.
- viii) Some particular sub-castes among Scheduled Castes are more politically conscious than the other sub-castes. Why?
- ix) We too would like to focus in our study how do

the Scheduled Castes get the tickets for Legislative Assembly election? Do they approach the Pradesh Party Leader or Central leader of a particular party?

The Primary data were collected from the field and the secondary data were collected from the Census, Gazetteer, Statistical Report etc. Data were analysed to study the politics of Scheduled Castes, backward classes and upper castes in Uttar Pradesh. The forthcoming chapter discusses different aspects of politics in Jalesar.

CHAPTER - II

JALGAR RESERVED CONSTITUENCY IN UTTAR PRADESH:

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS

In the first chapter we have dealt with the problem of domination of upper caste politics over the Scheduled Castes. We have studied the composition of Scheduled Castes in U.P., its population, level of education and socio-economic status. The politics of reservation on a broader plan and in a general manner and that in reserved constituencies has been enquired into. Finally, we have raised specific problem. We wish to investigate during the course of study and the methodology we will use.

The present study would give a descriptive account of Jalesar reserved constituency of U.P. Before analysing the demography of Jalesar constituency, it is worthwhile to portray a clear picture of U.P. in general and Etah district in particular. Then the discussion would be focused on the micro-level study i.e. Jalesar reserved constituency and its people, whereby, we would study the politics of U.P. during the period 1952-1985, to clock the mechanism, that has often resulted in the change of government and its repercussion on the politics of U.P. in general and the politics of Scheduled Castes in particular.

Uttar Pradesh:

Uttar Pradesh is one of the largest and the most popular state of the country. The state had its present name and its statehood within the union on 26th January, 1950, when the new Constitution was enacted. It is one of the oldest states and has been the heart of Hindu culture and religion. Lying between $23^{\circ}52'N$ and $31^{\circ}28'N$ latitude and $74^{\circ}4'E$ and $84^{\circ}38'E$ longitude, it occupies almost a middle position on the northern border of the country. Its north, touches international boundaries with Tibet, China and Nepal and in the South it has the state of Madhya Pradesh. In the north-west are Himachal, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Rajasthan and in the east lies Bihar.¹

Administratively, the State is divided into 11 divisions, 56 districts and 242 Tehsils. The total area of the State is 2,94,413 sq.kms. and in area, it ranks fourth among the States.² The total population of the State is 11,08,58,019 which constitutes almost

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1. Times of India Directory and Year Book, 1980-81.
 2. Census of India 1971, Series 21.

one eighth of the population of the country. The density of population is 377 persons per sq.km. In this respect it ranks sixth in the country. Upto 1981, the number of Junior Basic Schools were 69,244; Senior Basic Schools 11,428; Higher Secondary Schools 4,671; Degree Colleges 268 and Universities 19.³ However, the level of literacy is only 27.16 percent, standing at 31.5 percent for males and 10.6 percent for females.⁴ The number of villages in the State is 1,12,561, out of which 95,657 have a population of less than 1000 persons.⁵ The total cultivable land in the State is 2,98,09,000 hectares but actual land under cultivation is 1,74,82,000 hectares and irrigated land is 1,05,75,000 hectares.⁶

From a political point of view, Uttar Pradesh was observed as the hot bed of India. By virtue of

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3. Statistical Diary, Uttar Pradesh, 1981.
 4. Provisional Census, Uttar Pradesh, 1981.
 5. Times of India Directory and Year Book, 1980-81.
 6. Statistical Diary of Uttar Pradesh, 1981.

having maximum number of seats in the Parliament, it plays a decisive role in Indian politics. The State Assembly is also the largest in the country with 425 members. There are 18 Scheduled Caste members in the Parliament from this State - the corresponding number in the state assembly at present being 92.⁷

Politics in U.P. (1952-1985):

Politically, U.P. has always been one of the important and sensitive states within the Indian Union. Most of the important leaders of the national movement, such as Moti Lal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B. Pant, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Purshottam Das Tandon have been from U.P. who were protagonists during the pre-independence period. Since the independence, U.P. has provided the country with four Prime Ministers, and sends the largest number of M.Ps.(85) to the Parliament. Because of all these factors, U.P. always enjoys a predominant position in India, and especially, in Congress politics. Successive Congress leaders,

7. Report of the Commissioner for SC/ST: Part-I, 1979-81, pp. 37-38.

from Nehru onward, have always been very active in the internal affairs of U.P., and specially before 1952 general elections it had received very close attention on account of the large contingent of M.Ps. it sends.

Social, economic and political characteristics of the environment provide the indicators of homogeneity. A common distinctive feature in any society provides a basis for a common political action, and conversely, socio-economic heterogeneity among two or more groups provides the atmosphere for political conflicts. Although in U.P., sharp cleavages do not exist, a number of environmental factors such as geographical distance, caste, economic disparity, religious differences, discrimination in education, the rural-urban complex etc. have provided a string for political conflicts within the Congress and the other parties. Such conflicts take the form of factionalism or intra-party quarrels. The Congress party in U.P. has to perform two major functions; (i) maintain internal cohesion, and (ii) operate in an environment of conflict.⁸

8. Myron Weiner, "Traditional Role Performance and the Development of Modern Political Parties", Journal of Politics, XXVI (November, 1964), pp. 830-50.

The transition period (1952-1967):

The 1950s were largely a period of political transition which saw a change in the content of the political debate and in the character of political leadership in U.P. The content of political debate changed from an internal discussion on language and culture in the modern state to the role of party and government in the prevailing political system. Political leadership passed from the hands of first rank leaders who had moved to the central rank and whose positions depended less on personal charisma than on the patronage they distributed. After G.B. Pant's departure to the centre in 1955, the factional politics which he had managed to contain, came to the forefront during the tenure of Sampurnanand, C.B. Gupta and Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani, the subsequent three C.Ms. till 1967. During Pant's regime, two congressmen C.B. Gupta and Mohan Lal Gautam had come up as important party organisers, cabinet members and second rank leaders with large followers. The rivalry between them split the party into two groups, each supporting one of these leaders. Sampurnanand as C.M. could not control these two men and was soon replaced by Gupta, inspite of the

latter's defeat in the 1957 elections. Gupta came to power through the usual channel by acquiring control over the party organisation and becoming President of the UPCC, and with the support of the central leadership, which thought that as the leader of the dominant faction he would be able to keep the party together. In 1963, Gupta was one of the Chief Ministers who had resigned under the Kamraj plan.

Unhappy over this move, which he construed as an attempt by Nehru to remove those State leaders who were becoming too powerful, Gupta was still able to make his own nominee Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani the C.M. This was represented by another leader, Kamalapati Tripathi of Varanasi who came into prominence at this time. Tripathi, after Sampurnanand's departure from the U.P. Scene in 1962, took over the leadership of this group. After Gupta's resignation on not being made the next C.M., Tripathi left the cabinet and got himself elected as the President of the UPCC. Hence, by 1967, the stage was set for the later struggle between C.B. Gupta and Kamalapati Tripathi.

Mrs. Kriplani with no roots in U.P., did not take much part in these factional wranglings, her knowledge

of internal party matters was limited and she could not contain factionalism. During her term, a second line of factional leaders such as Govind Sahai, Ajit Prasad Jain and Genda Singh etc. came up who were later to play an important role. Her term of office was marked by strikes, police firing in Banda, high price of foodgrains in U.P.⁹ etc. which had all contributed to anti-Congressism in U.P. on the eve of the 1967 election.

Coalition period (1967-1971):

In the 1967 elections, the Congress Party gained only 198 seats in the assembly out of 423.¹⁰ Important Congressmen such as M.M. Verma (Speaker), H.L. Agrawal (Deputy Speaker), Kamalapati Tripathi (President of UPCC), were all defeated. Out of 15 Ministers, 5 Deputy Ministers and 6 Parliamentary Secretaries of Mrs. Kriplani's cabinet, one died and another two did not contest. Out of the 12

9. M.S. Verma, "Coalition Government U.P.'s First Experiment" (New Delhi: I.B.H. Publishing Co., 1971), p. 4.

10. M.S. Verma, Ibid., p.7.

contested ministers, 4 were defeated. Out of the 3 deputy ministers who had contested, only 1 could succeed and out of the 11 Parliamentary Secretaries in the election fray only 1 could win.¹¹ This shows the gravity of the Congress debacle. No party could gain a clear majority.

Soon after the elections, C.B. Gupta was able to form a Government with the help of some defectors and Independents. However, this government lasted for only 18 days due to the defection of an important Congress leader, Charan Singh with his faction to the opposition. Charan Singh, an important Jat leader with a substantial support of Jat MLAs had earlier tried to contest the election against C.B. Gupta for the post of Chief Minister. His supporters pointed out that in the 1967 elections, while important Congressmen had lost, Charan Singh had enhanced his reputation by winning by a margin of 52,200 votes over his nearest rival in a quadrangular contest.¹² The central leadership had expressed a

11. M.S. Verma, Ibid., pp.8-13.

12. M.S. Verma, Ibid., p.9.

desire for unity and felt that Gupta with a personal following of 66 Congressmen¹³ and general support in the party would be able to maintain unity. Charan Singh on the other hand, felt that State parties were free to choose their own leader. Kamalapati Tripathi too supported Charan Singh's claim at that time as he was against Gupta becoming the C.M. However, due to Central interference, Charan Singh withdrew his claim and Gupta was unanimously elected. 18 days later, not satisfied with the cabinet which Gupta had formed in which a very few of Charan Singh's supporters were included, Charan Singh and his group deserted the the congress and formed the Jan Congress. Gupta resigned from the post of the C.M.¹⁴ On 3 April, a coalition government was formed by all the opposition parties under the leadership of Charan Singh, who was made the Chief Minister.¹⁵ This coalition was called the Sanyukta Vidhayak Dal (S.V.D.) and was the first coalition government formed in U.P. since 1947.

13. Statesman (Delhi), March 5, 1967.

14. Hindustan Times (Delhi), April 2, 1967.

15. M.S. Verma, Ibid., p. 44.

The 1967 elections hence mark the transfer of power from the Congress Party to the various opposition parties in U.P. This was part of an All-India pattern, not an isolated phenomenon. In the States where the Congress failed to get a majority, this type of state parties emerged¹⁶-(i) on linguistic basis - regional party like the DMK and (ii) groups deriving largely from a prior existence as dissidents with the Congress party. The B.K.D. in U.P. is one such "dissident party". The formation of a non-Congress coalition government in U.P. affected the nature and style of factionalism within the Congress party it did not put an end to it.

In the 1969 elections, no party gained a clear majority but with the help of some Independents and 'rebels', C.B. Gupta was able to form the government. Although he had taken steps to satisfy all sections of the Congress, he met with only limited success. The post-election scene was marked by intense bargaining

16. Paul Wallace, "Dispegeion of Political Power in India", Asian Survey, III (February, 1968):2: pp. 87-97.

among groups and a struggle for power which showed that inspite of sitting in the opposition for 3 years, the Congress was still a "patch work of factions".¹⁷ The power struggle was not between Gupta and Tripathi alone but among the factions which were craming for power. Three main groups could be identified in the party at this time. The strongest group consisted of the zamindars, who had a lobby of over 20 members, and who had been ignored by Gupta, in his attempt to bring in fresh blood to quell the rebellion from below. There was also a group of ex-P.S.P. members under Ashok Mehta who had also felt neglected. Lastly, there were those young Congress members who had been left out by Gupta in a bid to pacify his own followers.¹⁸ This group criticised Gupta's government openly in the legislature during the budget session specially in the matter of sugarcane prices and potatoes - the two important issues at that time.¹⁹

17. Patriot (Delhi), February 25, 1969.

18. Patriot (Delhi), March 28, 1969.

19. Hindustan Times (Delhi), April 3, 1969.

The young Congress members joined hands with Tripathi and in February 1970 succeeded in removing Gupta from power. This was achieved in the traditional manner with Tripathi resigning from the cabinet in November, 1969 but continued as the President of the UPCC which enabled him to retain control over the party machinery.²⁰ With his withdrawal from the cabinet, other young Congress members also resigned, and after many attempts to form a coalition with the B.K.D., Gupta resigned²¹ and Charan Singh became the Chief Minister of the coalition Government. Thus, the Congress became divided into the pro-Prime Minister group and the pro-syndicate group. Due to the split, "Mr. Gupta ceased to be the leader of the State Congress. He is now at the head of faction"²²

This coalition lasted a little over 8 months. During this time factional quarrels were constant and they led to its downfall since it was not a coalition

20. Times of India (Delhi), November 20, 1969.

21. Times of India (Delhi), February 11, 1970.

22. Times of India (Delhi), November 18, 1969.

of liked-minded parties but of erstwhile factions which still retained their old loyalties and rivalries. Factional conflict was a two pronged one - between Charan Singh and Tripathi on the one hand and intra-party on the other. Each of these two quarrels was influenced by and often caused by the each other. The coalition broke up in September when the new Congress formally withdrew its support.²³

With the promulgation of President's rule in October, there began a period of frantic political activity with both the Congress factions doing their best to increase their support within the assembly.²⁴ The old Congress claimed the support of 221 MLAs. The new Congress in an attempt to keep out the old Congress offered Jairam Verma, B.K.D., the Chief Minister-ship in the hoped off another alliance with the B.K.D. But the opposition parties succeeded in forming a coalition headed by T.N. Singh (M.P.) of the old

23. Times of India (Delhi), September 25, 1970.

24. Times of India (Delhi), October 7, 1970.

Congress. It was on the surface, the culmination of the "grand alliance idea", but in reality it was merely a factional politics under new labels.²⁵ The real leader of the coalition was Gupta, and the old rivalry between him and Charan Singh and among the various constituent units came to the surface very soon. The defeat of the Chief Minister, T.N. Singh in the Maniram by-election to the assembly in January 1971, led to a demand for his resignation.

