

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
SCHEDULED CASTE LEGISLATORS IN ORISSA:
CHANGING PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION IN
RESERVED SEATS**

**Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the
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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, “SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF SCHEDULED CASTES LEGISLATOR IN ORISSA: CHANGING PATTERN OF REPRESENTATION IN RESERVED SEATS”, submitted by me for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my original work. This dissertation has not been previously published or submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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PREFACE

If we look at the all-India political scenario, the scheduled caste politics seem to have emerged in most of the parts of the country. It may have the earlier strict non-brahmin movement traits but it has always directly or indirectly dominated by the mainstream political parties, as the Congress remained dominated in most Indian states. One can easily be reminded of the politics in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra, UP, Bihar, Orissa, etc, up to 1967 elections. But later there was a major shift in favour of other dominant political parties. Our study focus on scheduled caste representation throughout post-independence period in Orissa, whereby the states saw the emergence shifting pattern of representation on SCs reserved seats in post-1985 period. To understand the scheduled caste representation in Orissa, the first chapter of this thesis describes Historical Background of development of political consciousness among the scheduled caste, which led to the introduction of electoral reservation. The account begins in the early twentieth century. When the British rulers introduced an electoral system based largely on group representation, with separate electorates created among religious, ethnic, social and economic criteria. It explores the Historical background to the emergence of the institution of electoral reservation, looking at the introduction of special representation of the scheduled caste. It also examines the terms of debates and arguments between Ambedkar and Gandhi regarding the representation of scheduled castes. The account concludes with a description of constitutional assembly, and drawing of the constitutional provision for electoral reservation.

In chapter-2 socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste in Orissa is examined. Shedding light on the homogeneity of the groups and their relative position compared to other groups. The way that social structure has changed over time is analysed and used to look at various strategies that have been suggested for improving upward social mobility of these groups. The purpose of this chapter is to uphold to show how the concept of group identity relate to broad measure of socio-economic development and relative status and to set the analysis of political consciousness and political behaviors, which is relate to their socio-economic condition within a broader social context.

Chapter-3&4 analyze at the socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste legislators in Orissa assembly and their political behavior. These chapters also explore the party performance in reserved seats, both these two chapter provide an account of nature of representation under a system of electoral reservation. The thesis concludes with an assessment of electoral reservation looking at how the reserved seats legislature has performed the changing system of political affiliation and political competition among the political parties in Orissa on reserved seats.

INTRODUCTION

Few would deny that members of the less privileged structural groups are under-represented in most contemporary democracies. According to Iris Marion Young 'Structural social and economic inequality often produces political inequality and relative exclusion from influential political discussion.'¹ Thus the poor and working class people often do not have their interests and perspectives as well represented as the rich and middle class. In most political systems depressed classes occupy a small proportion of elected offices and relatively few positions of power and influence in public and private life more generally. Minority cultural groups and those positioned in devalued racial positions usually also lack effective political voice. Many people regard this political exclusion and marginalization of subordinate groups and persons as wrong because it undermines the premises of equal opportunity and political equality implied by democratic commitments. Thus the injustice of political inequality can be used to break the circle by which formal political democracy tends to produce social inequality. More inclusion and influence for currently under-represented social groups can help a society confront and find some remedies for structural social inequality.

One important way to promote greater inclusion of members of under-represented social groups is through political associational institutions designed specifically to increase the representation of women, working class people, racial or ethnic minorities, disadvantaged caste and so on.

Scheduled caste is an official term which refers to members of social groups, who have for centuries been discriminated against in choice of occupation, social mobility and control over means of production, and seen to be at the bottom of socio-economic and ritual hierarchy. Special provisions have been laid down in the constitution in an attempt to improve their socio-economic conditions.

Since independence, despite various legislative measures, there has been a dismal improvement in the condition of downtrodden sections of the Indian society. These

¹ Young, I.R. Inclusion and democracy, pp122.

section carry the stigma of being 'untouchables' and perform minimal jobs. Mark Galanter observed that most 'untouchable' continue to suffer disabilities which are onerous in themselves and which severally restricted life chance. He notes that the implication of 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 actually at the intervention of political and social reformers.

The political survival of scheduled caste representative of a particular area is in the hands of upper caste of that reserved constituencies. Obviously for them under such circumstances, the Darwinian 'survival of the fittest' still hold true. They has to remain a puppet and a cog in a big machine which operated by another hands. The candidates have to succumb to the diktats of the upper caste leaders in reserved seat constituencies. In that process what results is that the scheduled caste legislator improves their socio-economic status and ultimately identity with upper castes in the scheduled caste constituencies even the scheduled caste voters are wood by several unconstitutional and extra constitutional methods or otherwise blackmailed. This political blackmail is represented by upper castes on the poverty stricken, ignorant and exploited scheduled caste masses. In pre independence period they were puppets of land lords. But after independence, they have become the puppet of major political parties.

Theorizing Group Representation

A number of political theorists have recently argued that group representation is essential to achievement of social justice; Diversity and difference are central themes in any discussion of contemporary multicultural politics. Public institutions are faced with the challenge of how to ensure that the diversity of prospective of different groups (black, minority ethnic) are effectively heard and in corporate in policy making process. The growing acceptance of the idea of group representation is seen in work emanating from North America, where the strong tradition of individualistic liberalism has previously set a high premium on any attempt to introduce ideas based group right.²

² Group representation is used to in reference to 'minority representation, Group is chosen as moral neutral terms, which avoids ambiguities who is a minority and whether a minority has to confronted by majority.

The last three decades of Anglo-American Political theory have been dominated by variety of Liberalism that inherits from the Enlightenment a normative conception of the self as a rational autonomous choose of its own ends. Procedural liberals such as John Rawls develop an account of social Justice and citizen ship which regards individual as normatively prior to and logical independent or social group. Communitarian, Feminist and post-structurlaist critic of liberalism have all in different way, question the coherence of the liberal model, drawing attention to the fact that individual identity is shaped by membership of social group.

For contemporary emancipatory social movements, on the other hand – socialist, radical feminist, American Indian activists, Black activists, gay and Lesbian activists oppression is a central category of political discourse. New left social movement of the 1960s and 1970s however shifted the meaning of the concept of oppression. In its new usage, oppression delegates the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a tyrannical power corners them, but because of the every day practices of a well- intentioned liberal society.³

The concepts of social group, differences people according to social groups such as women and man, age groups, racial and ethnic groups, religious groups, and so on. Social groups this short are not simple collection of people, for they are more fundamentally intertwined with the identity of the people described as belonging to them. They are a specific kind of collectively, with specific consequences for how people understand one another and themselves. Yet neither social theory nor philosophy has a clear and developed concept or social group. Iris Marion young defines. A social group is a collective of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms of Practice or way of life. Members of a group have a specific affinity with one another because of there similar experience or way of life which promote them to associate with one another more than with those not identified with the group, or in a different way. Groups are an expression of social relation a group exists only in relation to at least one other group. Group identification arises, that is, in the encounter and interaction between social collectivities that experience some difference in there way of life and forms of

³ MCMillan. Alister. Representation and Electoral Reservation in India, pp.3.

association, even if they also regard them self as belonging to same society.⁴ Political philosophy typically has no place for a specific concept of the social group. When philosophers and political theorists discuss groups, they tend to conceive them either on the model of aggregate or on the model or association, both of which are methodologically individualistic concepts.⁵ To arrived at specific concept of social group. It is thus useful to contrast social groups both aggregate and associations. A social group is defined not primarily by a set of shared attribute, but by sense of identity.

In contemporary democracies, the member of less privileged structural social groups are under-represented, structural social and economic inequality often produces political inequality and relative execution from influential political discussion.⁶ Thus poor and working class people often do not have their interest and prospective as well represented as the rich and middle class. In most political systems women, minority cultural groups and radial groups usually less effective political voice. Young suggested that Judgments about injustice of political inequality can be used to break the circle by which formal political democracy tends to reproduce social inequality.⁷ More inclusion and influence for currently under represent social group can help a society confront and find some remedies for structural social inequality.

One important way to promote greater inclusion of members of under-represented social groups is through political and associational institutions designed specifically to increase the representation of women, working class people, racial or ethnic minorities, disadvantage caste and so on.⁸

Argument for group representation can be found positioned across the spectrum of political thought, Will Kymlicka offer a liberal defence of group right which began from the observation that very few modern state have homogeneous population and that within modern liberal democracies there will be minority group whose needs and interest are unlikely to be adequately meet without special measure. His concern is to establish the

⁴ Young, I.M. 1990, Justice and Politics of Difference pp.43.

⁵ Ibid. pp+1.

⁶ Ibid. .

⁷ Ibid., p.42.

⁸ Young . I.M., 200. Inclusion and Democracy. p.141.

normative case for group right and group differentiated measure at a fairly high level attraction.

Will Kymlicka endorses two arguments for the special representation of social groups which are likely to marginalize without such measures. He claims, first that such group representation is justified to combat systematic discrimination, both in political system and in society more widely. Second reason, however is rather different. Group representation is also justified, he argued on ground of self government. Indigenous people are his paradigm of such groups. In multicultural societies many groups that deserve self government are and should be part of larger politics with whom they ought to stand in complex federated relationship, group that have a right to self government but are also part of larger politics ought to be represented as a group in decision making bodies of these larger politics, as well as in inter-government commission, broad and negotiations.⁹

Iris Marion Young, the other hands, defends a version of group representation and group differentiated politics which has more radical implication for our political institution. In her book, *Justice and the politics of difference* (1990), young argue that whether a society devoid of social groups is either possible or desirable in long term remain, for now, an academic issue. For the foreseeable societies are structured around groups and social groups do not all enjoy the same status. Thus the idea of a universal humanity whose member all Share the same essential characteristics allow privileged groups to ignore their own group specificity. The ideal of assimilation call upon the members of oppressed group to change their identity to fit with the supposedly universal ideal and disadvantage groups. Whose experience, cultural and socialized capacities differ from those or privileged groups. Individual member of an oppressed group will not be able to perform equally well in the culture of the dominant group even formal barriers are removed. The politics of difference asserts that oppressed groups have distinct culture, experience and perspectives which should be valued rather than over come. Social Justice, Young argues, concerns the degree to which a society contains and supports the institutional condition necessary for the realizations of those value as (1)

⁹ Kymtিকা. W.. *Multicultural Citizenship*, ch.7.

developing and exercising one's capacity and expressing one's experience and (2) participating in determining one's action and the condition of the ones action.¹⁰

Young develop an extended structural account of oppression characterized as, the vast and deep injustices some groups suffer as a consequence of often unconscious assumptions and reaction of well-meaning people in ordinary interactions, media, and cultural stereo-types and structural feature of bureaucratic hierarchies and market mechanism in short the normal process of every day life.¹¹

In other words oppression is systematically reproduced in all our major economic, political and cultural institution and denies members of some social group the necessary conditions for realizing those values which constitute a good life. Acknowledging the difficulty of providing an over arching definition of oppression which is adequate to the very different experiences of diverse social group. Young offers a description of five faces of oppression, i.e. (1) exploitation the transfer of the result of the labour of one social group to the result of the Labour of one social groups to the benefit of another social group. (2) Marginalization the exclusion of a whole category of people from the Labour system leading to social exclusion and potentially severe material deprivation. (3) Powerlessness the lack of capacity of some groups to participate in making the decision that affects their lives. (4) Cultural imperialism the universalization of dominant groups experience and culture and the stereotyping of groups which do not fit the dominant norm as other and inferior (5) Violence systematic violence directed at member of a social group simply because they are member of that social group.