However, the fortunate of both the factions in U.P. underwent a drastic change after the mid-term elections held at the centre in February, 1971. Mrs. Gandhi was returned to power with a much larger majority, thus making her the undisputed leader of the Congress. This led to large scale defections from the old Congress to the new Congress in U.P. By the end of March, the new Congress had a clear majority²⁶ and in April, T.N. Singh's Government fell.

25. Statesman (Delhi), November 2, 1970.

26. Times of India (Delhi), March 28, 1971.

Period of Stability (1971-1977):

After resignation of T.N. Singh, the Congress rule in U.P. under Kamalapati Tripathi was established. It was the first time that the Congress party had a majority since the 1967 elections. But a new danger was in the large number of defectors, or rather groups of defectors from various parties who had flocked to the new Congress after its victory in the mid-term election of Lok Sabha. These factions met often and were very keen to maintain their separate identity which to them would work wonder in ensuring them more weightage in collective bargaining with the ruling leadership.²⁷

The youth faction within the party wished to remove Tripathi, and finally due to pressure from the central level, on 13th June, 1973, Tripathi resigned and President's rule was promulgated.²⁸ In November, 1973, after a long period of negotiations, Tripathi joined the central cabinet and H.N. Bahuguna was

27. Hindu (Madras.), June 15, 1971.

28. Hindustan Times (Delhi), June 12, 1973.

appointed Chief Minister on November 10, 1973.²⁹ He was confronted with the main task of building up a new image of the Congress party, so that it could win a majority in assembly elections scheduled to be held in February 1974.

In 1974 Assembly elections, B.L.D. secured 106 seats and Charan Singh was elected the leader of opposition group. The opposition party became strong in U.P. Vidhan Sabha. The opposition leaders alleged Bahuguna's ministry for not maintaining law and order in the State. Some Congress leaders dissented from Bahuguna's Ministry. The Chief Minister faced a setback, when cabinet rank Health Minister Saligram Jaiswal resigned and protested against the reimposition of land revenue on small holdings.³⁰ Different caste groups were protesting against him. The Scheduled Caste MLAs, Thakur MLAs and Yadav MLAs wanted to remove his Ministry because they were not given good representation in his

29. National Herald (Delhi), November 12, 1975.

30. Economic Times (New Delhi), November 1, 1975.

Ministry. In November 1975, many ministers submitted their resignations and stood against the Chief Minister. Bahuguna's position become untenable. Finally, he had to resign on 29 November, 1975. Then, the Governor of U.P. Chenna Reddy recommended for President's Rule.³¹

After Bahuguna's resignation, N.D. Tiwari became the Chief Minister on 21 January, 1976.³² On becoming the Chief Minister, Tiwari too faced the same kind of problem. In March 1977, in the Lok Sabha elections, Janata Party came to power at the centre. The Central Ministry dissolved the U.P. Vidhan Sabha and declared elections in June, 1977.

Period of Instability (1977-1980):

In June 1977 assembly elections, Janata Party came to power in U.P. and Ram Naresh Yadav became the Chief Minister. He was not a powerful leader. So within two years of his term, he faced a lot of problems. Some of his party leaders and also the Jan Sangh demanded

31. Hindu (Madras), November 30, 1975.

32. Hindustan Standard (Calcutta), February 27, 1976.

the removal of his Ministry. Yadav suspended 6 Ministers, they were Rewati Raman Singh, Minister for Animal Husbandry, Satya Prakash Malaviya, Minister for local-self Government, Rajendra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, Laxman Singh, Minister of State for Planning and Sharda Prasad Rawat, Deputy Minister for Irrigation. With the suspension of these Ministers, the U.P. politics took a dramatic turn. Ganesh Dutta Bajpai, Minister for local-self Government and the Deputy Minister for Rural Development, Mr. Prabhulal Verma resigned from the Ministry. The Chief Minister also demanded resignation from Ram Singh, Home Minister and a Scheduled Caste leader, and Deputy Minister, Mrs. Malti Sharma. Seeing the Chief Minister's attitude, most of the MLAs demanded the dismissal of his Ministry. Immediately after that another 13 Ministers submitted their resignations to the Chief Minister. These Ministers belong to the Jan Sangh party. Finally, the Chief Minister, Ram Naresh Yadav submitted his resignation to the Governor after losing a trial of strength in the Janata Party legislative by a margin of nine votes. Mr. Yadav

secured 190 out of the 391 Janata Party MLAs while 199 voted against him.³³

After the resignation of Ram Naresh Yadav, there was always an attempt to capture the Chief Minister's post. Raj Mangal Pande and Banarasi Das, both were claiming to become the Chief Minister. Raj Mangal Pande was the leader of CFD. But CFD leaders did not like him to contest in the election for Chief Ministership. But he contested in the election without the consent of the party leaders, and secured 177 votes against 212 of Banarasi Das. Banarasi Das became the Chief Minister on 28 February, 1979. Following Banarasi Das the Chief Minister, the conflict started among BLD, Jan Sangh and CFD leaders.

Period of Stability (1980-1985):

In 1980 Lok Sabha election, Congress (I) again returned with the majority in the centre and formed the Government under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi played an important role by

33. Times of India (Delhi), February 16, 1979.

dissolving the legislative assemblies in many states. In 1980 assembly election in U.P., Congress (I) secured 309 seats and formed the Government under the leadership of V.P. Singh, who belongs to a Rajput family. Some other caste leaders like Brahmin and Yadav were against him. They demanded the resignation of V.P. Singh. He had full support from the centre and continued as the Chief Minister. During V.P. Singh's period, U.P. was infested with dacoits and cases of abduction. The Chief Minister was unable to solve these problems. On 18 December 1981, 24 Scheduled Castes were killed by dacoits in Deoli village of Mainpuri district. V.P. Singh declared that if he could not solve of dacoits problem he would resign. The opposition parties demanded resignation from V.P. Singh because he was not able to solve the criminal problem in U.P. On 28 June night, 10 Yadavs in Kanpur district and 6 Scheduled Castes in Mainpuri district were killed by dacoits. V.P. Singh resigned on 28 June, 1982 as a mark of protest against killings by dacoits.

After V.P. Singh's resignation, the U.P. Assembly Speaker, Sripati Mishra, was chosen by the Congress (I) high command to take over as the Chief Minister of U.P.

A large number of Congress (I) MLAs were against him. They wanted a replacement of Mishra. He was facing usual crisis- massacres of Harijans and members of other low caste communities, by-election reverses, scathing criticism from dissidents, demands of his resignation by opposition parties. He resigned in August 1984. After Mishra, N.D. Tiwari, the Union Minister of Industry, became the Chief Minister. This was the second time that Tiwari became the Chief Minister of U.P.

After 1985 assembly election, again third time, N.D. Tiwari became the Chief Minister. After seven months, he was asked to join the cabinet ministry at the centre by the high command of the Congress (I). After Tiwari, Veer Bahadur Singh became the Chief Minister of U.P. Veer Bahadur Singh was loosing his image among Congress (I) leaders. Sanjay Singh and Lokpati Tripathi, both cabinet ministers of U.P. Government, were against him. They wanted to become the Chief Minister of U.P. In the recent by-elections of March 1987, Ammar Rizavi, Parliamentary Affairs Minister of U.P. was defeated by Rastriya Sanjay Manch candidate Akbar Ahmed alias Dumpy. Veer Bahadur Singh

image has gone down. And this made an impact on Veer Bahadur Singh's personality.

Politics in reserved constituencies of U.P.(1962-1985):

The politics of the reserved constituencies of U.P. has been observed as the politics of the ruling party. In the reserved constituencies of U.P., Congress has been in power from 1952-1985. But in 1977 it could not secure majority in the reserved constituencies along with other general constituencies. In the 1962 general elections, the Congress Party had secured 62 Lok Sabha seats out of a total of 86 in U.P. In the reserved constituencies, Congress secured 14 seats (77.78%) out of 18. The BJS, the PSP and the RPI got one seat each in those reserved constituencies. More important was the case of B.P. Maurya, a Scheduled Caste candidate, who won the election from Aligarh general constituency. He contested election from the RPI platform. In the case of the reserved assembly constituencies, the Congress Party has been dominant in Uttar Pradesh politics. In 1962 general assembly elections, the Congress got 55 (61.80%) out of 89 reserved constituencies for Scheduled Castes. In this election, there was no other strong party in U.P. People usually supported the Congress Party (See Table 7 and 8).

In 1967 general elections, there was a wave of non-congressism. The Congress Party had secured 47 Lok Sabha seats. The BJS and SSP increased their strength, securing 12 and 8 Lok Sabha seats respectively. The Congress Party in the reserved constituencies secured the majority of the seats. It got 15 seats out of 18. In U.P. Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party secured 199 seats out of 425 and in reserved constituencies it secured 47 seats out of 89. The Jan Sangh increased its number to 24 reserved seats. It emerged as the second largest party in U.P. legislative assembly. Jan Sangh secured 98 seats out of a total of 425. In this election, eminent leaders, M.M. Verma, Kamlapati Tripathi, Madhav Prasad Tripathi, Baldeo Singh Arya, Triloki Singh and N.D. Tiwari were defeated.³⁴

Before the mid-term poll in 1969, the BKD formed by Charan Singh emerged as a regional party in U.P. For the first time, BKD secured 98 seats in State assembly election with 22 seats from the reserved

34. M.S. Verma, "Coalition Government UP's First Experiment", (New Delhi: IBH Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 8-9.

constituencies. The BKD is basically a peasants' party. The backward classes and the peasants supported this party with open heart. It became the second largest party in U.P. legislative assembly with 98 seats. It was a terrible set-back for Congress. In the reserved constituencies Congress got 46 seats. The other parties, Jan Sangh, Swatantra, SSP etc., also suffered (See Table 8).

In 1971 Lok Sabha election, there was a marked change. The Congress Party returned with majority in the centre. From U.P. it captured 73 seats out of 85. In reserved constituencies, it swept 18 reserved constituencies.

In 1974 legislative assembly elections, the Congress increased its number of seats from 211 to 215 and formed the government. The SSP merged with BKD, and BKD again secured 106 seats out of 425 and was ranked as the second largest party in U.P. Legislative Assembly. In the reserved constituencies, the Congress Party secured 49 seats, the BLD 23, out of a total of 89.

After the period of emergency in 1977, the All India Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Congress for Democracy, the BLD and the Jan Sangh

formed the Janata Party. In 1977 elections, Janata Party swept all 85 Lok Sabha seats of U.P. and in the assembly election it secured 352 seats out of 425. The Congress (I) got 47 seats. In the reserved constituencies, the Janata Party secured 80 and the Congress (I) 8 seats. In this election, there was a Janata Party wave.

In 1980, the Janata Party was divided into Janata (J.P.), Janata (S), Janata (SC), Janata (SR) and the BJP. The Janata Party in its bogey brought its own downfall due to coincidence of Janata (SC's) divergent and petty interest. The Janata Party (SC) secured 29 Lok Sabha seats out of 85 and the Congress was again able to secure 51 Lok Sabha seats. In the reserved Lok Sabha constituencies, the Congress (I) was able to secure 8 seats. The Janata Party(SC) got 9 seats out of 18 Lok Sabha reserved seats in U.P. In the assembly elections, the Congress (I) secured 309 seats out of 425, and again formed the Government under the leadership of V.P. Singh. In the reserved assembly constituencies, the Congress (I) got 76 seats and the Janata Party (SC) 10 out of 92.

In 1984 Lok Sabha elections, the Congress (I) secured 83 Lok Sabha seats. The BLD³⁵ secured 2 seats

35. In 1984 Lok Sabha and 1985 Assembly elections BLD or LD is known as DMKP.

in U.P. - one by Charan Singh (Bagpat constituency) and another by Mohammed Mahfooj Ali Khan (Etah constituency). All sympathy votes went to Congress following the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. As a repercussion of such swept in air, the Scheduled Caste finally tendered their fluent support for Rajiv Gandhi.

Things never go same always. In 1985 assembly elections, the Congress suffered as its number of seats reduced from 309 in 1980 to 266 in 1985's election. At the same time, that of Lok Dal showed a swing from 59 to 85. The Congress (I) in reserved assembly constituencies captured 75 seats out of 92.³⁶

Conclusion:

From our observation of politics in U.P. spanning over the period from 1952 to 1985, we sum up that the politics of U.P. is the culmination of two main characteristics:

- (i) The factional politics, and
- (ii) Caste politics.

36. Times of India (New Delhi), March 10, 1985.

From the 1987 January elections, the faction seen within Lok Dal opposition party in U.P. Vidhan Sabha is a glaring example, whereby the party is divided into two groups, one group led by H.N. Bahuguna and another by Ajit Singh. Though they fought the election under the same banner, caste differences and personal vested interests could not hold them together. In U.P. Vidhan Sabha, the opposition leader Mulayam Singh Yadav was replaced by Ajit Singh group, because Ajit Singh does not like Mulayam Singh. Ajit Singh group elected Satya Pal Singh Yadav as the opposition leader of his group. Here again, we observe that it is a case of difference of interest between the Jats and the Yadavs. Same was the ^{nature of} factions within the Congress(I) ruling party in U.P. In the Congress (I), we find that though it consists of upper castes, yet among the upper castes, each caste always tries to maintain a definite distance from the other. Lok Pati Tripathi and his Brahmin group are against Veer Bahadur Singh who is a Thakur.

When Charan Singh was the Chief Minister of U.P. he always preferred Jats and backward castes specially Yadavs. After 1977 assembly elections, Ram Dhan claimed the post of Chief Minister. But Charan Singh played an

important role and preferred Ram Naresh Yadav, because Ram Dhan was a Scheduled Caste leader. In the present Vidhan Sabha of U.P., 75 Scheduled Caste MLAs are from the Congress(I), but only one would get the cabinet ministry. Since independence, no one from the Scheduled Caste has been able to become the Chief Minister of U.P. It shows that in a country where a democracy works on the principle of majority decision, the Scheduled Caste, occupy only a negligible 92 seats in the legislative assembly. In spite of the Congress (I) alone occupying 75 seats along with them in the present Vidhan Sabha from this community, other Congress (I) legislators from forward castes forming absolute majority has not been able to hold the Chief Ministership. They are always looked down upon and not been given any opportunity to discharge responsibilities. So from these cases, we find that it is an utter egoism and a sense of superiority complex among those who belong to the upper castes to suppress the lower castes. It has always been a deliberate effort to keep these section low-lying.

Thus, it shows that the Brahmin lobby in the politics of U.P. is very powerful and it has been so over long time. Unless, some specific principle is

formed on this, the shape of politics will continue to be a race platform for the Scheduled Castes for the time to come.

Again, when V.P. Singh was the Chief Minister, Brahmin group was against him and after his resignation, Brahmin leader, Sripati Mishra held the Chief Minister's post. This has clearly been observed that the Chief Minister of U.P. is always appointed on the basis of his/her caste. There is tension between the Thakur and Brahmin lobbies in the Congress (I) Party. Since the U.P. politics is otherwise known as the politics of Brahmins, who are the muskateers in this game, somehow manage to blow the wind in their favour.

Table - 7

PARTY POSITION IN RESERVED CONSTITUENCIES OF LOK SABHA IN U.P., 1962-1984 (IN PERCENT)

Party	1962 No. of Seats	%	1967 No. of Seats	%	1971 No. of Seats	%	1977 No. of Seats	%	1980 No. of Seats	%	1984 No. of Seats	%
INC	14	77.78	15	83.33	18	100	-	-	8	44.44	18	100
BJS	1	5.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSP	1	5.56	1	5.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RPI	1	5.56	1	5.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SSP	-	-	1	5.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
JNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	100	-	-	-	-
JNP(S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	50.00	-	-
IND	1	5.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5.56	-	-
Total:	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100

: 74 :

Source : Report on the Lok Sabha elections, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977, 1980 and 1984.
(New Delhi: Election Commission of India).

Table - 8

PARTY POSITION IN RESERVED CONSTITUENCIES OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN U.P.(1962-80)(IN PERCENT)

Party	1962		1967		1969		1974		1977		1980	
	No.of seats	%	No.of seats	%	No.of seats	%	No.of seats	%	No.of seats	%	No.of seats	%
INC	55	61.80	47	55.81	46	52.69	49	55.06	8	8.99	76	82.61
BJS	8	8.99	24	26.97	12	13.48	15	16.85	-	-	-	-
Socialist	6	6.74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CPI	6	6.74	1	1.12	-	-	2	2.25	-	-	1	1.09
Swat.	5	5.62	3	3.37	2	2.25	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSP	4	4.49	1	1.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RPI	1	1.12	1	1.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SSP	-	-	10	11.24	5	5.62	-	-	-	-	-	-
JNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	89.89	-	-
CPM	-	-	-	-	1	1.12	-	-	-	-	-	-
JNP(SC)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10.37
INC(U)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.09
BJP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.26
BKD	-	-	-	-	22	24.72	23	25.84	-	-	-	-
IND.	4	4.49	2	2.25	1	1.12	-	-	1	1.12	1	1.09
TOTAL	89	100	89	100	89	100	89	100	89	100	92	100

Source : Report on the Legislative Assembly Elections; 1962, 1967, 1969, 1974, 1977 & 1980.

(New Delhi: Election Commission of India).

: 75 :

The present study is concentrated mainly on Jalesar legislative assembly constituency. This constituency is situated in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh.

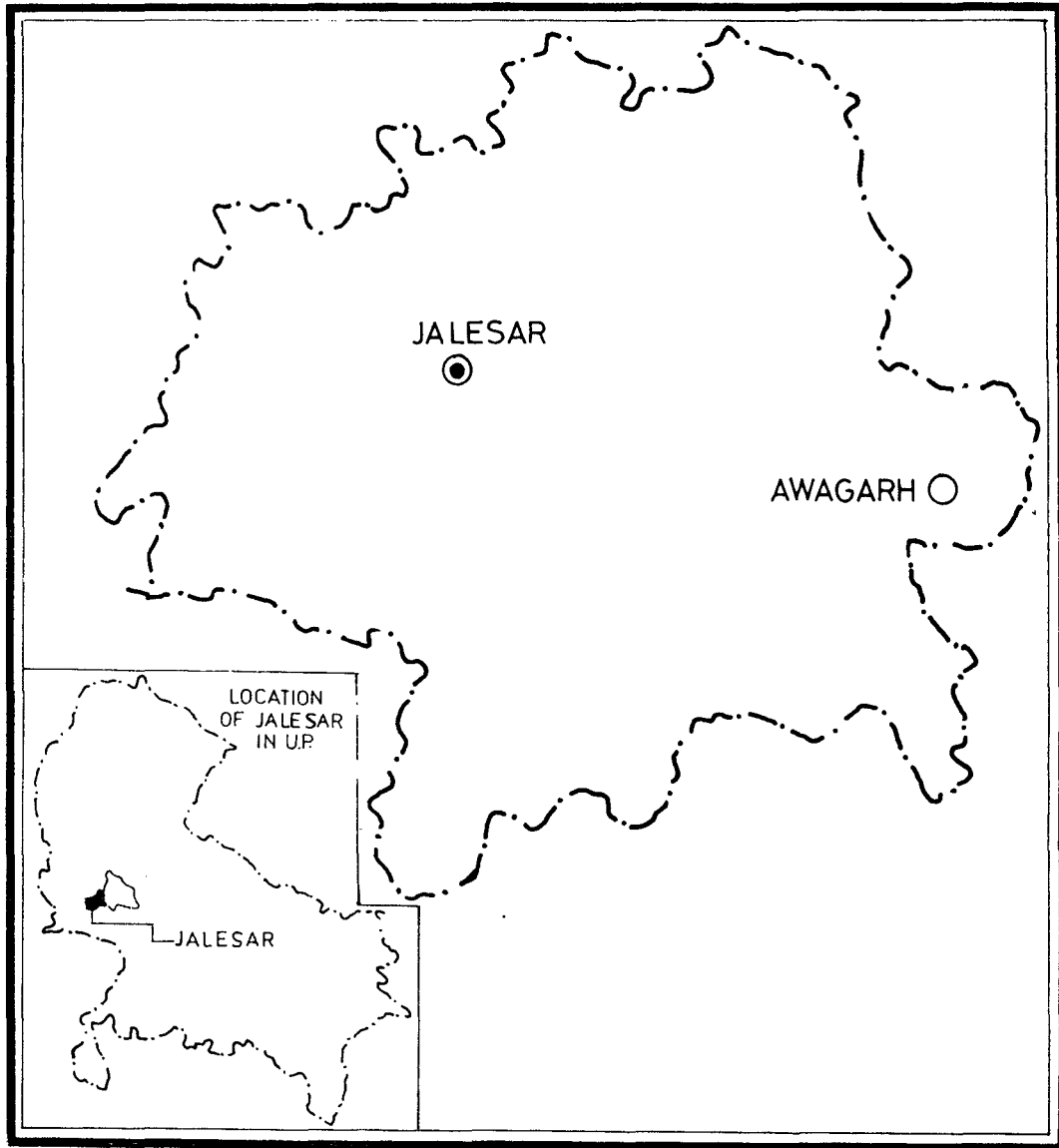
Etah District:

Etah constitutes one of the central districts of U.P. Falling in Agra division, this district lies between 27° 18' and 28° 2' North latitude and 78° 11' and 79° 17' East longitude. The boundary of the district touches Furrukhabad in the East and Aligarh, Mathura and Agra in the West. In the north, it is isolated by the Ganga river from Badaun district and in the south it has Mainpur and Agra districts. According to the surveyor of India, the area of the district is 4,446 sq. kms. For administrative purpose, the district is divided into five Tehsils, viz. Etah, Jalesar, Kasganj, Aliganj and Patiyali.

The population of the district according to 1971 census of India was 15,70,925 and according to 1981 census of India it was 18,58,692 persons. The population increase in the district during the decade is by 18.32 per cent. The overall literacy in the district is 27.10 per cent, while it is 39.78 per cent in urban areas and 24.77 per cent in rural areas. Literacy among males is 38.68 per cent and females is 13.09 per cent.³⁷

37. Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi), Janpath Etah, 1985, p.137.

JALESAR LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY
(RESERVED)



VAW/37A.3

Source: District Census Handbook, Series 21, Part 2-A,
Etah, 1971.

The total population of the Scheduled Castes in the district is 3,17,422 which computes to 17.08 per cent of the total population.³⁸ Out of 66 in the state, there are 27 sub-castes of the Scheduled Castes in the Etah district. Those Scheduled Castes, whose population is more than 1.0 per cent of the total are Balmiki, Chamar, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Khatik, Korwa and Lalbegi.

Jalesar reserved constituency:

Etah district has eight legislative assembly constituencies, - Etah, Aliganj, Jalesar, Kasganj, Patiyali, Sonrrow, Sakit and Nidholi Kalan. Jalesar is the only reserved constituency for the Scheduled Castes. This constituency consists of two blocks - Awagarh and Jalesar. It has 162 rural villages and two towns - Awagarh and Jalesar. Jalesar city is situated in the south west, 40 km., far away from the district headquarter. It is situated in 27° 28 North and 79° 19 East between the Isan and the singer rivers, about a mile from the left bank of the singer river.

The word 'Jalesar' has been derived from a Hindi word, "Jaleshwar" which is the combination of the two words, 'Jal' and 'Ishwar'. That means "The God of Water".

38. Census of India, 1981.

But to some people, Jaleshwar meant the "Nagari of Jal", otherwise in its literal meaning, it is the city of water. According to Dr. Dashratha Sharma, the word 'Jalesar' has been taken from sanskrit word 'Jaleshwar', the word here something related Shiva. Once upon a time there were so many followers of 'Shiva' from this place and they made a temple which stands uptill now in the name of 'Chintaharan Mandir' as a mute sentinel to the past belief. Now the same Jaleshwar it mispronounced as 'Jalesar'. Jalesar has got its importance in the history itself. The mohammedans are said to have resisted the invasion under the command of Saiyed Ibrahim who was killed in 1403 A.D. and is now remembered as a martyr. Now a festival is being celebrated every year in the memory of Saiyed Ibrahim. His tomb and resting place for the pilgrims give testimony to Jalesar's long history.³⁹

During the British rule, Jalesar was a Tehsil of Mathura district. Till 1834 it was kept along with Agra district. Again in 1876 it was combined with Etah district.⁴⁰ Now Jalesar is known as a Tehsil and legislative assembly constituency of Etah district.

39. K.P. Sharma, Rules and By-laws of the Jalesar Municipality, (Etah: Awaz Press, 1975), pp. 208-210.

40. K.P. Sharma, Ibid., p. 209.

Socio-cultural tradition in Jalesar:

Jalesar constituency was dominated by Thakur community during the British rule. In 1901, the representatives of 32 different Thakur clans were found in the Etah district. Most numerous were the Chauhans and followed them were the Jadons. They were mostly spread over Jalesar constituency. The home of the Chief of Umargarh and Awagarh who were regarded as the heads of the clan in the district. Raja of Awagarh's family claimed to belong to Jadon branch of the Rajput caste. The actual founder of the family of Raja Awagarh was Thakur Bijay Singh, son of Thakur Chatturbhuj Singh, a zamindar of Nari Samari in Chhata Tehsil of the Mathura district. He came to Jalesar in the 18th century as a baid (physician). The local Governor, as a mark of gratitude for his services presented him with the village, Misa, about two miles from Awagarh. Subsequently, the Governor changed the name of the village to Awa-⁴¹Misa Taluqa. Bijay Singh was a successful zamindar, later on his son, Bhakt Singh, continued the father's profession, and occupied 53 villages till 1906.