The elimination of oppression, Young argues require more than redistributive measures. It requires fundamental change in institutional structure and culture. A politics of difference, reform of institutional mechanism and public resources supporting group representation of oppressed social groups.¹²

¹⁰ Young I.M.. 200o, Inclusion and democracy. p.37.

¹¹ Young I.M. 1990, Justice and Political differences. p.41.

¹² Ibid. pp42

A democratic public should provide mechanisms for the effective recognition and representation of the distinct voice and perspective of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed and disadvantaged. Such group representation implies institutional mechanism and public resources supporting three activities ; (1) Self organization on group members so that they gain sense of collective empowerment and reflective understanding of their collective experience and interest in the context of the society; (2) voicing a groups analysis of how social policy proposals affect them, and generating policy proposals themselves, in institutionalized context where decision makers are obliged to show that they have taken these protective into consideration. (3) Having veto power regarding specific proposals that affect a group directly. ¹³ Young argues for the specific representation of oppressed social groups within all those decision-making bodies that affect the groups. Persons should have the right to participate in making the rules and policies of any institution with authority over their action.¹⁴ In a later book inclusion and democracy (2000) young return to this them arguing that differences between social perspective means that it is generally necessary for the person who represents a social group to be a member of that group. Secondly, since young recognize that social group often do not have a unified perspective, she argues that it is the best to pluralize group representation. A committee of woman, for example, may better represent the rang of women's perspective than a single female representative.¹⁵

Although young and Kymilka are united in their defense of group representation.

Group representation in India

The debate on the provision of special representation for untouchable within India, and looks at how the confrontation over this issue relate to a theoretical literature that has develop on it. The ordered of colonial India history under consideration is one when the issue of communal identity and representation were introduced, the issue become a focus for one of the key confrontations between the nationalist movement and the British

¹³ Young, I.M. 1990. Justice and politics of difference. p.184.

¹⁴ Ibd.. 187.

¹⁵ Young, I.M. p.147.

government, though Gandhi's fast against the communal award in 1932.¹⁶ Gandhi and Ambedkar, represented very different conception of the nature of social identity, which in turn led them to advocate alternative mechanism to shape the representative structure of the constitution. However, the debate between Gandhi and Ambedkar ranged a cross a surprisingly narrow range of political alternative. Both accepted the basic structured of a first-past – the post electoral system based on universal franchise. Disagreement lay in principle under-piping such a system, and question of how to move from the restricted franchise and fractured electorates on the British system to a more egalitarian frame work.

Gandhi and Ambedkar presented concentrating argument and justification for the treatments of depressed classes, or untouchables. The two leader also took similar issue, they have both addressed the right or untouchables to enter Hindi temples, Gandhi involvement in the Vaikkam Satyagraha, and Ambedkar was involved in the temple entry movement at Amraoti in 1927 and the Nasik Satyagrah in 1930, they were involved in Similar campaigns, they merged from the experienced with vastly different conclusions about the way ahead. For Gandhi, the need was for a popular reform of Hinduism. For Ambedkar, the problem was a matter of Human right and the solution had to be political. However, the two had very different reasons for there similar campaign. For Ambedkar, this was part or a programme of educational, cultural and economic reform which aimed to replace the traditional with modern practices. For Gandhi the improvement of living standard amongst untouchable were part of an assertion of a reformed cast system which retained elements of separation, but without any hierarchy or association with ritual or physical impurity.¹⁷ The approach taken by Gandhi and Ambedkar towards the issue of separate electorates for untouchable at the problem looks in detail in three areas. The first is the way that group identities within the wider society were defined and challenged. The criteria and boundaries that require special treatment for the representation of such groups. A number of different but over-lapping criteria have been specified, including cultural and socio-economic discrimination.¹⁸ Ambedkar and Gandhi debated about the

¹⁶ MackMillan, Alisrer, Standing at the Margine. P22

¹⁷ Ibid. p76

¹⁸ Ibid. p78

existence and validity of a separate group identity based on untouchability in ways that reflect many of the concerns of these more political theorist. The second area examined is the temporal nature of group existence. Looking at the extent to which the identifications of groups deserving special treatment is embedded in historical practices and the extend to which government intervention is meant to preserve or reduce to group distinctions third aspect looked at is the specific attributes of the debates over representation, examined in term of articulation of group interests, the accountability of those who seek to represent group members, and the overall effectiveness of political system.¹⁹

Group representation is required where member of such group suffer from political marginalization which undermines their participation. In India Reservation Policy is based on consciously planned performance, which may be based on accretive criteria like, ethnicity, racial, gender and even on geographical location. Recourse to it is taken to compensate for persistent, discrimination or inequality in the social or geographical system. Reservation is a mechanism of Socio-economic mobility, and act of deliberately designed social engineering. Such preferential policies are in observance in a few countries, both developed and developing. The United States calls it as the polity of perspective or affirmative action. It is know as Bhumiputra preference in Malaysia. India calls it as the policy of Reservation.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The scheduled caste community is not a homogeneous group. Different classes existed among the scheduled caste and they are fragmented in to various castes and sub-castes on one hand, and on other, there is a hierarchical order in these castes and sub-castes. Hence hierarchical orders among scheduled castes along with other factor play an important role in the political process.

The emergence of democratic political process in India has provided structural institution like reserved constituencies for scheduled caste communities to abridge the inequalities

¹⁹ Ibid. P78

which have existed in the social system for centuries. In reserved constituencies the scheduled castes have no political competition with other communities but among themselves. In addition to this, it can be summarized that, the level of political consciousness in scheduled caste community is comparatively high in Maharashtra than other part of the country. Because Maharashtra had been an era of political activities of some leaders like Jotiba Phule, Dr B.R. Ambedkar and other scheduled caste leaders who tried to awaken the scheduled caste to assert their full place in the society. This awakening has also reflected through some of the movements like dalit panthers, New Buddhists movements launched by the scheduled caste community.

It also found that the reserved constituencies are creating new elite in the lower caste²⁰. The representatives of these communities have monopolized the political economic benefits and utilized the 'caste consciousnesses for manipulation of political power. The outcome of this phenomenon is an emergence of politico-ethnic association or although other parties also, so they may not be parochial, whip of the same sentiments to capture the power.

Taking all above mentioned facts into account, the objective of the present work is to study the effect of the reserved constituencies and determine the extent of success of the system as an effective measure in the amelioration and political integration of the scheduled caste communities into the wider Indian society. It tries to probe into the nature of commitment of scheduled caste contestants and the technique which they employ to get elected to the reserved seats in the legislature. Further, one of the major objectives of the present study is to assess their performance in legislative assembly and their constituencies to which they represent. Though the scheduled caste political leaders do not have direct confrontation with the scheduled caste masses. Yet their differences are heading towards the political segmentation among them. Therefore this study also tries to investigate the reasons for leading political factions within the scheduled caste people in general and their political leaders in particular. The present study also concentrates on the socio-economic background and role played by the scheduled caste

²⁰ Sachidananda, Harijan Elite, Thomson Press India Limited, 1976. Pp.28-77 & 104-127.
C.Parvatham, 'Ambedkar and after', Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 28, pp 221-134.

candidates from reserved seats within the legislative system in protecting the interest of their community, which serves as the basis for assessing the success the system of reserved constituencies. Evidence regarding the representations, background and effectiveness of scheduled caste legislator is reviewed in this section.

To understand socio-economic background of scheduled caste legislator, two studies from 1970s, Narayan (1974 and 1976) describe that the member elected from both reserve scheduled caste and scheduled tribes seats have tended to be younger, less well educated and with previous political experience than those elected from General Constituencies. There is also a different occupational profile with more members elected from agricultural background. He also argues that there is some evidence of convergence, indicating the emerging hegemony among the political elite. In similar vein, Paul Flather (1991) describes lower level of educational attainment and employment in professional occupation among M.P from reserved constituency in the 1980s. Looking at their representative ness in term of general population, figure from Chauhan and Chopra (1974) shows a lower percentage of women elected to represent reserved constituencies compare to general constituencies in first four Lok Sabha. Zoya Hasan (1989) notes that in Uttar Pradesh M.L.A from reserved constituencies are unrepresentative of scheduled caste in the state in terms of occupations. In terms of legislative behavior, Mark Galanter (1979: 444-5) point out that representatives from both scheduled caste and scheduled tribes constituencies were relative in active in terms of participating and debate and were under represented in committee and in terms of office holding.

To examine the impact of the policy of reservation in the post-independence period on SCs politics, Sudha Pai assert that the long term of voting trends in post-independence period from 1950 to 2002 in reserved constituencies has largely followed that of the general seats, and more important feature is that throughout the post independence period SCs have through reserved seats supported the dominant mainstream party at any point of time. Regarding the political behaviors of SCs legislator, Gopal Guru withering the assessment of the performance of scheduled caste legislators; as materially and ideologically dissociated from the masses they are meant to present, and conditioned in to passive role within the legislative system. To understand the voting behavior of SCs

voter, Pushpendra assert that, there is a decline pattern in party performance of the SCs who have gradually sifted from the congress and opted for alternative where they could find them.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The first chapter of this thesis describes Historical Background of development of political consciousness among the scheduled caste, which led to the introduction of electoral reservation. The account beings in the early twentieth century. When the British rulers introduced an electoral system based largely on group representation, with separate electorates created among religious, ethnic, social and economic criteria. It explores the Historical background to the emergence of the institution of electoral reservation, looking at the introduction of special representation of the scheduled caste. It also examine the term of debates and arguments between Amedkar and Gandhi regarding the representation of scheduled castes. The account concludes with a description of constitutional assembly, and drawing of the constitutional provision for electoral reservation.

In chapter-2 socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste in Orissa is examined. Shedding light on the homogeneity of the groups and their relative position compared to other groups. The way that social structure has changed over time is analysed and used to look at various strategies that has been suggested for improving upward social mobility of these groups. The purpose of this chapter is to uphold to show how the concept of group identity relate to broad measure of socio-economic development and relative status and to set the analysis of political consciousness and political behaviors, which is relate to their socio-economic condition within a broader social context.