Bhakt Singh died some time before the British

41. Awa was the old name of Awagarh town.

conquest and was succeeded by his elder son, Hira Singh, who completed the building of Awagarh fort. Hira Singh died in 1831 and was succeeded by his son, Pitambar Singh. He passed away in November 1845. Leaving a will, by which, he adopted as his heir, his cousin, Kunwar Prithi Singh. On his death there were some disputes over property, but, the Board of Revenue by their order, dated 1st July 1846, finally recognized Kunwar Prithi Singh, as the Raja under the guardianship of Kunwar Lal Pokhpal Singh, a relative of the late Raja Pitambar Singh. Prithi Singh held the estate until his death on 31st July, 1876. Raja Prithi Singh was succeeded by his minor son, Chhatarpal Singh, who dies in 1884, when his cousin Baldeo Singh, was placed on the gaddi. Baldeo Singh however, died on March 8th, 1892 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Raja Balwant Singh. His management of the estate was as successful as that of his predecessors, and they were fast increasing in extent and value. After his death, his son Surajpal Singh became the Raja of Awagarh. He was the younger son of Raja Balwant Singh. In the beginning of the 20th century, he was the main zamindar of the district of Etah. Besides his property in the district, on which he paid over two lakhs of rupees a year as revenue during the British period, he had large

estates in Agra, Aligarh, Mainpuri and Mathura districts. After the abolition of the Zamindari system, this family also lost its kingship. Now it is only a name in the history, but still Jitendrapal Singh is called as the Raja of Awagarh.⁴²

Political awakening in Jalesar:

The political awakening among the people of Jalesar began in 1921. People of Jalesar also participated in the non-violent movement in 1921. Among the people who participated and were arrested Shriram Shastri, Thakur Basudeo Singh, Thakur Kishanlal, Thakur Narayan Singh and Thakur Sahab Singh. During the Salt-Movement in 1930, many Congressmen from Jalesar were arrested. Thakur Sahab Singh, who belonged to Rajmal village of Jalesar constituency, had undergone the imprisonment for 8 months in the non-violent movement of 1921 and for 6 months for joining the Salt-Movement of 1930. Later he was appointed as a Vice-Pradhan of the Congress of Etah district. He also worked as a member of the Congress Committee of Etah District Board for many years.

42. U.P. District Gazetteer Etah (Allahabad: Press, 1911), pp. 89-92.

Within the traditional hierarchy of castes, the Scheduled Caste had no place in the freedom struggle of India. Khan rightly says that "the Scheduled Castes had absolutely no access to power in the past, not only because of the absence of any of the factors which the caste Hindu had, but also due to their low social status and economic dependence on the caste Hindus".⁴³ Even the limited franchise that was available to the people possessing educational and property qualifications was denied to the Scheduled Castes. There was no significant role for and status of the Scheduled Castes in political sphere during the British rule. But those conditions were abolished after independence. The new social, political and economic order encouraged mobility among the Scheduled Castes.

After independence, Jalesar was declared a double-member constituency.⁴⁴ In 1961, the double-member constituencies were abolished. From that time onwards, Jalesar

43. Mumtaz Ali Khan, "Scheduled Castes and their Status in India" (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1980), pp. 170-72.

44. In double-member constituency two candidates were elected one from SC community and another from non-SC community.

was declared a reserved constituency for Scheduled Castes only. Jalesar is also a parliamentary constituency, which consists of five legislative assembly constituencies, viz. Tundala (SC), Etamadpur (SC), Jalesar (SC), Sadabad and Nidholi Kalan. The Jalesar parliamentary constituency is an unreserved one. The total eligible voters (according to 1985 electoral list) in Jalesar state assembly constituency is 1,31,269. In this constituency, the Scheduled Castes have contested election during the period, 1952-1985. Non-Scheduled Caste candidates also have come to power in 1952 and 1957.

The Jalesar constituency is dominated by the Congress Party. Only during 1962-1969 and 1977 state assembly elections, that seat was captured by the opposition party. And in 1957, Raghbir Singh (non-Scheduled Caste) who came to power belonged to the PSP. In 1969 and 1977 assembly elections, this seat was captured by the BKD and the Janata Party. Time came when the wind blew in the reverse direction. Again in 1980 and 1985 assembly elections this seat was won by the Congress Party.

Among the Scheduled Castes, Jatav was the only caste who retained the Jalesar seat. But from 1977

assembly election onward, the Jatavs started losing their grip over Jalesar seat. After the death of Chiranjilal, there was no other leader from Jatav community. After his death, other sub-castes of Scheduled Castes like Nut, Agariya and Dhobi climbed the ladder of power.

Socio-religious groups in Jalesar:

The Chamars are most numerous in the Etah district. They constitute 15.07 per cent of the total Hindu population. They are highly spread in rural areas. Most of the Chamars are agricultural labourers. The second numerous caste is the Ahir (Yadav). Ahirs constitute 11.61 per cent. Traditionally, they were the great land owning group in the district. Another group Lodhs constitute 11.56 per cent of the majority Hindu community. They are considered excellent cultivators. The Thakurs constitute 10.6 per cent. They are densely populated in Jalesar constituency where they constitute 15 per cent, on the other hand the Brahmins constitute 11.02 per cent. The Gadariyas constitute 4.45 per cent. Their traditional occupation is herding sheep and goats, though they have taken to cultivation, they have met with very moderate

success. The Bania constitutes 7.07 per cent. They are the most numerous in Kasganj and sparse in Jalesar (See Table-9).

Table - 9

CASTE-WISE POPULATION IN ETAH DISTRICT (IN PERCENT)

<u>Castes</u>	<u>Percentage</u> (total pop. = 100)
Chamars	15.07
Ahirs (Yadavs)	11.61
Lodhs	11.56
Thakurs	10.61
Brahmins	11.02
Gadariyas	4.45
Banias	7.07
Others	28.61

Source : Uttar Pradesh district Gazetteer, Etah
(Allahabad: Govt. Press, 1911), pp. 71-81.

The Thakurs are still considered as landowners. According to the previous settlement of 1873, however, the Brahmins, the Thakurs, the Kacchis, the Lodhs and the Ahirs (Yadavs) were in almost equal numbers and from among them, 65 per cent were cultivators of the district and probably there has not been much change since then. Of the Thakurs, both the Chauhans and the Rathores still refuse as a general rule to handle the plough themselves. Most of the other clans cultivate themselves and their fields are of the average size. The Brahmins are the worst cultivators and their lands generally are the samples of inferior cultivation. The Lodhs forming the back-bone of the best villages, are excellent cultivators in a broad style, showing their preference for sugar, wheat and maize.⁴⁵

The Brahmins, the Thakurs, the Yadavs and the Lodhs are the dominant castes of Jalesar constituency. These are landowning and educated castes. Among them, Thakurs have been dominant from the time of the British

45. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer Etah (Allahabad: Govt. Press, 1911), pp. 99-100.

rule. Now, Jitendrapal Singh and Tursanpal Singh are the prominent persons of the Thakur community. Jitendrapal Singh is a respectable person of the Thakur community. He is known as the King of Awagarh. Tursanpal Singh is a political leader and Block Permukh of Awagarh Block. He is the veteran leader of Jalesar politics and active leader of Bharatiya Janata Party. He is known as zamindar of this area. Among other backward classes, the Yadavs and the Lodhs are developed castes. These castes are cultivators. They have occupied lands in this area. They are socially, economically and politically developed. In terms of ritual practice, the Brahmins are the dominant castes held at the top of the caste hierarchy. There is rivalry among the Brahmins, the Thakurs and the Yadavs, because the Brahmins are the supporters of the Congress (I) and on the other hand, Thakurs support the BJP. The Yadavs are the supporters of the Lok Dal. Each of the three castes clamouring among each other for capturing the political power. The Brahmins in this area are economically sound. But in political sphere the Thakurs and the Yadavs are a step ahead of the Brahmins.

From the religious point of view, there are so many religious groups, such as the Hindus, the Muslims, the

Christians, the Sikhs, the Budhists and the Jains.
Out of the population 18,58,692 in Etah district, 88.91 per cent are the Hindus (See Table - 10).

Table - 10

THE POPULATION OF ETAH DISTRICT ACCORDING TO RELIGION

Religion	Total Population	Rural Population	Urban Population
Hindus	16,52,560	14,48,290	2,04,270
Muslims	1,94,323	1,16,258	78,065
Christians	3,228	2,225	1,003
Sikhs	1,896	552	1,344
Budhists	2,177	2,009	168
Jains	4,440	1,385	3,055
Others	61	-	61
Unidentified religion	7	7	-
Total :	18,58,692	15,70,726	2,87,966

Source : Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi), Janpad Etah, 1985, p. 16.

The above table showing the population on the basis of religion indicates that most of them are in the rural areas. The total population of the Hindus includes total population of Scheduled Castes in Etah district. The Sikhs are only 0.10 per cent of the total population of Etah district. Because of the stigma of untouchability in the Hindu society, some Scheduled Castes have embraced Buddhism. They have lost all the benefits which are otherwise due to them by virtue of being in this category.

Jalesar assembly constituency is composed mainly of the rural population. The total population of Jalesar constituency is 2,30,713 and the Scheduled Castes constitute 21.58 per cent,⁴⁶ are spread mostly in the rural areas. Among the Scheduled Castes, Jatavs are highly populated. The major Scheduled Castes of this district are Jatav, Dhobi, Balmiki and Dhanuk etc. The Jatavs constitute 64.45 per cent of the total population. The Dhobis, Balmikis and Dhanuks constitute 14.21 per cent, 7.43 per cent and 3.92 per cent respectively as shown in Table-11).

46. Census of India, 1981.

Table - 11

THE SCHEDULED CASTES OF ETAH DISTRICT (IN PERCENT)

Scheduled Castes	Percentage (SCs Pop.= 100)
Jatav	64.45
Dhobi	14.21
Balmiki	7.43
Dhanuk	3.92
Nut	0.49
Agariya	0.30
Others	9.20

Source : Census of India, 1971.

The Jatavs are the dominant group among the Scheduled Castes in Etah District. They constitute more than half of the entire Scheduled Castes population. They are economically and educationally better than other sub-castes. The Jatavs are mostly cultivators and agricultural labourers. Some Jatavs are engaged in their traditional occupation. Those who have migrated to the cities, have been doing their traditional jobs.

In this constituency, about 15 per cent of the Jatavs are in government jobs. Out of them about 5 per cent in Class-IV job. As far as their involvement in political activities is concerned, they are the leading group among the Scheduled Castes in Jalesar constituency politics. They are politically more mobilised than the other sub-castes.

The Dhobis are, numerically, the second largest among the Scheduled Castes. They constitute 14.21 per cent of the population of Scheduled Caste in Etah district. They are agricultural labourers. Since their traditional occupation is no more profitable in the rural areas, they have been forced to migrate to towns and cities to pursue their traditional occupation. They are better off than other sub-castes except for the Jatavs.

The Balmikis occupy the third position among the Scheduled Castes. They constitute 7.43 per cent. They are landless labourers and engaged in their traditional occupation i.e. scavenging. Almost, in all offices of Etah district, Balmikis are recruited in Class IV service as sweepers.

The Jatavs are numerically the important section of the Scheduled Caste population. Their traditional occupation is leather work. Now they have started working in big companies such as Bata, BSC etc. Most of the staff in these companies, belong to the Jatav community. The Scheduled Caste of this areas are denied their fair share in the economy and common social life under the operation of the traditional mechanism of social control and economic domination in the hands of a small minority belonging to this area. Yet when the British Government in India, presented a new economic and educational opportunities irrespective of caste and creed, the Scheduled Caste started calculating their interest in terms of socio-economic and political progress.

Besides the Jatavs community, the Dhobis are also victims of social and economic disabilities imposed by the caste Hindus. Like Jatavs, Dhobis are also put in the lower stratum of the so-called traditional hierarchy. The occupation of Dhobis is confined to a very limited extent i.e. to wash clothes. Among the Scheduled Castes of U.P., the Balmikis have the lowest status in the Hindu society. They are not allowed to enter into the

houses of other sub-castes of Scheduled Castes. They are considered to be unclean. Where the same unclean caste clean the houses of the caste Hindus. Their traditional occupation is scavenging and making baskets. They still continue their traditional occupation due to illiteracy and unemployment.

Similarly, Dhanuks are also considered as lower castes among the Scheduled Castes. Their housewives work as a mid-wives in rural areas. Like Balmikis, they are also basket makers. Occupational conditions cannot be isolated from the economic conditions. Because both are related like 'Q' & 'U'. Income is the outcome of their occupation. 'The economic sources of man are not only meaningful to his livelihood, but also determine his capacity to obtain those utilities and services which symbolize higher social values, to what M.N. Srinivas terms as modernization. The economic position determines the purchasing power of the Scheduled Castes as well as his style of living and thinking. The economic conditions are all the more significant to politics because, it determines its capacity to achieve as well as sustain power.⁴⁷ The rich and powerful

47. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Political Man: The Social Base of Politics" (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 27.

section of higher castes do participate directly in the politics of the Scheduled Castes constituency.