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has performed the changing system of political affiliation and political competition among the political parties in Orissa on reserved seats.

CHAPTER-1
RESERVE SEATS AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS
AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA: A
FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS

Hindu society is divided into four *varna*, or classes, a convention which had its origins in the *Rig Veda*, the first and most important set of hymns in Hindu scripture which dates back to 1500-1000 B.C..¹ *Jati*, or caste, is a second factor specifying rank in the Hindu social hierarchy. *Jatis* are roughly determined by occupation. Often region-specific, they are more precise than the sweeping *varna* system which is common across India and can be divided further into sub-castes and sub-castes. This is also the case among untouchables. Andre Beteille defines caste as “a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system.”²

In the caste hierarchy – Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas – are considered “twice-born” according to Hindu scripture, meaning they are allowed to participate in Hindu ceremonies and are considered more “pure” than the Sudras and “polluting” untouchables. This concept of pollution versus purity governs the interaction between members of different castes. The touch of an untouchable is considered defiling to an upper-caste Hindu. In southern India, where caste prejudice has been historically most severe, even the sight of an untouchable was considered polluting. Untouchables usually handled “impure” tasks such as work involving human waste and dead animals. As a result, until reforms began in the 19th century, untouchables were barred from entering temples, drawing water from upper-caste wells, and all social interaction with upper-caste Hindus (including dining in the same room. These social rules were strictly imposed and violators were severely punished; some were even killed.

Despite constitutional prohibitions and laws, most recently the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act of 1989, violence and injustices against untouchables continue today, particularly in rural areas of India.³ Accounts of

¹ C.J. Fuller, *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 12.

² Andre Beteille, *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 46.

³ Since the early 20th century, several terms have been used to describe the same group of people. The earliest and still most widely known terms are “untouchables” and “outcastes”. Gandhi, because of the unfavourable connotation of “untouchable”, dubbed them “harijans” (children of God). From the 1930s.

caste-driven abuses continually appear in Western media and surely affect foreigners' perceptions of India. American economist Thomas Sowell drew on a 1978 case in which an untouchable girl had her ears cut off for drawing water from an upper-caste well in one of his books.⁴ More recent examples include Dalit students at a government school in Rajasthan who were punished for asking to drink water from a pitcher used by higher caste students and a Dalit in Punjab who was murdered by "affluent Rajput Hindu youths" after his dog ran into a Hindu temple.⁵

In its latest published report, the government of India's National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes states that "...even after 50 years of Independence Untouchability has not been abolished as provided in Article 17 of the Constitution and incidents continued to be reported."⁶ For 1997, the Commission lists 1,157 "registered" cases of abuse of untouchables and Tribals. An independent overview is provided annually by the U.S. Department of State in its annual report to Congress on worldwide human rights practices. For India in 2001, the Department commented, inter alia that Dalits are among the poorest of citizens, generally do not own land, and often are illiterate. They face significant discrimination despite the laws that exist to protect them, and often are prohibited marrying persons from higher castes. In addition they face segregation in housing, in land ownership, on roads, and on buses. Dalits tend to be malnourished, lack access to health care work in poor conditions, and face continuing and severe social ostracism.

- The scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act lists offences against disadvantaged persons and provides for stiff penalties for offenders. However, this act has had only a modest effect in curbing abuse. Under the Act, 996 cases were filed in Tamil Nadu and 1,254 cases in Karnataka in 2000. Human rights NGO's allege that caste violence is on the increase.

they have also been known collectively as "scheduled castes", after the schedules appended to laws affecting their status. IN the 1970s, they came to call themselves "Dalits" (the oppressed).

⁴ Thomas Sowell, *Preferential Policies: An International perspective* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990). 92.

⁵ BBC News. 25 September 2000 and Manpreet Singh 'Justice Delayed for Dalits,' *Christianity Today*, vol.44, Issue 13, November 13, 2000. 34.

⁶ National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. *Fourth Report: 1996-97 and 1997-98*, New Delhi. 1998. 232.

Inter-caste violence claims hundreds of lives annually; it was especially pronounced in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh.⁷

In addition to specifying an economic and social role, caste is also accompanied by certain popularly held generalizations. Brahmins, for instance, are often believed to be fair-skinned, sharp-nosed, and having more “refined” features, consistent with their Aryan roots. Untouchables, on the other hand, are commonly held to be dark-skinned and possessing coarse features. Beteille has pointed out that lighter skin color has a higher social value, making Brahmins highly conscious of their appearance.⁸ A dark-skinned Brahmin girl, for example, is a source of anxiety for her parents since the task of finding a husband is made harder.⁹ Matrimonial advertisements, a staple in Indian newspapers, are full of families seeking “whitish” brides for their sons.

Nevertheless, there is increasing social mobility, especially in India’s urban areas. Some untouchables and Sudras have tried to move up in the hierarchy by adopting customs of upper castes, a process labelled *sanskritization*. Others have attempted to escape the system entirely by converting to Buddhism or Christianity. The prominent Dalit politician and lawyer, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), who saw the demolition of the caste system as necessary for the emancipation of India’s Dalits, converted to Buddhism at the end of his life. Overtime, significant numbers, although only a tiny portion of India’s Dalits, have followed his example; in November 2001, thousands of untouchables participated in a mass conversion to Buddhism in Delhi.¹⁰

Political Consciousness among Scheduled Caste during the Colonial Period

The growth of political consciousness among depressed cast at the national level can be noticed between 1917 and 1929, starting from the Montague Cheimsford reforms, followed by the Franchise committee with Lord South-Borough as its chairman. In 1924, as a result of the findings of the Muddiman committee. The representatives of depressed

⁷ Department of State USA. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2001*, (Washington, D.C. Government printing Office, 2002), <http://www.state.gov/e/drl/rls/hrrpt/2001/sa/8230.htm> Accessed on March 13, 2002.

⁸ In fact, the term *varna* literally means “color”.

⁹ Beteille 48.

¹⁰ “Churches Back Buddhist Conversion of Dalits”. *The Christian Century*, 5 December 2001, 13.

classes in the legislative council were allowed to be nominated to the central legislative council.¹¹ In 1928, the Indian statutory commission turned all over India to evaluate the parliamentary reforms launched ten year ago.

The decade of the 1920s witnessed the emergence of the Dalit movement as a conscious organised force in social and political life of Madras presidency, along with Bombay.¹² The political mobilisation of the Depressed caste on the national scene can also be traced to the late 1920s with the British government initiated a series of round table conferences to provide political safe guard and representation to various minority communities including the depressed classes (Dalit) as they were by that time.¹³

The first independent Dalit political movement in India appeared to have been lunched in 1910 when all India depressed class federation was established in Maharashtra, under the encouragement of "Bombay presidency social reform association, its initial purpose was to pressurize the Indian national congress to include in his man Plank the removal or untouchably.¹⁴ Consequently, the Indian national congress's annual Conference session held at Calcutta in 1917, had adopted the agenda for the removal or the untouchability. Afterward the political climate in the country changed substantially. The government of India act 1919 explicitly provide for communal representation in the Indian parliament. This stimulated the formation on new Dalit organisation which aimed not only to secure benefit of depressed classes but also to organize them into coherent political blocks.¹⁵

Due to the growth of widespread agricultural commercialisation in 1920s this period witness a new situation in Andhra. It Laid the bases fore a wide spread rural movement which saw the autonomous Dalit movements,¹⁶ commercialisation aided the development of a mobile labour force with opportunities for many artisans and village servants were displaced from there traditional callings and prerogatives by new technology and a new structure of government. These economic changes had a

¹¹ Yagati, C.K. Dalit Struggle for Identity, p.104.

¹² Ibid., p.103.

¹³ Oommen, T.K., 1990. Protest and Change, p.23.

¹⁴ Kumar, Vivek. Dalit Leadership in India, p.62.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.63.

¹⁶ Omvedt, Gail. 1994, Dalit and the democratic revolution, p.114.

remarkable impact generating social change and laying a base for Political turmoil.¹⁷ An important development during 1920s was the growing crystallisation of Hindi-Muslim identity as antagonistic, and the consequent development of religious based nationalism, while Gandhi represents in cultural terms, reformist Hinduism.¹⁸ Rising non Brahman movement in western and southern India and scattered Dalit movement through out the country put forward a challenge to Hinduism itself with new, low caste peasant and regional community identities.

The lack of political action over the issue of untouchability from the congress led to frustration among the leaders of untouchable groups. Most prominent leaders among these were Ambedkar, who was actively agitating for social change both within legislature and through popular demonstration. Most notably at Mahad, where he led a Satyagraha to assert the right of the untouchable to drink from a public water tank, and where follower of Ambedkar burned a copy of Manusmriti,¹⁹ in Bengal, congress vacillation on the issue of temple entry saw Namasudra organisations take the initiative in challenging orthodox Hindu and Lunch the Munshiping Satyagrah,²⁰ Mc Rajah, a nominated member of depressed classes on the Madras legislative council campaigned for the representation of untouchables on various local boards and access to and improvement of public utilities.²¹ It is not easy to argue the depth of appeal and organisational strength of different bodies set up to represent untouchable, Nandin Gooptu describe the probable the Adi Hindu Depressed class association also called the all India *Adi Hindu Mohasabha* which was formed in 1925, The Association, brought together a number of local groups, and by 1930s had come to assume considerable preponderance among the untouchables despite the difficulties of the movement in the arena of institutional and organisational politics.²² By 1928, the Bengal depressed class association had twenty two district unite, organized meeting with up to 3,000 participant

¹⁷ McMillan, Alister, 2005, Standing at the margin, pp34

¹⁸ Omvedt, Gail, 1994, Dalit and the Democratic revaluation p.104.

¹⁹ McMillan, Alister, 2005, Standing at the margin, p.35.

²⁰ Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, 1997, Caste, protest and Identity, Colonial India p.148.

²¹ Gupta, S.K., 1985, The Scheduled cast in Modern India politics, the emergence of a political Power, New Delhi Munishima Monoharlal, p.223.

²² Gooptu, Nandin 2001, The politics of Urban poor in early twentieth century India, Cambridge OUP, p.176.

and sent delegation to all India depressed classes conference in Delhi,²³ in Bombay Ambedkar Leadership provide a popular focus for depressed class movement, and coordinated various conference at regional and national level.²⁴

The Dalit Leaders of Andhra were initially engaged in generating consciousness among the masses and mobilising them for their political right through techniques of petitions, memorandum and Publics speeches.²⁵ The historical process of evaluation of Dalit consciousness and shared identify reveals as significant break with earlier reform movements, both in terms of ideology and organisation. The rise and growth of the *Adi-Andhra Mohasabha* and other grass-root level Dalit Organisations represented the widening of the principles of broader non-anti-Brahman movement and social radicalism during the period. Thus through out south India, local movement organized by the Educated, conscious and assertive Dalit groups. In Andhra Adi-Andhra movement was led by Bhagya Reddy Verman, in northern part Karnataka by Devaraya Ingle, and in Tamil Nadu by Ayoot Das and others. The new rebellious consciousness generated by these Dalit leaders and large mass organisation and mobilisation on all India basic during the Ambedkar era.²⁶

The attitude of Missionaries toward untouchably albeit their agenda of pro-p proselytization was marked by humanism, a zeal to ameliorate there conditions and to satisfy their immediate needs. The work of Christian missionaries transformed the Dalit lives in three significant ways. First, those who were converted into Christianity got a new standing which was certainly better than suffering under Hinduism. Second, those who still remained within the fold of Hinduism began to realise that the dogma of untouchability, which for so long had justified their miserable condition was false and considered by missionaries; Third, perhaps the more important, the work of missionaries stimulated the Hindu socio-religious reformers to bring about the social education of the

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²⁴ BandhoPadhayay, Sekhar, (1997), Caste, protest and identity in Colonial India, the Namasudra of Bengal, 1872-1947, pp.143.

²⁵ Yagati, C.K., Dalit Struggle for Identity (2003), Kalyani. New Delhi. 262.

²⁶ Ibid.

Dalits as so to reform Hinduism and to prevent them from Embarrassing other religion like, Christian and Islam.²⁷

Since, 1970 most of the all India Adi Hindu conference was held in north and central India- Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow and Nagpur and the Dalit Leader from the Southern religion participated in these conference. Bhaga, Devi Varma himself represented the southern region in 1927 and 1930 at Allahabad, and this helped to establish contact with Dalit leader of other region such as M.C. Raja of Madras. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar of Bombay, Swami Achutanda from U.P. Babu Shivapreakash Rajak of Bengal, Babu Virratna Devi Das of Delhid and Munish Deo of Punjab.

The 1920s was a decade that witnesses the growth of consciousness. The conference held at provincial as well as district level influenced the Dalit youth and made them conscious of their social, political and economic degradation. The youth carried on a ceaseless fight against the social system. The lurching of Gandhian Harijan upliftment programme of 1930 was a significant event which let to the development of close relation between Dalit and congress. The formation of Andhra Branch of *Harijan Sevek Sangh* at Vijayawada and Hyderabad facilitated the participation of local congress Leaders in the welfare activities of Dalit in colonial Andhra. The Dalit also become part of the communist movement on 1930s and 1940s, many Dalits were attracted Marxism and socialism and became active participants of labour protection league. Dalits were involved actively in various anti-colonial and self help movement; they participated in congress led movement in 1930s and 1940s. Despite participation of Dalit in the national and other allied movement of the colonial period, none of the works on these subjects neither acknowledge their rule nor examine their participation, the Dalit were used, abused and politicised by all political parties. They are realized and recognized the importance of the Dalit and their number to strengthen themselves as against their opponents and mobilized them only for their vested interest.

The Dalit intelligence perceived the existing structural bases that perpetuated human exploitation and they tried different ways. And method to educate, organise and unite all the Dalit masses. They organised association and conference, established school

²⁷ Ibid.. p.221.

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and hostels, and taught the masses to challenge their ideological legitimisation of their low status. The emergence of Dalit journal in the 1930s played a significant role in highlighting caste Hindu atrocities and creating awareness among Dalit masses. It may be stressed that journal successfully articulated Dalit issue and enkindled their consciousness. Some of their main periodical were 'Adi-Andhra' of Didla Pullayo, 'Veera Bharati' of Jala Ragaswami Navajeevan, 'Harijan' of Vundru Subha Rao and 'Jeevan Jyoti' of Chuttumall Venketraman, the writing of Dalit intelligentsia played a major role in bringing about unity and a feeling of oneness, and self respect.

In 1931 on the eve of the second round table conference was held at Lucknow, in which representative from all over India participated. The most significant resolution of the conference was recognition of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as the sole and true representative to speak on behalf of 9 cores Adi-Hindu in India a resolution which was passed unanimously. A second important resolution re-treated the demand for separate electorate with an adequate weight age to the 'untouchable's community and was also adopted unanimously, in the process of creating their own identity they not only deconstructed the articulated labels by caste-Hindu from time to time, but also reconstructed their own identity. Their fight for liberation and the quest for identity still lie ahead. In spite of the changes in the twentieth century in the social political, economic and cultural spheres during the fifty eight years of India's independence not much has changed the lives of the Dalit especially in the rural area.

Lessons from non-Brahmin politics/movement made Ambedkar realise the dangers of intermixing the Shudras and the Acchuts (untouchables) as one single homogeneous category. He probably could foresee the need of bringing together these communities against the dominant Brahmins, while recognising the differences between Dalits and dominant backward castes. It is not without reason that Ambedkar dedicates his 'Who Were Shudras?' to Jyotiba Phule, terming him the greatest Shudra who made them socially conscious of their status, through his work on 'Untouchables', Ambedkar termed Ravidas, Chokhamela and Nandnar the leaders of untouchables of their own times.



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Phule was the first to address the question of untouchability and Brahmin-dominance and subsequently he waged a struggle against the Brahmins. His main strategy to counter the latter's dominance in social life was to unite all other castes into a single homogeneous category and to mobilize these groups. But "Ambedkar did not accept this attempt to give Marathas, Kunbis, the other castes and untouchables a common identity"²⁸. He identified major divisions not merely among Brahmins and non-Brahmins but also between Savarnas and Avarnas, and in rural society, the non-Brahmin Savarnas consisting of landlords, cultivators and artisans exercise their domination over the landless untouchables. "Brahmins were enemies primarily because they were the ones who articulated the philosophy of social inequality but all the other castes equally practised and enforced untouchability."²⁹

Ambedkar got the opportunity to interact with leaders of the non-Brahmin movement and their politics during the late 20s and 30s. Davalkar – a non-Brahmin leader – published an article called 'Enemies of the Nation' referring to the Brahmins, which Ambedkar considered a good book written in a bad taste.³⁰ This explains Ambedkar's broader outlook towards the system which had not only social but also economic and political roots.

Taking strong exception towards the non-Brahmin movement and their strategies, Ambedkar remarked that "many of the non-Brahmin party men tried to become second class Brahmins and they did not abandon Brahminism but hold it as an ideal".³¹ It makes clear that his struggle was not against any individual Brahmin or even a group of Brahmins but with those who practised the ideology of Brahminism. For instance, at the time of Mahad Satyagraha (1927), the non-Brahmin leaders urged Ambedkar to exclude Brahmins from the Satyagrah but he over-ruled the suggestion and remarked that "it was erroneous to treat all Brahmins as enemies of untouchables. Thus Ambedkar was well aware of what determined social relations in rural Indian society. Arguing further on this

²⁸ Gore, M S . (1993): *The Social Context of an Ideology*. Sage Publications, New Delhi pp332

²⁹ *ibid.* pp333

³⁰ Kuber. W N, Ambedkar (1973): *A Critical Study*. Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi

³¹ *ibid.* pp62

aspect Khairmoday writes that the untouchables though attracted towards the non-Brahmin movement could not become one of it.³²

Ambedkar emerged as a leader of the untouchables by the 1930s. He represented the cause of Dalits at the Round Table Conferences (1930-32). Following the discussions during the RTCs, the British sent the Simon Commission to investigate the position of backward classes (including Dalits). Gandhi and other Congress leaders opposed the Simon Commission and asked the Shudras not to support an untouchable leader like Ambedkar. Subsequently they sided with Patel, a leader of backward communities. The consequence of this move was that Shudras could not get any constitutional safeguards. And Brahminism was successful in virtually preventing these communities to speak on a single platform for their struggle for enfranchisement as they were not able to send their independent representatives to the legislatures.³³

The disenchantment with non-Brahmin leaders remained not only confined to Bombay presidency but also in Madras. Here non-Brahmin leadership tried to provide a broader base for unified political action to include Muslims, untouchables and Anglo-Indians besides OBCs. The Justice Party was the culmination of these efforts. The radical leaders in the party were sidelined. The untouchables were the worst victims of such moves. In 1923, M C Rajah – a prominent Dalit leader, quit the party and made a number of charges against the non-Brahmin leadership, ignoring the interests of untouchables. Thus events taking place in western and southern Indian non-Brahmin politics led by Shudras disillusioned the Dalits. “Just as the Justice Party failed in Madras to include significant number of untouchables, the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra could not make common cause with untouchables”.³⁴

Ambedkar did not form any political party in for the non-Brahmin party represented the anti-Brahminical ideology but following its break-up and the failure of the party to promote Dalit interests and his strong commitment against the class-caste system, he remarked:

³² *ibid*.pp63

³³ Prem Prakash (1993): *Ambedkar. Politics and Scheduled Castes*. APH. New Delhi. pp55.

³⁴ Zealot. Eleanor (1970): ‘Learning the Use of Political Means’ in Rajni Kothari (ed), *Caste in Indian Politics*. Orient Longman. Pp44-45

I am anxious that the Depressed Classes Movement should form a common front with the working class of other communities. With that objective in view, I clung to the non-Brahmin party for ten full years in the hope that sooner or later it would rise to the full light of its great mission of struggling for the freedom of toiling masses of the great non-Brahmin community. I do not at all insist that all the non-Brahmin labouring masses should join one party. Let them have their own party, if they so desire, but we can certainly make a common front against the Brahmins, the capitalists, the landlords and other exploiting classes. By breaking up the party the non-Brahmins have committed a political suicide. Ambedkar could visualise the consequences of the split in non-Brahmin party and the multi-dimensional discriminations against the Dalits which could not be done away merely by occupying positions previously held by Brahmins; and the non-Brahmins hesitated to go against their own interests. Speaking on the non-Brahmin members' opposition to the bill for the removal of untouchability, he commented that they have effaced the memory of Jyotiba Phule completely and that the class had shamelessly betrayed his philosophy. Thus, we find a shift in Ambedkar's interaction with non-Brahmin leadership. Later, he submitted a memorandum to the Constituent Assembly arguing that tenancy reform will have no meaning for Dalits and asked for agriculture to be declared a state industry, to be so organised that there would be no landlord, no tenants and no landless labourer. It is a different story that the entire house stood against him on this issue.³⁵

The Ambedkar non-Brahmin interaction reveals that addressing Brahminism has been the focal point in the Dalit movement, but Brahmins, not Brahmanism remain central to non-Brahmins. Non-Brahmins addressed primarily the dominance of Brahmins, whereas Ambedkar addressed not only Brahmins and caste but also capitalism and feudalism. For Ambedkar, the conversion to Buddhism was the last nail in the coffin of Hinduism indicating a cultural and ideological revolt against it.