As far as social condition of the Scheduled Castes is concerned, their houses are placed in the outskirts of each and every village. The stigma of untouchability and pollution put to them ritually and socially segregated from the Hindu society. Untouchability in its own manifestations, such as debarring this group from using public places like roads, wells, restaurants, temples and so on, is rooted in the notion of purity and pollution. "This idea of purity and pollution whether occupational or ceremonial is found to have been a factor in the genesis of caste or the very soul of the idea and practice of untouchability"⁴⁸ Hindu cultural values have sanctioned the principles and practice of untouchability and such a system in such a form is perhaps unknown in any other part of the world.⁴⁹

48. G.S. Ghurye, "Caste and Class in India" (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1957), p. 242.

49. Patwardhan S., "Changing Among India's Harijans" (Delhi: Orient Longman Ltd., 1973), p. 4.

Because of their polluting character, they are not yet allowed to enter into the higher caste's house.

As far as their literacy is concerned, they are at the dead end of the mainstream. The literacy rate of Jalesar constituency is 30.90 per cent.⁵⁰ And the Scheduled Castes literacy rate is just a negligible 18.83 per cent. In the rural area, the literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes, reach upto 18.39 per cent (See Table -12). The sole reason for not attending the school is their socio-economic backwardness which compels them to drop out of the schools in the very beginning itself.

Table - 12

LITERACY RATE AMONG SCHEDULED CASTE IN JALESAR CONSTITUENCY (IN PER CENT)

	Persons	Male	Female
Total	18.83	16.83	4.47
Rural	18.39	30.10	3.85
Urban	23.11	33.55	10.45

Source : Census of India, 1981.

50. Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi), Janpad Etah, 1985, p. 137.

Table- 12 indicates that the literacy rate of Scheduled Castes in urban area is 23.11 per cent higher than in the rural area (18.39 Per cent). Mostly, in the rural areas, the Scheduled Castes are non-matric and are yet to reach the threshold of elementary qualification. Hence the Scheduled Caste girls are almost illiterate. Parents do not like to send their daughters to school for two reasons mainly (1) parents feel since they (girls) have only to become housewives, in their later stage of life, so there is no need to spend money on them, and (2) Girls are considered as unsafe in rural areas to be left alone. They cannot come out of their house without a proper escort. The drop-outs among the Scheduled Caste children are greater than non-Scheduled Caste children. They are preoccupied with the job of helping their parents in earning the daily bread for their family by either joining them in their traditional occupation or as physical labourers.

Table - 13

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES IN JALESAR AND AWAGARH BLOCKS

Blocks	Primary School	Senior School	Secondary School	Higher Sec. School	College
Jalesar	80	21	3	3	1
Awagarh	67	17	-	1	-
Total :	147	38	3	4	1

Source : Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi) Janpad Etah, 1985, p. 60.

The Jalesar constituency has 147 (80 in Jalesar and 67 in Awagarh blocks)⁵¹ primary schools and 38 senior schools. The children do go to schools since there are only 4 higher secondary schools, it is difficult to accomodate a larger number of students. That is why there are so many cases of drop-outs at the primary stage and senior schooling. These 4 higher secondary schools are in the main towns of Jalesar and Awagarh. (See Table- 13). Improper education coupled with insufficient financial support, the Scheduled Castes

51. Jalesar and Awagarh Blocks of Etah district form a Jalesar legislative assembly constituency.

students do not go for college studies. There is only one college in Jalesar. Those only, who live adjacent to that college, join. All these factors taken together contribute to the illiteracy of Jalesar.

Agriculture Pattern in Jalesar:

In Jalesar constituency, 42.60 per cent of the Scheduled Castes are landless agricultural labourers who sweat in and out for those lands which are not their own (See Table - 14). The workers and the cultivators constitute 28.80 per cent and 37.6 per cent of the total population of Scheduled Castes respectively in the area.

Table - 14

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN
JALESAR CONSTITUENCY (IN PER CENT)

	Persons	Male	Female
Total	42.60	42.11	0.49
Rural	41.41	40.94	0.47
Urban	1.19	1.17	0.02

Source : Census of India, 1981.

: 100 :

Table - 15 gives the details of workers and cultivators. Very few Scheduled Castes have got their lands through 20-Point Programme. But they are not even able to plough them. That is either they do not have materials for cultivation or do not possess the right over the land.

Table - 15

WORKERS AND CULTIVATORS AMONG THE SCHEDULED CASTES IN
JALESAR CONSTITUENCY (IN PER CENT)

	Persons	Male	Female
Workers	28.80	29.09	0.71
Cultivators	37.67	37.28	0.39

Source : Census of India, 1981.

The landlords give the land either on contract or on lease to the Scheduled Castes. In return they have to be given 50 per cent of the crop to the landlord. Sometimes it so happens that the Scheduled Castes take loan from the landlord, but unable to repay the loan, their lands are acquired by those landlord, where he is

made to work in his field as a labourer. In return he gets a paltry sum of Rs.10/- per day or 5-6 Kg. of wheat or other things as his daily wage. About 60 per cent of the children work with their parents to meet the daily expenditure. Unlike male workers, children and women get less wage. There is no protest movement whatsoever for the implementation of the minimum wage act, which was passed by the Government. They know, if they protest against low wage, they would face grim consequences.

Land is very fertile in Jalesar. Basically, the crop cultivated annually in U.P. (i) Kharif (ii) Rabi (iii)Jaiad. But in Jalesar mainly two crops are cultivated. They are Rabi and Kharif. Kharif's crop is fully dependent on monsoon. Rain is the main source for irrigation. Under Kharif the following crops like maize, rice, bajra, jawar and cotton etc. are grown. And under Rabi crop, wheat, gram, barely etc. are grown. Wheat and rice crops are cultivated in a large scale (See Table -16).

Table - 16

CROPS CULTIVATED IN JALESAR AND AWAGARH BLOCK (IN HECTARE)

Block	Fertile Land	Wheat cultivated Land	Rice cultivated Land	Sugar cultivated Land	Gram cultivated Land	Maize cultivated Land
Jalesar	35,686	14,831	1,795	132	1,125	532
Awagarh	27,777	10,442	1,462	248	820	1,006

Source : Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi) Janpad Etah, 1985, pp. 21-27.

Besides this, sugarcane, seasamum, pisum, kidney-been, mustard etc. are cultivated in this constituency. The different sources of irrigation are tubewells, canals etc. Landlords of this area own tubewells for irrigation (See Table -17).

Table - 17

LAND IRRIGATED IN DIFFERENT SOURCES IN JALESAR AND
AWAGARH BLOCKS (IN HECTARE & PERCENT)

Block	Tubewells	Canals	Wells	Others
Jalesar	12,254 (53.1)	9,313 (43.9)	88 (0.4)	547 (2.6)
Awagarh	6,999 (45.6)	7,816 (50.9)	368 (2.4)	165 (2.1)

Source : Sankhikiya Patrika (Hindi) Janpad Etah, 1985,
p. 23.

The higher castes use tractor for cultivation in this area. But the Scheduled Castes still resort to the traditional method of cultivation. The people of the constituency are dependent on agriculture. The Scheduled Castes do not like to change their original occupation of agriculture, for two reasons; (i) the present occupation is profitable and this is not considered to be polluting (but they are considered untouchables, and (ii) there is lack of employment.

CHAPTER - III

PATTERN OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

DOMINANCE IN JALESAR

This chapter is concerned mainly with the pattern of economic and political dominance of different groups in Jalesar. This would provide an empirical basis to the inquiry into the involvement of different social groups in the electoral politics in the constituency.

We shall highlight the composition and the literacy rate only of those classes that are important. We plan to delve deeper into the social and economic factors of the issue.

Politics of Jalesar functions mainly at two levels; (i) at the level of masses, and (ii) at the level of elite. At the level of masses, it is more perceptible at the time of elections. But the elite level politics is a continuous process which can be seen among different sections of the society. The economically sound and upper caste groups constitute of elite. Political opinions and political behaviour of the masses and the elite are reflected during the election. The elites include the two main overlapping groups, the hereditary/
/dominant group and the landowning group.

The inter-relations between land and politics, often expressed through the medium of caste, have taken different forms in different regions of Uttar Pradesh.

Landowning Class and Politics:

The politics of Jalesar constituency is dominated by few land-owning elite groups, like the Brahmin and the Thakur. In Uttar Pradesh, the Brahmins are doing sacerdotal function and on the other hand the Thakurs are the landowning groups. This land dominancy has influenced the politics of the State as well as of the Jalesar constituency. The Sudra Castes (the SCs) are constituted of peasant proprietor and landless agricultural labourers. They work in the fields of Thakurs. With the advent of the British rule, they were the first community to take advantage of increasing literacy and slowly shifted to urban areas, taking up the Government and quasi-Government jobs. After the 50s, the upper caste group either sold their land or gave it on contract to the Yadavs and the Lodhs. Their caste superiority has also a dominant role to play in Jalesar.

The Sudras still work as agricultural labourers. The only change is, that earlier they (SCs) were working on Thakurs' land, and now they are working in the Yadavs and the Lodhs field. The upper caste still

maintains its economic superiority, and this makes these upper castes politically dominant in elections. The candidate is entirely dependent on the mercy of the landlords for winning the elections. In return, the Scheduled Caste MLA renders their help to the upper castes. During our personal interviews, an eminent leader, Tursanpal Singh said that "people of this constituency are illiterate and they are not politically conscious. In order to help these illiterate groups, we (Thakurs) come and campaign for Scheduled Caste candidates. The Scheduled Castes are divided during the election. We (Thakurs) take this chance to help a particular Scheduled Caste who could help us after the election".

Political Alignment in Jalesar:

The alignment of different caste groups are quite often seen during the elections. Among the upper castes the Brahmins and the Thakurs are the main castes who are opposed to each other. Another group among Backward castes are the Yadavs, the Lodhs etc. They are politically conscious and play a vital role. They do political campaigning and give financial support to the

Scheduled Caste candidates in elections. During the elections the Yadavs and the Lodhs make an alignment with the ruling party. And sometimes, they follow Chaudhary Charan Singh and Mulayam Singh Yadav's group. They do not make an alignment with BJP or any other party. In Lok Sabha election, the Yadavs do not contest the election under the BJP banner or any other party's banner. They contest the election under the banner of Congress(I) or Lok Dal. On the other hand the Scheduled Castes are dependent on the upper castes for financial support and political activities. They make an alignment with either the Thakurs or the Brahmins. The Brahmins and the Thakurs are opposed to each other in their effort to capture power. They oppose each other and never align.

From among the Scheduled Castes, Nuts, Agaria and Dhobis make an alignment with the Thakurs. But the Jatavs do not like to bow before the upper castes. During the election, they raise slogans on caste lines, like "Vote for Jatav", "Jatavs should unite to fight against Thakur dominancy" etc. They do not like to take help of upper castes (Thakurs). Consequently, they have lost the election in 1974 assembly election (See Table - 18).

The Brahmins and the Thakurs represent the landed aristocracy in Jalesar who with their fairly secured future could afford politics. Certain individual leaders who belong to this caste have a considerable political impact. But the Brahmins and the Thakurs do not come together to support a particular Scheduled Caste candidate. The alignment is between one community of Scheduled Caste and the Thakurs. The Brahmin leaders would usually make an agreement with another sub-caste of Scheduled Caste community. Once he is elected as an MLA, he would work for the Brahmin community. But the Jatavs do not bid for political support from the upper castes group. Late Chiranjilal (Jatav) was the key-leader of Scheduled Caste community. He was not defeated in the elections. But after his death, the Jatav community continued to be neutral. At the same time the Thakurs did not like to the Jatavs standing independently. They liked their traditional superiority to continue. They knew that once the Jatavs got elected, they will not work for the Thakur community. After 1974 assembly election, no MLA was elected from the Jatav community. In 1977

election, Madaw (Nut) got full support from the Thakurs. Again in 1980 election, there was an agreement between the Agaria and the Thakurs. It was assumed that once the Agaria candidate got elected, he would work for the Thakurs. And all the MLAs work would be done by the Thakurs. Again in 1985, the Dhobi candidate, who worked for a Central Minister, Madhav Rao Scindia, was given Congress (I) ticket. During the elections two major groups were in the fray. One group consisted of the Thakurs and the Brahmins who could not contest election, and another group was that of Scheduled Castes and the Jatavs. Party was of the secondary importance. The primary consideration was, which particular community is supported by Thakur families. Whoever gets Thakurs' support, was sure to be elected.

Hereditary Dominancy in Politics:

During pre-independence period Jalesar constituency was dominated by the Thakurs, who constitute 15 per cent of the total population of the Hindus.¹

1. Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer Etah (Allahabad: Govt. Press, 1911), p. 74.

There are 32 different Thakur clans. Among these, Chauhans have got prominent place. They are the descendant of late king Prithviraj of Delhi. According to Historians, King Sangathdev had 21 sons. Some of them came to Etah district and conquered the Brahmins. Son after son continued to embrace the institution of the Kingship in Etah. There were mainly two kingdoms in Etah district. They were Awagarh and Ummargarh. Among the first Jadon family, Thakur Bijay Singh was the first Jadon clan of Awagarh who had helped the Governor of Jalesar and was in his good books. The Governor gave him a huge village named, Misa. The same way another king Bakht Singh, in his life tenure, occupied 53 villages of Awagarh. Before the emergence of the British rule, he exercised his authority over 57 villages. Dominance of these village continued even in the post-independence era. However, the monarchy system has withered away. Still, the local people of Jalesar have respect for the Thakurs. The Scheduled Castes work in Thakurs' fields. They are very much oblized to their "master", the landlords. In fact, they are still called Raja of Awagarh. There still exists "King

and People"relationship in many parts of Jalesar. Illiteracy and poverty have made the downtroddens of Jalesar dependent on the Thakurs. During the British rule, the Thakurs received their education in English schools. The Scheduled Castes who were economically deprived were deprived from the privilege of education. However, few of them were educated in ordinary schools. These higher castes also occupy a larger territory. Even after the Land Ceiling Act, the land of these areas are still under the possession of the Thakurs. The Thakurs of this region are socially and politically advanced. This leaves an impact on the voting pattern of the area.