Gail Omvedt, who studied the Dalit and non-Brahmin movement in detail, concluded that "Dalits have inherent interest in destroying the system shared with all exploited (specifically Shudras, low, dependent toilers) on the other hand, for those

³⁵ *Pioneer*: 'Defeated Cause', March 19, 1999

defined as 'impure' and relegated to quarters outside the village, they have a special oppression and a special interest in a movement against the entire hierarchy based on pollution-purity".³⁶ Although Dalit movement has been visible with 'pure political dimensions' immediately after the demise of Ambedkar, it did not succeed in having an all India outlook Babu Jagjivan Ram for most of the time aligned with the ruling classes or ruling parties, succeeding in bringing independent Dalit politics to the periphery. It is only in 1990s that there are parallels in Dalit and Shudras politics that seem to juxtapose in the post-mandal period. Once again, it forces us to carve out the ideological differences and strategically distinctions between these two outfits with 'oppressed' outlooks.

Historical Background of Reserved Seats

The history of reserved seats for scheduled castes is a vast one. Even in terms of a historical account of political reservations in India, it would be impossible to cover most of its aspects in the space of one paper. This section, therefore, provides brief entry points into some of the more significant historical and legal moments concerning the development of a reservations policy in India, all of which require much more attention and analysis. The Reservation arrangement in the legislation bodies has fairly long history in India. The demand for separate representation can be traced to two development in the early 20th century, the colonial census and second, the morely-meno reform of 1909 which, while legalising the principle of election to the central and provincial legislature granted communal electorate to the Muslim in proportion to their numbers in the population.³⁷ At Lucknow in 1916 the Indian National Congress and the all India Muslim League had agreed to separate Electorate to Muslim. With the introduction of separate Electorate, communal statistics gained importance, community become conscious of their numbers and those of others leading to "parties of numbers".³⁸ The granting of an electorate for Muslim in which they alone would vote brought the ideas of communal electorates for minorities to the forefront in the mind of all communities which feared for their same region in a government run by dominant caste

³⁶ Omvedt, Gail (1994): *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution*. Sage Publications. New Delhi. p36

³⁷ Sudha Pai, Electoral reservation for scheduled caste: Quest above identity through politics, p.4.

³⁸ In Sudhapi. Electoral reservation for schedule caste: Quest for identity through politics. S.K. Gupta, the scheduled caste in Modern India politics: There Emergence as Modern Power (1985 Monark Publisher, Delhi).

Hindu community. The granting of special electorate to Muslim also made numbers of important. Whether the vast numbers of untouchable were truly Hindu and to be counted as such or not became an important question for first time.³⁹

When the census commission 1911, bruited the suggestion that the untouchables should be enumerated as a group separated from Hindus, a suggestion promptly endorsed by the Muslim League. Suddenly there was quickened interest of the depressed classes.

The Government of India Act 1919

Caught in the turmoil of World War I, Britain focused its attention on Europe, not an India, nevertheless, the British passed important legislation during this turbulent period that would have a significant on the development of Indian governmental institution.

The government of India act 1919 had its immediate origin on August 20, 1917, with Britain for survival in Europe it need continued support from India and the empire, and desiring to avoid confrontation with the Indian independence movement. Montagu and Lord Cheimsford then Vicern embarked on an analysis of the Indian situation, eventually laying out proposals forming for the 1919 government India act.

Despite mention of greater Indian participation in politics, the 1919 act still contained provision guaranteeing a continued active books presence and dominance. The act also addressed minority safeguard, including the particular vexing issue of communal electorates. Montagu and Cheimsford firmly rejected communal electorates. Characterising the system of class division and a very serious hindrance to the development of self-governing principle.

Despite their reputation of communal electorate, Montagu and Chemsford realised it would be unfeasible to take away communal representation already granted to Muslim by the 1909 morely-minto reform. Other including Sikhs, Anglo-Indian, Europeans, Indian Christians, and non Brahmin also clamoured for special representation. Another important feature of the 1919 act was the provision for the appointment a statutory commission after ten year. The 1919 reform provide only a few nominated seats for the

³⁹ Galenter Mark.

depressed classes but the first time some untouchable spokesmen were neared in political assemblies.

The Simon Commission

In keeping with the 1919 government of India act, the British government in 1927 appointed a commission to assess the Montagu-Cheimsford reforms and whether, and to what extent, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government existing therein. The commission identified was the need to safeguard minorities and other disadvantage members of Indian society, the Simon Commission detailed the Plight of the Depressed classes in particular, which it saw not only as a problem of caste but as an issue with distinct political overtones. The committee saw the improvement of the depressed classes' situation as hiking on increased political influence. Several options emerged, including pursuing a system of nomination, creating separate electorates, and reserving seat in government within a general electorate in its consultation the Simon Commission found that most provincial governments supported a nominating system. The government or Bihar, Orissa, for example, asserted that a nomination was best since the depressed classes were too backward to choose their own representatives.

Support for separate electorate was strong among the depressed classes. There representatives proposed combining separate electorate and reserved seats. The commission recommended drawing up ruler to ensure the competency of candidates for reserved position. In addition, provincial governor would have the power to nominate or allow non-depressed class member to run for electron.

Competency was or particular concern to the commission. Members questioned whether enough qualified candidates would be available if seats were reserved seat to the total number of seats in all the Indian general constituency should be their quarter of the proportion of the depressed classes to the total population of the electoral Area of province.⁴⁰ Again these measures were regarded as strictly temporary, with the goal that an improvement in the depressed class condition would eventually make reservation and necessary. However, they retained the concept of reserving seats:

⁴⁰ S.R. Bakshi, *Simon Commission and Indian Nationalism* (New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharlal Publisher Pvt. Ltd.) P.76.

The Commission recommends that in all the eight provinces there should be some reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes on a scale which will secure a substantial increase in the number of Members of Legislative Councils drawn from the Depressed Classes.⁴¹

Round Table Conference

In 1931 Six months after the Simon Commission's report was published, a Round Table Conference convened in London to review the commission's proposal and now they might be incorporated into a new constitution. This time there were Indian delegate from various interest groups, Ambedkar represented depressed classes along with Rai Bahadur R. Srinivasan, Gandhi and his Indian national congress were conspicuously absent, refusing to participate on the ground that congress alone represent Indian opinion.⁴²

How to treat minorities was a major topic at the conference. Ambedkar and Srinivasan appeared for separate electorate and adult suffrage.⁴³ Separate electorate were designed to be temporary. After ten year General Electorates with reserved seat would replace separate electorate with the consent or depressed classes and enfranchisement of all adult. In the end, the subcommittee could not reach an agreement, a general reflection of the entire conference which was inconclusive.

A second round table conference convened eight month later. Ambedkar and Srinivas again attended. Gandhi all so representing the Congress, attacked as other delegate as a representative, in particular he attacked Ambedkar claim to represent the untouchable.⁴⁴ Gandhi adamantly opposed separate electorate, especially for depressed classes, arguing that untouchability was inseparable from Hinduism. As a result of staunch

⁴¹ United States Office of Strategic Services, *The Depressed Classes of India* (Washington: Office of Strategic Services, 1943) 31. (Originally classified) p34

⁴² Galanter.Marc, *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India* (Berkeley ;University of California Press 1984, p.31.

⁴³ MacMillan.Alistair, *Standing at the Margins: Representation and Electoral reservation in India* (OUP Press New Delhi 2005), p.43.

⁴⁴ Galanter.Marc, *Competing Equalities: Low and the backward classes in India* (Barkely: University of California Press, 1984, p.31.

opposition from Gandhi and the Congress on separate electorate, the second conference was inconclusive and the minority issue remained unresolved.⁴⁵

Given the failure of the conference of settle minority representation, Prime Minister Ramsay Mac Donald, who had chaired the committee on minorities, offered to mediate on the condition that the other members of the committee supported his decision. The product of this mediation was the communal award of 1932.⁴⁶

A Turning Point: Mac Donald Communal award and Poona Pact

Mac Donald announced the communal Award on August 16, 1932, based on the Findings of the Indian Franchise committee, called the Lothian Committee,⁴⁷ the communal award established separate Electorate and reserve seat for minorities. Including the depressed classes which were granted seventy-eight reserved seats. Unlike previous communal electorate set up for Muslim and other communities, the award provided for the depressed classes to vote in both general and special constituency, essentially granting a “double vote”.

Gandhi who was in the Yeravada prison in the city of Poona at the time because of his civil disobedience campaign, reacted by declaring a hunger strike “unto death.”⁴⁸ In his opposition to the Award, he compared the creation of Separate Electorate for the depressed classes to the “injection of a position that is collected to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever” others were similarly critical of the award. Ambedkar felt too few seats were reserve for depressed classes. M.C. Rajah, another leader of depressed classes, opposed the separation of the community from the Hindu fold. As a result of wide spread disapproval of the Award and Gandhi’s hunger strike, a new agreement, the Poona pact, was reached on September 24, 1932. The pact called for a single (non-Muslim) general electorate for each of the provinces of British India and for seats in central legislature. At the same time specified numbers of seat, totalling 148 for the

⁴⁵ Anthony Read and David Fishers, *The protest Day : India’s Long Road to independence* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997), p.244.

⁴⁶ Marc, Galanter, pp42

⁴⁷ Mandal, Jagadish Chandra, *Poona Pact and Depressed Classes*. Pp31

⁴⁸ Jayandu Chandra Mandal, *Poona Past and Depressed classes* (Calcutta: Sujana Publication, 1999)

provincial legislature (Table-1) and to be taken from seats allotted to the general electorate, were raised for the depressed classes. In the central legislature the depressed classes were to get eighteen percent of the seats. Voting member of depressed class in each reserved seat constituency was to form an “Electoral college” to elect four candidates from among their number. The pact as so called for “every endeavour” to give the depressed classes by reservation outline in the pact was intended to be temporary, continuing “until determined” by mutual agreement between the communities.

Table-1

Seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorate seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows:

Madras	30
Bombay with Sind	15
Punjab	8
Bihar and Orissa	18
Central Provinces	20
Assam	7
United Provinces	20
Total	148

These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils, announced the Prime Minister's decision.

The Governments of India Act. 1935

The reservation of seats for the depressed classes was incorporate into the government of India act 1935, Legislation by the British designed to give India provinces

greater self rule and set up a national federal structure that would incorporate princely states. The Act went to force in 1937.