The Thakur community is divided into two groups, one led by Jitendrapal Singh and another by Tursanpal Singh. Each group wants to influence the major political party. In 1985 Assembly elections, Jitendrapal Singh's group supported the Congress(I) candidate. Jitendrapal Singh today is a respectable person of this area. If he goes to any village for campaigning during the election, the village people welcome him. Since Jitendrapal Singh supported Congress(I), about 50 per cent of the Thakurs and other castes supported

the same party and its candidates in that election. People of this areas think that since Raja Saheb is supporting Congress(I), we should also support Congress (I). It is their loyalty, which is otherwise an outcome of imposed superiority on these ignorant people. Tursanpal Singh is a prominent leader of the Thakur community. He supported the BJP candidate in 1985. That is why about 50 per cent of Thakurs supported BJP candidate. The Scheduled Castes of this constituency are depended on the royal families in socio-political spheres.

Class and Caste Politics:

"Class" and "Caste" are separate, we often speak of certain theoretical jugglery like the dominance of a simple capitalist mode of production. The reason is that the beginning of capitalism under colonial rule not only began to create new class (bourgeoisie) but also began a process of separating out a caste system from the "class structure". This means, on the one hand, redefining and reshaping the caste as a new kind of social phenomenon. It also means redefining and reshaping classes in the rural areas as "landlords" and "labourers". Today the Thakur and the Brahmin

caste groups have emerged as a class i.e. the landlords and they are the landowning group in Jalesar. The Scheduled Castes form a different group, i.e., working classes. Gradually, these landlord class handed over the land to the Yadavs and the Lodhs, either they sold or gave them on lease. The Yadavs and the Lodhs are listed as a separated group i.e., backward class for special treatment. Now in Jalesar, they have become a landowning class. Numerically the Yadavs are larger in Jalesar constituency. Whenever any Yadav candidate contests in Lok Sabha election, all the backward class voters get united and vote for the Yadav candidate. In 1984 Lok Sabha election, Kailash Chandra Yadav contested the election as a Congress (I) candidate. That is why the Yadavs supported him. He polled the 1,49,004 votes and got elected by a margin of 9,738 votes. The same year Sushila Devi, belonging to the Thakur community, contested the election from Lok Dal. The Thakurs of this Parliamentary constituency supported her. But she did not get full support from Scheduled Castes, backward castes and the Brahmins. She polled 1,39,266 votes and lost the election by a

margin of 2.54 per cent of total polled votes.² In Lok Sabha elections the Congress (I) party give the ticket mostly to the Yadav candidates because after observing the ethos of the area they have come to the conclusion that the Yadavs of Nidholi Kalan³ constituency (Yadav dominant constituency) would help a Yadav candidate. Since 1977, only Yadav candidate has been able to win Jalesar Lok Sabha seat.

The emerging leadership among the backward castes in Uttar Pradesh and Jalesar constituency in particular, requires study and observation. In most of the region Yadavs are in leadership positions. For instance Ram Naresh Yadav, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Balram Singh Yadav etc. are leaders from the Yadav community.⁴ During

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2. Report on the Eighth General Election to the House of the People in India, 1984 (New Delhi: Election Commission of India, 1984), p. 441.
 3. Nidholi Kalan is an assembly constituency; in 1977, Ram Naresh Yadav after being electing as Chief Minister of U.P., contested the election from this constituency. This constituency is dominated by Yadav caste.
 4. Ram Naresh Yadav is a former Chief Minister and now MLA; Mulayam Singh Yadav is the leader of opposition party in U.P. Vidhan Sabha, and Balram Singh Yadav is a M.P. and Vice-President of Congress (I) of U.P.

the state legislative assembly elections, Yadavs are divided into two groups, one group is supported Congress (I) because Balram Singh Yadav and Kailash Chandra Yadav belong to Congress (I). Another group follows Mulayam Singh Yadav, Ram Naresh Yadav and supported by Lok Dal. Sometime, the Yadavs supported a particular Scheduled Caste candidate who to their expectation would work for the Yadavs. The lower class (different sub-castes of Scheduled Castes) during the time of election gets, divided and fragmented on divergent interests and opinion. Jatavs do ask for vote not as Scheduled Caste candidate but by virtue of being a Jatav.

Electoral Politics in Jalesar Constituency:

The Scheduled Castes started entering into politics in Jalesar reserved constituency since 1952. It would be interesting to note various dimensions of electoral politics of Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes in this constituency. Table- 18 gives the details of the castewise affiliations of leaders during the elections (1952-1985).

Table - 18

PARTY POSITION OF CANDIDATES IN THE STATE
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS (1952- 1985)

Years	Elected Candidates	Caste	Party
1952*	Chiranjilal	Jatav	INC
1952*	Fate Singh	Thakur	INC
1957*	Chiranjilal	Jatav	INC
1957*	Raghubir Singh	Yadav	PSP
1962	Chiranjilal	Jatav	SWT
1967	Udaybir Singh	Jatav	INC
1969	Chiranjilal	Jatav	BKD
1974	Nathu Ram	Jatav	INC
1977	Madaw	Nut	JNP
1980	Ram Singh	Agaria	INC
1985	Prempal Singh	Dhobi	INC

* From 1952-57, there was provision of double member seat, one seat was for SC and other for non-SC.

Source: Report on the legislative assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh (New Delhi: Election Commission of India, 1952-1985).

The Congress Party historically has had deep roots in the Jalesar constituency. But the Scheduled Castes are unaware of the political development in pre-independence era. In 1952 and 1957, under the double member seat system, two legislators were elected, one Scheduled Caste and another from non-Scheduled Caste. Elected Scheduled Caste legislators were supported by INC. In 1957 general election, Raghubir Singh came to power with the help of Praja Socialist Party. He belongs to the Yadav community. In 1957, Nidholi Kalan block was a part of Jalesar constituency. Nidholi Kalan block is dominated by the Yadavs. The Yadavs supported Raghubir Singh on the basis of his caste, but not on the basis of the party he represented. After 1957, this block was separated from Jalesar constituency.

In 1961, the double member constituencies were abolished and Jalesar was declared as a reserved constituency for the Scheduled Castes. In 1962 general election, Rao Krishanpal Singh, the younger brother of Raja of Awagarh, contested election from Jalesar parliamentary constituency. In that election, Chiranjilal

(Jatav) could not succeed in getting the ticket from the Congress Party. He got the ticket from the Swatantra Party. The Thakurs rendered their support openly to the Swatantra Party candidates - Rao Krishanpal Singh and Chiranjilal. They got support from Scheduled Castes too and were finally elected.

In 1967 legislative assembly election, Udaybir Singh (Jatav) was the candidate from the Congress. He was an educated person and former Parliamentary Secretary of the Congress Party. Chiranjilal was the candidate from the Swatantra Party but he lost the seat. Udaybir Singh's rival candidate, Sewatilal (Jatav) contested election under the banner of Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Bhoop Singh (Jatav) was the candidate from the Republican Party of India. In that election, the Jatavs were divided into four groups. One group supported Udaybir Singh under the banner of Congress. Second group supported Chiranjilal (Swatantra Party). Third group of Jatavs supported Sewatilal (BJS). And fourth group supported Bhoop Singh of RPI. Since the Republican Party of India was being founded by B.R. Ambedkar, the Jatavs largely owe their loyalty to this party. The Jan Sangh candidate,

Sewatilal could not get full support either from the Scheduled Castes and or from the Thakurs community. Udaybir got the support from Scheduled castes and non-Scheduled Castes and was able to win the election.

In 1969, the Indian National Congress split into two, one led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and other by Morarji Desai. The same year under the leadership of Charan Singh, Bhartiya Kranti Dal was formed. In a short span this party became one of a major party in Jalesar and other parts of Uttar Pradesh. The BKD emerged in two successive elections as the second strongest party in the State with a massive rural base and with considerable urban support as well.⁵ This party came as an alternative to Congress (I). Charan Singh was the most popular among the peasant class, who considered him as their leader. In this election, Chiranjilal contested election under the banner of BKD. He got the support from the peasant class and Jatavs and got elected by margin of 4 votes. His rival Congress (I) candidate Makundilal (Jatav) who was a local leader, got the support from upper castes and Scheduled Castes but he did not get support from the peasant class.

5. Paul Brass, "Caste Faction and Party in Indian Politics", Vol.I: Faction and Party (New Delhi: Chanakya Pub.,1984), p. 304.

He lost in the election.

In 1974 assembly election, Nathu Ram (Jatav) contested the election under the banner of Congress (I). He was the relative of former MLA, Late Chiranjilal. His rival candidate Madaw (Nut) contested the election on Bhartiya Jan Sangh ticket. At that time, there was conflict between the Jatavs and the Thakurs. The Thakurs did not support the Jatav candidate and supported Madaw (Nut). The Scheduled Castes, Brahmins and backward castes supported Nathu Ram and he got elected.

Assembly election of 1977 was dominated by Janata Party wave. In this election, Madaw (Nut) got the ticket from the Janata Party and was elected. People were fed up with the Congress (I) because of mal-administration and corruption. By that time Jagjivan Ram left the Congress (I) and joined Janata Party. That is why most of the Scheduled Castes followed him and supported Janata Party. During our personal interview, some local leaders said that in 1975 emergency, people faced a lot of problems from the ruling party, i.e. Congress (I). The problem of family planning was one of them. That is why people supported the

Janata Party. The Janata Party got majority in the Legislative Assembly as well as in Lok Sabha election.

The conflict between the Thakurs and Jatavs continued even in 1980 election. The upper caste political leaders recommended Ram Singh for Congress (I) ticket who belonged to Agaria caste. His rival candidates, Siya Ram Jatav and Makandilal (Jatav) got their tickets from the BJP and Janata Party (SC) respectively. In this election most of the Thakurs did not support Siya Ram and Makandilal, because they were from the Jatav community. They got the support from backward caste and Jatav community. The upper castes and Scheduled Castes (except Jatavs) supported Ram Singh, who was got elected.

In 1985 assembly election, Prempal Singh (Dhobi), an young leader got the ticket from Congress (I). He was the former Co-ordinator of Congress (I) from Guna (Madhya Pradesh) and Meerut (U.P.) parliamentary constituency. He was recommended for the ticket by Central Ministers like Madhav Rao Scindia and Mrs. Mohsina Kidwai. The Thakurs supported him, because he was the former co-ordinator from Guna Lok Sabha constituency



before 1985 election. Since Madhav Rao Scindia is from the Thakur community, all Thakurs gave full support to Prempal Singh. In this election, Jatavs did not support Congress (I). They supported BSP (a new party) candidate. The BSP candidate Mahendrapal Singh got the third position in this election. This party has emerged as an alternative to Congress (I). In the coming election, it would be difficult for Congress (I) to fight the BSP.

Scheduled Caste Party and Politics:

After the Independence, there was a need for political awakening among the Scheduled Castes. To achieve this political target Republican Party of India (RPI) was formed in Uttar Pradesh. RPI was an alternative to INC in Agra, Etah and Aligarh. But after the death of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, it lost much of its glamour in Uttar Pradesh. The emerging new party, i.e., Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is dominated by the Scheduled Castes (Jatavs), backward classes and the minorities. The Bahujan Samaj Party and both of its wings, the Backward and Minority Community

Employees Federation and the Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti are the backward classes/ Harijans groupings, and are to be watched in future. Some instance of the growing power of the BSP in 1985 is evidenced in the Bijnor by-election. The BSP candidate Miss Mayawati polled 61,500 votes, defeating the Lok Dal candidate Ram Vilas Paswan, and giving Mrs. Meera Kumar, the Congress (I) candidate a scare. She won by under 4,674 votes. Of the 20 lakhs or so government employees drawn from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, around two lakhs are said to be member of BAMCEF. The BSP leadership claims that over 200 I.A.S. Officers drawn from the backward classes are members of the party, and as many as another 100 from the I.P.S. are also party supporters.⁶

The effort to consolidate the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes vote is not an unprecedented phenomenon. It has long been accepted that any party that is able to get this support will represent a substantial threat to the Congress which has always counted

6. Sunday, January 18-24, 1987, p. 23.

on the Harijan vote. In 1972, the Congress strengthened its position by engineering the defection of many of the leaders of the RPI - the party that appeared to be getting somewhere in consolidating the Harijan and OBC vote. Since then, the RPI has split into various factions. All three factions of the Republican Party (RPI-Kabragade, RPI-Gaikwad, and RPI-P.Ambedkar) put together polled only 840273 votes. In 1985 election, for Uttar Pradesh Assembly, the BSP candidates polled 704311 votes. These figures are an indication of improvement upon the previous performance of the party. Kashi Ram (SC) was grilled by the Dr. Ambedkar Buddhist Council (ABC) on several charges, that he received Congress (I) support, stood for the conversion of Dalits to Islam, and destroyed the RPI etc. The BSP could finance itself.⁷

There are BAMCEF Officers in each district of U.P. While BAMCEF keeps a low profile, the other two wings, D-S4 is made up largely of students, unemployed youth,

7. Ibid., p. 23.

and professionals, like doctors, engineers and lawyers who provide the leadership at its mass root level. The D-S4 was set up as a non-political agitational front for the BSP. The D-S4 has been demanding the removal of the factory from the area since March, 1986, because it has apparently led to the closure of two schools near the factory and because it attracts alcoholics and raudies who harass women living in the area.⁸

The BSP hopes to get recognition as a political party by the Election Commission within a year, after being recognised in at least four states. Recognition in the States will depend on its performance in the elections in Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and other States in 1987 and 1988.