The Act brought the term "Schedule Castes" now the Indian governments officials designation into use, defining the group as including "such castes, race or tribes or parts of or groups, within castes, races or tribes, being castes, races or tribes, being castes, races, tribes, part of groups which appear to his majesty in council to correspond to the class of person for many know as "the depressed classes. The vague classification was letter classified in the "Government of India (Scheduled Castes) order, 1936 which contain a list or "Schedule", of schedule castes through the British provinces.⁴⁹ The basis on reservation was unashamedly religion and thus legislative seats were sat a side for Muslim, Indian Christian, Sikhs, Anglo-Indian etc. Seats were reserved for depressed classes as well as for women. The table 1 show the reservation quota under in the central legislature under the government India act, 1935.

Effort by both Indian and British officials encouraged untouchables and the lower castes to form their own organisation to call for more equitable treatment and to demand economic assistance. Ambedkar was at the centre of these activities. Seeking a vehicle to bring pressure to bear on the government to secure more resources for the depressed classes he had formed the independent labour party in 1936. Changing tactics, he used a July 1942 all India depressed class conference in Nagpur to establish all India depressed class federation.

Among the group's demand were those for a new constitution with provision in provincial budgets, specifically in the form of money for education, to support the advancement of the scheduled castes, representation by statute in all legislature and Local bodies, separate electorate, representation on publics service commission, the creation of separate village or scheduled castes, away from and independence of the Hindu villages, as was as government sponsored "settlement commission" to administer the new villages, and the establishment of all India scheduled castes federation.

The scheduled caste federation (SCF) expected some kind of constitutional safeguards from the Cabinet Mission. It was hopeful that the Cabinet Mission would provide the principle of separate

⁴⁹ Chunilal Anand, ed. The Government of India Act 1935 (Lahor: The University Bo ok Agency) p.180.

representation for Dalits by recognizing them as a separate community. This was a major demand of the SCF and had been repeatedly asserted in its resolutions since 1942.⁵⁰ It was also put forward at the Simla Conference in 1945. The expectation of the SCF that this demand would be felled was not entirely unfounded. It was based on commitments made by colonial officials and the Viceroys. Lord Wavell in his letter (15 August 1944) to Mahatma Gandhi had stated that 'the Scheduled Castes are one of the important and separate elements in the national life of India. That their consent is a necessary condition precedent for the transfer of power to Indians [sic]'.⁵¹ Earlier Lord Linlithgow had made a similar statement about the Dalits in his speech on 20 August 1940 in Bombay.⁵² According to Ambedkar, the Cabinet Delegation had given a positive response to his proposals during their meeting on 15 April 1946.⁵³ However, Dalit leaders were not invited to the final discussions at Simla. The British, in the end, accepted the Congress position that Dalits are Hindus and therefore do not require recognition as a separate community.

The Cabinet Mission awards of 16 May 1946 failed to provide any special safeguards for the Dalits.⁵⁴ The Cabinet Mission prepared an interim plan for a peaceful and planned transfer of power to the Indian leaders.⁵⁵ The plan envisaged a Constituent Assembly consisting of Indian representatives to draft a constitution for India. It also proposed an Interim Ministry at the centre to manage the final transfer of power. The crucial question, here, was the composition of these two structures, which came to be contested by the political parties. The Mission decided that 'it is sufficient to recognize only three main communities in India: General, Muslim and Sikh' for representation in the Constituent Assembly. This enabled the Muslim and Sikh communities to gain representation in proportion to their population in the provinces.⁵⁶ Despite their claims for separate status, Dalits were classified within the General (Hindu) category. The Constituent Assembly consisted of the members of provincial legislatures, divided into three categories (a) General (b) Muslims and (c) Sikhs. Dalits and other minorities were

⁵⁰ *Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches Vol. IX* (Bombay, 1990), pp. 346–9.

⁵¹ *Ibid* pp540

⁵² *Ibid* pp539

⁵³ *Ibid* pp538

⁵⁴ *Papers Relating to the Cabinet Mission to India 1946* (Delhi, 1946), p. 100.

⁵⁵ R.J. Moore, *Escape from Empire*, gives a detailed account of constitutional history during these years.

⁵⁶ *Papers relating to the Cabinet Mission to India, 1946*, p. 100.

accommodated only in the Advisory Committee in hopes of safeguarding their interests in the proposed Constitution. Ambedkar, in his critique of the Cabinet Mission proposals, maintained that 'the Scheduled Castes were greatly surprised to find themselves lumped together with the Hindus'.⁵⁷ The status and powers of the Advisory Committee were also not defined. Further, Ambedkar argued that the representatives of the Dalits to the Constituent Assembly represented only the Congress. He disagreed with the Cabinet Mission's defence that the Congress had won the Dalit seats in the last election. He argued that an examination of the results of the elections in the primaries in 1945 would demonstrate how poorly the Congress really represented Dalits. It was only in the primaries that Dalits had a separate electorate, and not in the general elections. His analysis of the election results of the primaries indicated that the Non-Congress Dalit parties gained 72% of votes compared with only 28% obtained by the Congress.⁵⁸ It does suggest that when Dalits are given a chance to vote as a separate electorate, The majority choose non-Congress candidates. Jagjivan Ram's response to the Mission's plan makes interesting reading considering his status as a senior leader of the Congress party. Referring to Congress' victory in the recent election, he claimed that Dalits had rejected the Ambedkarite politics of separate electorates.⁵⁹ He, however, took a position quite different from that of the Congress. He agreed that the Cabinet Mission had failed Dalits, and reiterated the demand of the DCL that 'Harijans should be given representation in the Constituent Assembly and the Legislative Assembly in proportion to their population in a province.'⁶⁰ Some time later, at a press conference, he explained the difference between his party and the SCF: the DCL wanted the protection of the Dalits and not their separation, whereas the SCF wanted their separation. This demand was first raised by the DCL in its resolution of 18th August 1944 in the Nagpur session. The resolution 'regretted that neither Gandhiji nor Rajgopalchari's formula to break the political deadlock took any notice of the untouchables'. It emphasized the need to protect the interests of Harijans in any political settlement between the Congresses, the Muslim League and the British.⁶¹ We should rightly acknowledge that this resolution of the Depressed Classes League's marks their

⁵⁷ *Ambedkar Writings and Speeches Vol. X*, pp. 523–28.

⁵⁸ Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p 26

⁵⁹ *The pionner* (English, laknow) 21 june 1946.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*

⁶¹ *Ibid*

first break with Congress. Historians have generally viewed Jagjivan Ram as a Congress 'agent', and therefore Congress's alternative to the leadership of Ambedkar. This viewpoint is insensitive to Jagjivan Ram's concern for the Dalits. His biographer, Nalin V. Sharma, points to the dilemma faced by Jagjivan Ram at this specific juncture. He writes: 'Jagjivan Ram could not, holding the views he did, assert that the untouchables were a separate nation. He could not at the same time leave the untouchables' interest completely unrepresented' either. Jagjivan Ram realized that unless special provisions were made for the rights of Dalits their conditions would not change. His biographer argues that this dilemma was a core element in Jagjivan Ram's thinking. This may well be true. I would suggest otherwise, and point to the specificity of the 1940s. Jagjivan Ram came to realize the importance of changes then in progress and therefore reassessed his position. It was for this reason that he agreed with Lord Wavell's characterization of the Congress in 1944 as a caste-Hindu party. When Gandhi protested against Wavell's description of the Congress, Jagjivan Ram issued a public statement supporting Wavell's statement.⁶² This is too significant to be missed, especially as he was explicitly contradicting Gandhi, no less. He argued that the Poona Pact was a clear acknowledgement of two sections within the Hindus, 'the Harijan' and 'the non- Harijans and Hindus'. This radicalism, in a leading Congress Harijan leader, underlines the changes taking place around this time in the character and temper of Dalit politics. It is also a comment on the

Congress failure to deal adequately with the problems of Dalit society. Dalits were unanimous in their criticism of the composition of the Interim Ministry as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission award. Ambedkar objected to the unfair and unjust composition of the Ministry. He said that the Dalits, who had demanded three seats, were allotted only one.⁶³ Jagjivan Ram, too, pointed out that according to their population of 60 million, they should have been given three seats.⁶⁴ He claimed that 'if three seats could be allotted to the Muslims, two seats to the Sikhs, then one seat for the [Dalits] is unfair and against the principles of the Cabinet Mission Plan'.

⁶² Nalin Vilochan Sharma, *Jagjivan Ram: A Biography* (Patna, no date), p. 127.

⁶³ *The Pioneer*, 18 June 1946.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

Reserved Seats in the Constitution

On May 16 1946, the British government realized the cabinet mission statement a set of proposal to guide the framing of a new Indian constitution. By this time, the wheels for Indian independence had already been set in motion by government in London. Among other recommendations, the cabinet mission laid out a detailed plan for the constituent assembly's composition, such that the body be as broad based and accurate a representation of the whole population as possible". Three categories from which to draw delegate were proposed, in addition to division for Muslim and Sikhs, the cabinet mission suggested a general category which would include all other groups Hindu, Anglo-Indians. Parsis, Indian Christians, Scheduled caste and tribes, and woman and others. Delegates were appointed on the basis of indirect election in the provincial legislative assembly. In March 1947, Britain sent Lord Louis Mountbatten, war hero and royal relative, to New Delhi as the king-emperor's last viceroy. His mission was to transfer power to an independent India government. In the end of power was transformed to two successor entities, Pakistan on August 14, 1947, and Indian August 15, 1947.

After the partition of India and Pakistan, the makeup the constituent assembly reflected the reality or what group wide power in India, then and now. An analysis of membership in the most important advisory committee of the constituent assembly found that 65 percent were SCs. Brahmin made up 45.7 per cent.

The special representation in legislatures was given to the scheduled caste for the first time, under the government of India act, 1950. The British Government had given separate representation to the scheduled castes (then called depressed classes) by the communal award of August 1932. This move was opposed by Mohatma Gandhi who visualised the seeds of disruption and vivisection being shown amongst the Hindu by the awards. Then came the Poona pact with allowed reservation of seats for scheduled castes but ensure that section to the reserved seats would be made by joint electorate as opposed to separate electorate.

The objective resolution made by late Pandit Nehru in the constituent assembly on December 13, 1946 stated that the constitution will provide adequate safeguards for the

backward classes. Dr B.R Ambedkar who was a member of Minority Sub-Committee inter alias suggested that the scheduled caste should be given political reservation, according to their strength in the legislatures, ministries, local boards and municipalities. The advisory made a proposal that such reservation should provided only to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The backward position of these castes made it necessary that their representation should be members of the legislature and should be in position to actively participate in the political life of the country. The constituent assembly had always recognised that the scheduled castes were the backward section of the hindu community who were handicapped by the practise of untouchability. The father of the constitution realised that these classes of the society were very backward in all respect should given representation in the state legislature and house of people. Thus, the constitution provide provision of article 334 of the constitution is to fix a time limit within which the country is required to raise the backward people to the level of the other classes of the India.