Bharat Singh Baghel had stood for election as an Independent candidate on behalf of the BSP in the 1984 Lok Sabha election from Jalesar and got 41,944 votes.⁹

8. Ibid., p. 24.

9. Report on the Lok Sabha Election (New Delhi: Election Commission of India, 1984), p. 441.

The party showed improvement in the 1985 Assembly election with BSP candidate polling 8626 votes. Similarly, Balwant Singh had stood for election as an Independent candidate on behalf of the BSP in 1984 Lok Sabha election from Bijor and despite being a Sikh, he got 5700 votes. The party showed improvement in the 1985 Assembly election with the BSP candidates polling some 10,000 votes in Bijor.¹⁰

The philosophy of the BAMCEF, the D-S4 and the BSP is a halfbacked ideology based on a cursory reading of the history of Indian Independence, with familiar communal undertones of self-pity, some of Kashi Ram's sweeping conclusions are contained in a booklet entitled, the Chamcha Age.¹¹

Emergence of Dalit Party:

The emergence of the Bahujan Samaj Party in 1987 election, played a significant role in U.P. In the March, 1985 Assembly election, the Bahujan Samaj Party

10. Sunday, January 18-24, 1987, p. 24.

11. Ibid., p. 25.

polled only 4 per cent valid votes in U.P. After two years, the percentage moved up to 26.31 per cent in 1987 by-election. This is a significant achievement of BSP. The other parties like the BJP, Janata Party, Lok Dal and the CPI together had less than 2 per cent of the valid votes.¹² In the by-election of Hardwar reserved Lok Sabha constituency, BSP candidate, Miss Mayawati polled 1,35,390 votes, and Congress (I) candidate Ram Singh polled 1,49,135 votes. She lost the seat to Congress (I) candidate, Ram Singh by a margin of 13,745 votes.¹³ The Lok Dal which claims a massive stronghold in the part of the state got third position. The Lok Dal candidate, Mrs. Vimala Rakesh polled 39,780 votes and the Janata Party candidate and the former M.P. Ram Bilas Paswan who had won a Parliamentary seat with the largest margin in 1977, could muster only a little over 34,000 votes and came fourth in electoral arena.¹⁴

12. Indian Express (New Delhi), March 30, 1987.

13. Times of India (New Delhi), March 26, 1987.

14. Hindustan Times (New Delhi), March 31, 1987.

The BSP candidates, in by-elections of Assembly constituencies Rath and Pathi, came second in the electoral race. In the past also the BSP did not win a single seat in the U.P. and Punjab Assembly elections. Its mere presence, however, made the victory of about 80 opposition candidates easy.

The BJP leader, Kalyan Singh, is convinced that the emergence of the BSP is only a temporary reaction to the continued denial of social and economic justice. He says that all reactions are sudden and loud, but not lasting. The Chief Minister, Veer Bahadur Singh, also believes that the BSP is a "Temporary phenomenon". But the Chief of the BSP, U.P., Kundan Lal, says that "The next election will be ours. With the continued upswing in popular support, we will form our government in 1990 without any alliance".¹⁵

The Bahujan Samaj Party is an alternative to Congress (I). The bulk of the Scheduled Caste and Tribes and other backward class voters, who in the past were

15. Indian Express (New Delhi), March 30, 1987.

among the most dependable supporters of the ruling party, are now going over to the BSP camp.

The Scheduled Castes Politics in Jalesar:

Among the Scheduled Castes, the Jatavs are dominating the politics in Jalesar. They are economically and politically dominant. During the pre-Independence period the Jatavs worked under the Jat and Thakur zamindars in the western part of U.P. Zamindars did not pay salary; in return they gave some land to the Jatavs. Since then they have been branded as cultivators or agricultural labourers in the western part of U.P. Those Jatavs who do not have land, are employed in Bata (Bata Shoe Company) and other local shoe factories located in the nearby town of Agra. They are economically better off than the other sub-castes. The Jatavs are the literate and educated group among the Scheduled Castes.

The Jatavs have led the politics of Jalesar from the first general election in 1952. But now Nuts, Agarias, Dhobis are joining the mainstream of Jalesar politics. The Jatavs are numerically large by virtue of which they can contest the election without the

help of upper castes. The other sub-castes are numerically less and economically and educationally backward. They depend on the help of the upper castes. In this area, the Jatavs want to maintain the same status of upper caste in the political field. They claim to be the status of Kshatriyas. But the Thakurs just look down upon/^{and deny} their equal status with them. At the same time, the Jatavs also do not like to be puppets in the hands of Thakurs. That is why the Thakurs and the Jatavs are always at loggerheads.

In 1985, Assembly election an Independent supported by the BSP, Mahendrapal Singh (Jatav), was in the election fray, who got the support of Jatavs and some backward caste like the Lodhs and the Gadariyas. The Gadariyas open heartedly supported the BSP candidate. In 1984 Lok Sabha election, Bharat Singh Baghel contested the election on behalf of the BSP. He belonged to Gadariya caste. He contested election with the help of the Gadarias and the Jatavs. But their debacle was only outcome of the election, which was due to the lack of support of upper castes.

During the election, upper castes **are** active in campaigning, organising public meeting, demonstration,

door to door campaigning etc. for the Scheduled Caste candidates. The upper caste leaders deliver speeches in the public meetings. The meeting is mainly attended by upper castes. The Scheduled Castes do nothing, except going to the polling booth to cast their vote. Among the upper castes, each caste group try to mobilise their own caste group. For instance, a Thakur leader would try to mobilise his caste village or area for the support of a Scheduled Caste candidate.

After forty years of Independence, the Scheduled Castes are not yet in a position to contest the election without the help of upper castes, especially in a reserved constituency. If they contest the election from general constituency, they would not win the election by themselves. In the history of Jalesar politics, Haburas, Kanjars, Balmikis etc. (sub-castes of the Scheduled Castes) were never given the ticket by any political party. During personal interview with Scheduled Caste leaders, few leaders complained that the Scheduled Castes of this constituency are not free to cast their vote. This constituency is dominated by Thakurs, the Brahmins and the Yadavs. They do not allow Scheduled Castes to cast their vote freely.

We observed that the upper caste political leaders of this constituency, support a man who would always be a puppet in their hands. When Ram Singh became disloyal to his electoral promises, soon after he got elected. As a consequence the upper castes did not support him in 1985 election.

During a personal interview with the Thakurs and eminent leaders of Scheduled Caste, a view was expressed that Jalesar Assembly constituency should not be reserved. As was pointed out earlier, the Thakurs, and Yadavs are economically and politically dominant. They feel if this constituency is declared unreserved, they can easily capture this seat. On the other hand, the Scheduled Castes also feel that they contest the election on the mercy of upper castes, and that is why another constituency Aliganj should be reserved for Scheduled Castes where they can contest election freely.

CHAPTER - IV

C O N C L U S I O N

The provision of reserved constituency for weaker sections has been incorporated into our Constitution to give protection to weaker sections and enable them to participate in the legislative machinery more freely. It was anticipated that this provision would help these neglected people of Indian society in bringing forth and developing their effective and sincere leadership cadre which would create a pattern of organised politics among the Scheduled Castes. It was also anticipated that the introduction of political reservation would make these communities a politically viable force.

Providing of reserved constituency for Scheduled Castes suffers from several drawbacks. The politics in a Scheduled Castes constituency is performed in practice by non-Scheduled Castes. The victory of Scheduled Caste candidate in a reserved constituency is completely dependent on the political charity of the non-Scheduled Caste voters. Thus, the Scheduled Caste politician becomes a puppet in the hands of upper castes for his political survival.

The present analysis of socio-economic background of Scheduled Caste contestants indicates that these

contestants are always found to be wanting economic resources necessary for the electoral success. The majority of the Scheduled Caste contestants from Jalesar reserved constituency are illiterate, semi-literate, economically backward and politically less experienced. These lacunas compel Scheduled Castes to side with upper castes. The majority of respondents when asked about the important factor for electoral success, gave first priority to caste support. The second priority is given to party.

Jalesar reserved constituency is dominated by Congress (I). The regional parties like RPI, BSP and other have a very little say in the politics of this constituency. The politics of reserved constituencies are dominated by only a few castes from among the Scheduled Castes, for instance, the Jatavs of Agra, Etah and Mainpuri region.

During the election the Scheduled Castes are divided on caste basis and other upper castes take this chance to help a particular Scheduled Caste candidate who could support them after the election. The Yadavs and Lodhs make an alignment with the ruling party.

They do not align with BJP or any other party. The Scheduled Castes are dependent on Thakurs and Yadavs for financial support and political activities in the election. They (SCs) make an alignment with Thakurs, Brahmins and Yadavs. But the Jatavs always take a neutral stand. They do not make alignment with other caste groups. However, the political activities are performed by non-Scheduled Castes in reserved constituency. The fate of politics of Scheduled Castes depends on non-Scheduled Castes' activities. Despite the fact that the Scheduled Castes are dependents on upper castes. The Jatav is the only community among Scheduled Castes who are economically and politically well off.

The upper castes are economically sound. Those who have money, have 'power' at the same time. The people of Jalesar depends on Agriculture. Most of the lands are in the hands of upper castes. The Scheduled Castes are landless labourer who work in agricultural fields, mainly owned by Thakurs. So the Scheduled Castes has to do whatever his master asks him to do. He (landlord) suggests them as to the which party they

should vote. Agricultural labourers cannot go against their 'Master'. The Scheduled Caste MLA becomes the puppet of upper castes because during the election the Scheduled Caste candidates are helped by non-Scheduled Caste people. Once he is elected, he is obliged to the particular community and tries to help them to his level best. He becomes the "representative" of a particular community.

The Yadavs and Lodhs play the role of power brokers. They are in majority in some part of Jalesar constituency. Landlord class handed over their land to the Yadavs and Lodhs, or they sold or gave them on lease. Now they have become a landowning class. Numerically, the Yadavs are large in proportion in Jalesar constituency. We, thus observed that whenever any Yadav candidate contests in Lok Sabha election, all the backward class voters get united and vote for the Yadav candidate. Nidholi Kalan's area is fully dominated by Yadavs. Among the Yadav leaders, Balram Singh Yadav and Kailash Yadav belong to Congress (I). Another chunk of Yadavs lead by Mulayam Singh Yadav and Ram Naresh Yadav are supported by Lok Dal. These Yadavs are keystone of politics in this region. They

are main political force in the Jalesar constituency. The victory of any party depends on the Yadavs. They control landless Scheduled Caste Labourers votes. Mostly Scheduled Castes obey what their landlords say. Finally, it can be concluded that landowning group is the major force determining the politics in Jalesar constituency.

The traditional feudal character, she is still prevalent in the politics of Jalesar. Earlier, Thakurs of Jalesar were considered as Raja of Awagarh. Still in some part of Jalesar the Thakurs known as Raja, have influenced on the politics of Jalesar. The Thakurs constitute 15 per cent of total Hindu population of Jalesar. All these factors make Thakurs of this region socially well off and politically at advantage point. This leaves an forceful impact on the voting behaviour of Jalesar constituency. It is quite often seen that whenever the 'Raja' of Awagarh comes out to the road mammoth crowd follows him, chanting slogan 'vote for Raja'. But their sorry plight is that the 'Raja' cannot contest the election in Jalesar constituency because it is a reserved one for Scheduled Castes. But, his

role lies in the fact that which-ever Scheduled Caste group is given support by him that particular group should succeed. The Raja still has control on a few villages. The villagers have respect for the Raja. It's thus observed that some sub-castes of Scheduled Castes like to continue the pattern of subordination to upper caste. Only the Jatavs are always against such a practice. In this conflict, the other sub-castes' candidates get elected in the election as they did in 1977, 1980 and 1985 Assembly elections. To conclude this discussion on traditional hereditary practice, it can be said that the support of Thakurs "Raja" and Yadavs have decisive influence on politics of Jalesar. The Scheduled Castes are relegated to the background.

While discussing the caste-class line in Jalesar politics, as we have said in Chapter II, Jalesar has basically three classes (i) the landlord class (ii) the middle class (Yadavs, Lodhs etc.) and (iii) the landless agricultural labourer class (mostly Scheduled Castes group). These three groups have influenced on the politics in Jalesar, somehow or other. The Scheduled Castes being landless labourer, get the

economic and political support from the landowning class. Once a Scheduled Caste candidate gets elected as MLA he becomes the representative, in real terms, of landowning classes. It is because the Scheduled Castes feel that they have won this seat with the support of a particular caste or party. And they are indebted to that particular caste or party. They are under the impression that if the bracketed landowning class do not help them, he/she (individual candidate) may not even get ticket for next election. Without their (upper caste and Yadav) help a particular sub-caste of Scheduled Castes cannot just move an inch forward.

The small minority of the upwardly mobile who have attained higher standards of education and occupied high status are now in a class by themselves. For example, Jatavs of Jalesar have occupied higher standards of education and now solidifying their position by occupying high posts in government offices. They are becoming modernized and follow the pattern of living of any other higher class in all respects. Having secured higher posts, they have become members of another class like Yadavs and Lodhs. Now they want to blot out

the past completely. They do not want to bow before Thakurs which they had been doing in the past. After the election, the Jatav community claim themselves as the Kshatriya. But at the time of election, they raise slogan "vote for Jatav". After the election, they do not mix with members of other sub-castes. Thus, we find that the upward mobilisation of the Jatavs makes the alienated from their own community, and thus the group, in the process like to be integrated with the higher castes, but they seem to be thwarted in their efforts. A society, like Jalesar which is still governed by the caste system, does not allow them to shake off their hereditary linkages. The caste system, is an impediment to their upliftment. They are not accepted as equals, rather considered inferior.

The emergence of the Bahujan Samaj Party in 1985 election, played a significant role in U.P. politics. In March 1985 Assembly election, BSP polled only 4 per cent of the valid votes in U.P. After two years, the percentage shot up from 4 to 26.31 per cent in 1987 by-election of Hardwar reserved Lok Sabha constituency. The bulk of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes voters, who in the past were

among the most dependable supporters of the ruling party, are now being drawn into BSP camp. Most of the Scheduled Castes of Etah, Agra, Mainpuri are leaving Congress (I) and going under the umbrella of BSP. Considering the trend and space, we conjecture that BSP can seriously erode Congress (I) base in U.P. in the forthcoming election.

To sum up, it can be said that the politics of Jalesar is the politics of non-Scheduled Castes. Despite the fact, the constituency is reserved for Scheduled Castes, all the political activities are performed by non-Scheduled Caste groups. After four decades of political reservation for the Scheduled Castes, they are still politically much backward. In order to bring these neglected people at par with other groups, the government should take initiative in more and more meaningful manner, not just attempt to preserve them as vote banks. To ameliorate the condition of Scheduled Castes, the following suggestions can be given. Political reservation can be carried as the key factor for alteration of social status for socially neglected people of Indian society. It enables the weaker section to become a political man. In order to bring these neglected

people to a close proximity with other groups, the government should extend the policy of reservation especially in political field.

Secondly, de-scheduling of particular sub-caste from the Scheduled Castes list would aggravate more problem. In order to avoid this, two division can be made in Scheduled Castes list. In group (i) those who are very backward and (ii) those somewhat educated.

Thirdly, after all the continued system of political reservation cannot only solve the problem of Scheduled Castes. Hence, there is a need for social and economic transformation of the society where the present discrimination against the Scheduled Castes could be removed. In the even of removal of the system of reserved constituency how many Scheduled Caste veterans who are there in politics for decades could have fought and won the elections? Hence, political reservation for Scheduled Castes should continue in order to make them politically mobilised.

At last we would like to say that in order to

uplift them from social and political backwardness, reservation policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should continue as a safeguard, in the form of protective discrimination, to ensure that these sections are sufficiently carried forward as per one pledge in the Constitution.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX - IThe Scheduled Castes Population in U.P.(1971)(in per cent)

Scheduled Caste	Population	Percentage (SCs Pop.= 100)
Agaria	12,555	0.07
Badhik	12,240	0.07
Badi	4,741	0.03
Bahelia	41,454	0.22
Baiga	6,415	0.03
Baiswar	12,824	0.07
Bajaniya	1,233	0.0066
Baggi	6,953	0.04
Balahar	10,225	0.06
Balai	2,229	0.01
Balmiki	7,31,226	3.94
Bengali	26,152	0.14
Banmanas	10,077	0.05
Bansphar	18,721	0.10
Barbar	11,111	0.06
Basor	73,517	0.40
Bawariya	3,757	0.02
Beldar	80,626	0.43
Beriya	22,221	0.12
Bhantu	8,649	0.05
Bhuiya	6,011	0.03
Bhuyiar	28,815	0.16
Boria	4,952	0.03
Chamar, Dhusia, Jusia, Jatav	1,01,21,521	54.57
Chero	15,401	0.08
Dabgar	3,761	0.02
Dhangar	24,072	0.13

contd...

Dhanuk	2,72,970	1.47
Dharkar	70,684	0.38
Dhobi	11,56,243	6.24
Doom	79,396	0.43
Domar	14,443	0.08
Dusadh	1,10,105	0.59
Gharami	21	-
Ghasiya	2,193	0.01
Gond	45,811	0.25
Gual	44,250	0.24
Habura	3,389	0.02
Hari	3,820	0.02
Hela	32,840	0.18
Kalabaz	5,618	0.03
Kanjar	44,176	0.24
Kapariya	7,163	0.04
Kerwal	46,767	0.25
Khairaha	1,120	0.0060
Kharwar excluding Banbasi	35,966	0.19
Khatik	3,90,566	2.11
Khorat	533	0.0028
Kol	1,35,617	0.73
Kori	9,09,537	4.90
Korwa	63,812	0.34
Lalbegi	14,908	0.08
Majhwar	43,447	0.23
Mazhabo	3,621	0.02
Musahar	1,04,725	0.56
Nut	78,777	0.42

contd....

Pankha	8,941	0.05
Parahiya	1,217	0.0065
Pasi	25,72,563	13.87
Patari	1,412	0.0076
Rawat	29,181	0.16
Saharya	12,483	0.07
Sanaurhiya	225	-
Sansiya	5,626	0.03
Shilpkar	5,13,719	2.77
Turaiha	4,420	0.02
Unclassified	3,75,282	2.03

NOTE: Gond is treated as Scheduled Caste only in Bundelkhand division and the portion of Mirzapur district - south of Kaimur Range.

Source : Census of India, 1971.
Social Cultural tables Part II-c(I).

APPENDIX - II

District-wise Scheduled Castes Population in U.P.(1981)
(In per cent)

District	Population	Percentage
Uttarkashi	1,90,948	21.93
Chamoli	3,64,346	17.26
Tehri-Garhwal	4,97,710	12.77
Dehra Dun	7,61,668	11.93
Garhwal	6,37,877	11.74
Phithoragarh	4,89,267	19.45
Almora	7,57,373	20.56
Nainital	11,36,523	16.47
Saharanpur	26,73,561	22.02
Muzaffar Nagar	22,74,487	14.80
Bijnor	19,39,261	20.31
Meerut	27,67,246	16.77
Ghaziabad	18,43,130	19.69
Bulandshahr	23,58,270	21.44
Moradabad	31,49,406	17.08
Rampur	11,78,621	13.06
Badaun	19,71,246	16.83
Bareilly	22,73,030	12.49
Pilibhit	10,08,312	17.10
Shahjahanpur	16,47,664	17.87
Aligarh	25,74,325	22.50
Mathura	15,60,447	19.64
Agra	28,52,942	22.09
Etah	18,58,692	17.08
Mainpuri	17,26,202	13.39
Farrukhabad	19,49,137	17.40

contd.....

Etawah	17,42,651	25.41
Kanpur	37,42,223	19.76
Fatehpur	15,72,421	22.73
Allahabad	37,97,033	24.52
Jalaun	9,86,230	27.12
Jhansi	11,37,031	28.66
Lalitpur	5,77,648	24.39
Hamirpur	11,94,168	24.56
Banda	15,33,990	23.63
Kheri	19,52,680	26.02
Sitapur	23,37,284	30.99
Hardoi	22,74,929	29.93
Unnao	18,22,591	30.07
Lucknow	20,14,574	23.85
Ra m Bareilly	18,86,940	29.55
Bahraich	22,16,245	16.53
Gonda	28,34,562	51.41
Bara Banki	19,92,074	27.68
Faizabad	23,82,515	24.18
Sultanpur	20,42,778	23.12
Pratapgarh	18,01,049	21.56
Basti	35,78,069	20.01
Deoria	34,96,564	17.37
Gorakhpur	37,95,701	21.50
Azamgarh	35,44,130	24.82
Jaunpur	25,32,734	21.44
Ballia	19,45,376	15.45
Gazipur	19,44,669	20.59
Varanasi	37,01,006	18.12
Mirzapur	20,39,149	32.55

Source : Census of India, 1981, Part II-B, Uttar Pradesh, Primary Census Abstract.

APPENDIX -III

The Literacy Rate among the Scheduled Castes in U.P.(1981)
(In per cent)

District	General Literacy	SCs Literacy
Uttarkashi	28.92	15.46
Chamoli	37.46	23.87
Tehri-Garhwal	27.89	15.21
Dehradun	52.58	32.25
Garhwal	41.46	29.03
Pithoragarh	39.09	25.52
Almora	37.76	25.52
Nainital	37.81	24.46
Saharanpur	29.56	18.12
Muzaffar Nagar	30.10	19.77
Bijnor	28.71	17.05
Meerut	34.68	23.20
Ghaziabad	36.28	23.86
Bulandshahr	28.97	18.36
Rampur	16.34	9.86
Moradabad	19.82	12.50
Badaun	16.10	9.14
Bareilly	22.04	13.11
Pilibhit	22.44	11.89
Shahjahanpur	21.44	10.95
Aligarh	21.35	19.11
Mathura	30.63	18.90
Agra	33.45	20.83
Etah	27.10	16.60

contd...

Mainpuri	33.30	23.25
Farrukhabad	30.02	18.62
Etawah	37.29	25.51
Kanpur	43.67	23.57
Fatehpur	25.97	12.71
Allahabad	27.99	12.11
Jalaun	35.95	25.74
Jhansi	37.06	25.21
Lalitpur	21.34	9.11
Hamirpur	26.31	14.77
Banda	23.30	10.46
Kheri	17.70	9.57
Sitapur	19.44	10.32
Hardoi	22.19	12.43
Unnao	25.28	13.16
Lucknow	40.33	16.97
Rae Bareli	23.08	10.40
Bahraich	15.57	7.46
Gonda	16.32	6.95
Bara Banki	18.87	8.47
Faizabad	25.61	12.90
Sultanpur	22.44	8.27
Pratapgarh	23.81	10.97
Basti	20.24	10.37
Gorakhpur	23.92	13.00
Deoria	23.20	12.82
Azamgarh	25.10	13.52
Jaunpur	26.30	13.92
Ballia	28.18	16.53
Ghazipur	27.62	15.78
Varanasi	31.85	15.86
Mirzapur	23.58	7.89

Source : Census of India, 1981, Part II-B, U.P.

APPENDIX - IV

The Scheduled Castes Population in Etah District (1971)
(In per cent)

Scheduled Caste	Population	Percentage (SCs Pop.= 100)
Agaria	773	0.30
Badhik	526	0.20
Baheliya	1760	0.20
Bajgi	1	-
Bajariya	180	0.07
Balmiki	19434	7.43
Bengali	412	0.16
Chamar	168588	64.45
Bhangar	256	0.10
Dhanuk	10258	3.92
Dhobi	37159	14.21
Dom	1138	0.44
Habura	428	0.16
Hari	11	-
Kalabaze	285	0.11
Kanjar	1537	0.59
Kawal	1075	0.41
Katik	5321	2.03
Kol	122	0.04
Korwa	4240	1.62
Lalbegi	4650	1.78
Majhwar	150	0.76
Nut	1273	0.49
Pasi	567	0.22
Rawat	84	0.03
Shilpkar	133	0.05
Unspecified	900	0.34

Source : Census of India, 1971, U.P. Cultural Tables
Part II-C(II).

APPENDIX - V

Reserved Constituencies in Uttar Pradesh Legislative
Assembly, 1980

Uttarkashi	Sohwal
Bageshwar	Sidhaur
Katima	Fatehpur
Nagina	Charda
Najibabad	Ikauna
Gangeshwar	Mankapur
Chandausi	Dixir
Shahabad	Nagar East
Bilsi	Kalilabad
Faridpur	Hainsar Bazar
Barkhera	Bansgaon
Pawayan	Mundera Bazar
Mohamadi	Maharajganj
Paila	Naurangia
Sidhauri	Hata
Hargaon	Saraimir
Machhrihta	Mehnagar
Beinganj	Mohammadabad Gohana
Ahirori	Rasra
Bawan	Jakhnia
Safidpur	Sadat
Hasanganj	Chakia
Malihabad	Chandauli
Mohanlalganj	Bhadohi
Salon	Kerakat
Bihar	Shabganj
Jagdishpur	Dudhi
Kadipur	Robertsganj
Jahangirganj	Chhanvey

contd....

Meja	Chail
Manjhanpur	Sirathu
Kishunpur	Sisamau
Bhognipur	Bilhaur
Ajitmal	Lakhana
Kannauj	Manikpur
Charkhari	Mauranipur
Babina	Konch
Kishni	Jalesar
Tundla	Etmadpur
Agra West	Goverdhan
Sasni	Koil
Jewar	Sikarpur
Hapur	Hastinapur
Siwal Khas	Jansath
Charthawal	Nagal
Harora	Chakrata
Bachhrawan	

Source : Report on the General Elections to the
Legislative Assemblies, 1979-80, Vol..II
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