On January 26, 1950 India ended its dominion states and become a republic, and put in effect its new Constitution, with entail section dedications to 'Fundamental right'. The Indian constitution provides any discrimination based on religion, race cast, sex and place of birth (Article, 15(1). The practice of untouchability is declared illegal (Art, 17). Article 15 which prohibit discrimination, to make any special provision for advancement of any socially, educationally backward classes. A separate section of the constitution, special provision relating to certain classes, requires. The reservation of seats in the house of people, or Lok Sabha, and the state legislative assemblies, for the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. The numbers of seats are determined by the proportion scheduled caste and scheduled tribe member to general population based on most recent denicial census. No seats are reserved in the upper houses of central or state.

The reservation does not involve separate electorate, i.e. the representation of a particular group by legislators chosen by the electorate composed solely of members of that group. The seat are reserved in the sense that candidates who stand for them must belong to the specified groups, but the entire electorates for participant in choosing a man

candidates so qualified.⁶⁵ The constitution originally required the reservation seats in Lok Sabha and state legislature assembly to and after ten year. After five amendments the policy is now set to expire on January 25, 2010.

The basis provision for the reservation seat in Lok Sabha and state Legislative assembly are determined by determination committee. Generally, constituencies are formed on the basis of contingent, communications, absence of natural barriers, and cultural and ethnic homogeneity.⁶⁶

To determined reserved seats, there are two undermining issue one is the number of reserved seats and other is which seats are reserved, both of which have practical and conceptual importance. The allocation of reserved seat in the Vidhan Sabhas is straight forward. First the size of legislative assembly is fixed, and the number of reserved seats is set at the number which most closely approximates to the proportion of the population or the state who are member of the scheduled or the state who are member of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. How ever the procedure used in allocating reserved seat in the Lok Sabha is different. Since reserved seat are meeting to be allocated at the state level, rather than according to all India proportion of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes population.⁶⁷

The different socio-economic profile determined the creation of reserved seats. One difference between reserved scheduled cast and general constituencies is the proportion of population who lives in rural areas. Due to lower level of educational attainment and occupational status, these reserved constituencies are placed in disadvantaged areas.⁶⁸ The basic idea that reserved constituencies should be located where the scheduled caste or Scheduled tribes were most heavily concentrated would have meant that they tended to be clustered together. This was seen as fine for the scheduled tribes who did tend to be located in particular Paris of a state, but for the

⁶⁵ Marc Galanter, *Compitiro Equality*, p.45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁶⁷ Alister McMillan, *Standing at the margin: Representation and Electoral reservation in India* (OUP, Delhi, 2005). p.183.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 209. *Ibid.*, 192.

scheduled castes, who were much more widely dispersed geographically, in order to get around this, the reserved seat in each state were first allocated according to their proportion in each district of state, and then according to which part of district they were most heavily concentrated.

CHAPTER-2
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND POLITICAL
CONSCIOUSNESS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN ORISSA

The justification of reservation for scheduled caste relate to their socio-economic disadvantage, which have been seen both as define element of their group identity, and as a consequence of discrimination which necessitates political intervention. Thus, this chapter examines the socio-economic condition of scheduled castes in Orissa, and the various indicators of social and economic development, and at how this haven changed over time. The first section looks at the class position of the scheduled caste. Class is here defined primarily in terms of occupation, property status and land-ownership. The second section deals with education and social position like, religion, social custom and health condition. Education seen to central to the socio-economic development of scheduled caste. Ambedkar used the slogan 'Educates, Agitate, Organize' as apart of his fight to improve the condition of untouchables. Third section of this chapter examines the different approach taken by the government to change the position of scheduled caste in a society structured. The last section looking at the political consciousness of scheduled caste and their attitude towards political reservation and how political reservation has helped to developing the political consciousness of the scheduled castes in an unequal political society.

The social conditions of Scheduled castes which were already oppressive due to the age-old caste system become worse with the imposition of economic dislocation and joining of Scheduled castes and some other caste people in their ranks. After independence, the farmer of the Indian constitution was Ambedkar and hence made certain arrangements for the backward classes to allow them to enjoy a humane lifestyle and there upliftment. The constitution provides compensatory discrimination program and some constitutional provision. Article 46, a "Directive principle of State policy", declares:

The state shall promote with special care the Education and Economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and the particular, or the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from Social Injustice and all form of Exploitation.¹

¹ The Driective Principle of State Policy, contain in Part IV or the Constitution. are not themselves Justiciable. but the Constitution Prescribes it as "the duty of state to apply these principle in making Laws.

The constitutional preferences and the compensatory discrimination” are extended to a wide array of groups. There are three major classes. First, there are those castes designated as Scheduled castes on the basis of their unsociability, scheduled tribes, (ST) who are distinguished by their tribal culture and physical isolation, and third there are the “backward classes”, a heterogeneous category, varying greatly from state to state, composed for the most part of the castes low in the traditional social hierarchy, but not as low as the SC. Marc Galanter describe, the preference are three basic types: First, there are reservations, which allot or facilitate access to valued position of resources. The most important instances of this types are reserved seats in Legislatures, reservation of posts in government service, and reservation of Place in academic institutions (especially the coveted higher technical and professional colleges). To a Lesser Extent, the reservation device is also used in the distribution of land allotments, housing and other scarce resources. Second, there are programs involving Expenditure or provision of services e.g., scholarship, grant loans, Land allotments, healthcare, legal aid-to a beneficiary group beyond comparable expenditures for others. Third, there are special protections.² These distributive schemes are accompanied by efforts to protect the backward classes for being exploited and victimized.

After Fifty Six year of its implementation in independent India, the overall picture of has not changed since 90% oppressed are still SCs, STs and OBCs and the remaining 10% consisting of the economically deprived from other castes.

Orissa

Orissa is one of the twenty-eight states of Indian union. It was bifurcated from the Bihar and Orissa province and created as a separate provincial on 1st April, 1936. Orissa is situated in the east coastal region of the country. His geographical area is almost 4.74% of India and its population is 36.7 million (2001 census), about 3.57 percent of India population. The population density of the state is 236 person per 59.4m (in 2001), but there is a Sharpe divide between the costal and in Land regions.

² Galanter, Marc (1984) competing equality – Law and backward classes in India. London: University of California Press. pp.43.

The coastal tracts of Balaswar, Cuttack and Puri are cover with deltaic sediment of the Mahanadi, Brahmani and other rivers, formed in recent times, while there is narrow strip of coastal alluvium in Ganjam. Coastal alluvium soil and exceptionlly fertility and highly valuable for agriculture. Orissa high land region comprise seven districts, having a manifest sense of deprivation. The high land is further differentiated between tribal areas non-tribal areas, the latter wielding greater power within the inland region.

Orissa is endowed with rich natural resources in form of vast mineral deposits, forest, fertile land, plentiful surface and ground water resources, long coast line, and pictures que tourist potential. But such resources have not been exploited adequately for income generation activities. As a result Orissa ranks very low among the Indian states in term of per capital income, and it has become one of the poorest states of the country. Large proportions of people in the state have very poor living conditions. As per an estimate among the fifteen major states of India, the position of Orissa with regard to living condition or standard of living is fourteenth.³ As per the Latest Estimates of Planning Commission, Orissa has the highest proportion of population living below the poverty line. Table 1 indicate that in the year 1999-2000, the percent of people living below the poverty line in the state was 47.5, whereas, it was 42.6 percent in case of Bihar.

³ Behera, M. and A K: Mitra (1996). The Standard of Living condition of India: An attend towards interregional study. Indian Journal of regional science vol. XXXVIII No.2.

Table 1
Percentage of Population Below the poverty Line by Major States in Different Years

State	1973-74		1977-78		1983		1987-88		1993-94			1999-2000		
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined
Andhra Pradesh	48.4	52.6	38.1	46.5	26.5	40.1	20.9	44.6	15.9	38.3	22.2	11.1	26.6	15.8
Assam	52.7	35.7	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.0	7.7	40.3	40.0	7.5	36.1
Bihar	63.0	51.0	63.3	52.2	64.4	50.4	52.6	57.7	58.2	34.5	54.6	44.3	32.9	42.6
Gujarat	46.4	49.3	41.8	43.1	29.8	40.6	28.7	39.6	22.1	27.9	24.2	13.2	15.6	14.1
Haryana	34.2	39.6	27.7	36.2	20.6	23.5	16.2	17.8	28.0	16.4	26.1	8.3	10.0	8.7
Himachal Pradesh	27.4	13.2	33.5	19.5	17.0	9.3	16.3	6.2	30.3	9.2	23.4	7.9	4.6	7.6
Jammu & Kashmir	45.5	30.4	42.9	31.9	26.0	17.1	25.7	14.8	30.3	9.2	25.4	4.0	2.0	3.5
Karnataka	55.1	52.0	48.2	52.9	36.3	43.4	32.8	49.1	29.9	40.1	33.2	17.4	25.3	20.0
Kerala	59.2	62.2	51.5	59.5	39.0	48.7	29.1	43.4	25.8	24.6	25.4	9.4	20.3	12.7
Madhya Pradesh	62.7	58.3	62.5	62.1	48.9	54.6	41.9	48.2	40.6	48.3	42.5	37.1	38.4	37.4
Maharashtra	57.7	43.0	64.0	40.6	45.2	40.6	40.8	39.0	37.9	35.2	36.4	23.7	26.8	25.0
Manipur	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	38.7	40.0	7.5	28.5
Meghalaya	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	37.3	40.0	7.5	33.9

Orissa	67.3	56.3	72.4	53.6	67.5	50.6	57.6	44.1	49.7	41.6	48.6	48.0	42.8	47.2
Punjab	28.2	27.7	16.4	27.6	13.2	23.9	12.6	12.9	11.9	11.4	11.8	6.4	5.8	6.2
Rajasthan	44.8	53.2	35.9	46.4	33.5	40.4	33.2	39.0	26.5	30.5	27.5	13.7	19.9	15.3
Tamil Nadu	57.4	54.5	57.7	53.2	54.0	49.2	45.8	43.9	32.5	39.8	35.3	20.6	22.1	21.1
Tripura	52.7	37.2	59.8	37.6	42.6	26.4	39.4	17.3	45.1	7.7	38.0	40.0	7.5	34.4
Uttar Pradesh	56.4	59.35	47.6	57.1	46.5	50.3	41.1	45.2	42.3	35.4	40.4	31.2	30.9	31.2
West Bengal	73.2	34.5	68.3	38.7	63.1	32.2	48.3	32.8	40.8	22.4	35.6	31.9	14.9	27.0
All India	56.4	49.2	53.1	47.4	45.6	42.2	39.1	40.1	37.3	32.4	35.9	27.1	23.6	26.1

Climatic crises like flood, cyclone, drought, etc. cause a lot of damage to properties in an economy. This form of important reasons for the high incidence of poverty in the economy where such crises occur regularly. Orissa is found to be one of the organic agrarian states of India where the flood, cyclones droughts occur frequently. In Orissa the poverty has two spatial aspects. Firstly, poverty in Orissa as overwhelmingly a rural phenomenon. Secondly, there are very significant regional and social group differences of poverty within Orissa. This is brought out by the NSS region wise and social group wise estimates of poverty. As can be seen Table 2.

Table 2

Region wise and social group-wise incident of poverty, rural Orissa, 1999-2000

Region	Social Group			
	ST	SC	Others	All
Coastal	66.63	42.18	24.32	31.74
Northern	61.69	57.22	34.67	49.81
Southern	92.42	88.90	77.65	87.05
Orissa	73.08	52.30	33.29	48.01

Note: (i) The estimate of poverty ratio of ST, SC at level OU NSS region are based very small samples.

Source: Human development report of Orissa.

Orissa is an agriculture based state, agricultural production is characterized by small and middle peasant agriculture. Pre-capitalist relations are evident in the various forms of tenancy and the practical of bonded Labour, and in some areas large land lord control land. Orissa industrial economic contributes to capitalistic development at the all India level while very few capitalists based in Orissa.

Orissa is a Hindu religion dominated state where near about 95% were Hindu, and near about 3 per cent Muslim and other 2 per cent were Christians and Jains. Orissa is more or less one language despite many tribal dialects, more than 90% of the population having Oriya of their mother tong.

Scheduled Caste in Orissa

The scheduled caste populations are very backward because of their tradition bound nature, ignorance, illiteracy, lack of awareness, dwelling in the inaccessible areas, etc. As a result most of them have very poor living conditions. They are unable to afford the bundle of goods and services including food, education and health, which are necessary for minimum existence. The SC households being disadvantage have a considerably higher incidence of poverty than other groups. Scheduled caste consist 16.50% to the total population of the state, in the four census, i.e., 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001, the percent of Scheduled Caste population was more or less same table 3 indicate that the percent of SC population of the total population of the state.

Table 3

Caste –wise percentage distribution of population in Orissa and India 1971 to 2001

Caste	1971	1981	1991	2001
Orissa				
Scheduled Casts (SC)	15.09	14.66	16.20	16.50
Scheduled Tribes (ST)	23.11	22.43	22.21	22.10
Others	61.80	62.91	61.59	61.40
India				
Scheduled Casts (SC)	14.60	15.75	16.33	
Scheduled Tribes (ST)	6.94	7.76	8.01	
Others	78.46	76.49	75.66	

Sources: Statistical abstract from Orissa(2004)

According to 2001 census report, Scheduled Caste constitutes 16.50 per cent to the total population of the state, and consisting 93 different sub castes. Out of themes, Dhobi, Dombo, Panos, and Gondas consisting high percentage of population. Table 4 shows that the ten measure subcastes consisting 15.9 per cent total population of scheduled caste of the state.

Table 4

Major sub-castes of Scheduled Caste in Orissa

Caste	Person	% of SC to total SC population
Bauri	3.36.278	8.66
Bhoi	69.545	1.79
Chamar	1.09.576	2.83
Dhobi	1.48.383	10.82
Mombo	4.27.078	11.04
Gonda	1.48.956	10.83
Gokha	1.16.226	3.00
Kondra	3.16.367	8.18
Panos	8.06.514	20.86
Khadal	51.055	1.32
Orissa	38.78.900	15.09

Sources: Census of India 1981 serial 16, Par 1 x (i) Table SC pp.4-72)

Social Condition of SC

Literacy – Literacy rate is one of the important indicators for determining the living condition of the people. The literacy rate in Orissa is found to be not satisfactory. As per 2001 census, the literary rate of Orissa is 63.61 per cent as against 65.38 per cent at all India level.

There are sufficient evident of inter-state, inter-district inequality in education in India. Despite the recommendation of Education Commission 91964-66), new Education Polity (1986), Evaluation Education Polity (1992) to remove in equality between male and female, between different social groups of population, between rural and urban areas. Since the inequality in found to more serious in rural areas within backwards population like, SCs and STs. For Orissa the literary rate or scheduled caste in 2001 is 40.3 per cent, in Table 5 it is observed that the literacy rate have improved in successive censuses under discussion irrespective of cast and sex both in Orissa and India. The sex-wise aggregate literate rate were found to be more in India compared to that in Orissa. But, the different compared to that in Orissa. But, the different between the literacy rate of Orissa and India was marginal. Further the literacy rate of scheduled caste population in Orissa is found to be considerably high in the last census (2001).

Table 5**Caste and Sex-wise Literacy Rates (in per cent) in Orissa and India 1971 to 1991 Census Years**

Caste	1971			1981			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Orissa									
Scheduled Caste	25.98	5.17	15.61	35.26	9.40	22.41	43.03	17.03	30.19
Scheduled Tribes	16.38	2.58	9.46	23.27	4.76	13.96	27.93	8.29	
General	49.35	20.37	35.02	58.15	29.84	46.03	63.50	39.54	51.77
Total	38.30	13.92	26.18	47.09	21.12	35.37	52.41	28.83	40.80
India									
Scheduled Caste	22.21	6.34	14.54	31.12	10.93	21.38	40.24	19.03	30.07
Scheduled Tribes	17.09	4.58	10.89	24.52	8.04	16.35	32.50	14.50	23.63
General	44.68	22.31	34.59	52.35	29.43	41.30	57.59	36.98	47.69
Total	39.52	18.70	29.48	46.39	24.82	36.23	52.74	32.17	42.84

Note: Literacy rates have been calculated on the basis of no. of literates and total population.

Source: Office of the Census of India, Directorate of Census Operations, Bhubaneswar.

In Orissa the rural social structure constitutes three distinct groups – the upper, upper middle and the Lower serving SCs. Among three groups again the Education distance has still more increased between the first two clusters as one group and third as other group. The upper group has gain given birth to a new rural middle class, over much wider base which has been successful in taking the advantage of new institution such as school, college, vocational training centers and other avenues of development created after independence. Spread of education has helped this new middle class to improve their economic and social status. However the spread of education among the lower castes the SCs is still under effective cheek.

Enrolment and Dropout Ratio of Scheduled Caste

Post –independence, there has been an explosion in school enrolment in Orissa and other state of India. In Orissa, the number of Scheduled cast students in primary education system increased over 19 times between 1947-48 and 2003-04. In case of primary education, the gross enrolment ratio among scheduled caste increased from 77.5 per cent in 1980-81 to 132.9 per cent in 1990-91, but declined to 115.1 per cent in 1999-2000. (Table 6)

Table 6

Gross enrolment Ratio among SCs in Elementary Education.

Year	Primary			Upper Primary		
	Boys	Girls	All	Boys	Girls	All
1980-81	99.2	54.8	77.5	28.2	8.5	18.4
1999-2000	139.8	90.0	115.1	68.2	42.8	55.6

Sources: Government of India selected Educational Statistics, Department of Education, and New Delhi in Orissa 'Human Development Report' 2004.

In Orissa the drop out rate is found very high. It was 34.7 per cent at primary levels and 59.0 per cent at upper primary level in the year 2002-03 (Table 7). The dropout rate is marginally higher in cash or scheduled caste and scheduled tribe, among the scheduled caste the drop out rate both in primary is 53.4 percent) and upper primary education (64.5 per cent) in 2002-03 (Table 7).

Table 7

Social Group-wise Dropout Rates of Students in Primary and Upper Primary State in different years in Orissa (per cent)

Year		Primary			Upper Primary		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1973	All Children	75.3	81.1	77.5	84.2	90.2	86.6
	SC	83.2	90.3	85.7	-	-	-
	ST	90.6	96.1	92.0	-	-	-
1986	All Children	40.3	47.7	52.9	65.4	73.7	69.0
	SC	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ST	-	-	-	-	-	-
1993-94	All Children	57.1	52.1	55.1	62.6	59.6	66.2
	SC	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ST	-	-	-	-	-	-
1995-06	All Children	51.1	52.4	51.6	61.6	72.8	67.2
	SC	52.2	60.8	55.8	70.5	81.7	75.4
	ST	67.8	74.7	70.2	79.0	84.6	81.2
1996-97	All Children	44.9	51.1	47.6	56.0	66.0	59.6
	SC	51.9	60.1	55.4	70.0	81.2	75.0
	ST	67.1	74.1	69.9	28.7	84.2	80.0
1997-98	All Children	44.2	50.5	47.0	55.2	64.7	59.1
	SC	57.2	59.7	54.9	51.4	72.1	60.6
	ST	63.4	71.3	68.7	73.5	79.7	76.0
1998-99	All Children	44.0	42.4	45.6	59.0	64.0	55.0
	SC	51.2	55.7	52.9	50.3	70.6	59.4
	ST	63.1	68.3	65.0	72.0	78.1	74.5
1999-2000	All Children	43.5	42.2	43.0	53.6	63.8	57.7
	SC	51.0	54.9	52.5	50.0	70.2	59.0
	ST	63.0	67.9	64.7	71.7	78.0	74.0
2000-01	All Children	42.3	41.4	41.8	52.9	61.1	57.0
	SC	50.5	59.3	52.1	48.7	69.7	58.6
	ST	61.7	66.5	63.4	70.9	77.1	73.2
2001-02	All Children	42.0	40.0	41.0	52.0	60.5	56.0
	SC	50.0	52.0	51.0	49.0	68.0	58.0
	ST	61.0	65.0	63.0	70.0	76.0	73.0
2002-03	All Children	32.3	36.5	34.7	57.7	60.5	59.0
	SC	35.8	38.7	37.3	62.0	67.0	59.0
	ST	49.3	57.4	53.4	75.0	80.3	77.0

Source: Directorate of Elementary Education, government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar.

The rate of non enrolment and dropout are more worrying since these are much higher than the rate of repetition.

The important factors responsible for the high dropouts rate of children belongs to SC and ST are (i) poverty, (ii) high incidence of illiteracy of the parents, (iii) high opportunity cost of these children (iv) socio-cultural barriers (v) poor health and nutritional status of the children, and (vi) lack of basic infrastructure in school.⁴

There are many causes which block the spread of education among the SC in the state. According to Sushama Barik, (i) It is deficient to build up genuine motivation for education imparted both in schools and adult education programmes; (2) little effort is made to relate education to the day to day needs and problems of people's life. (3) The cost of education also matter. Fee in elementary and secondary schools were nominal, but the poor SC could not effort even these along with the additional cost of text book and stationary. (4) Sending a child to school often meant his dissociation from work of productive nature or form of possible wages he could earn. (5) and finally, the lack of social well is responsible for blocking the spread of education among the SCs.⁵

Social Position of SCs

Scheduled caste population has been dispersed all over the state. Scheduled caste people lives in village and town along with the Hindus. They form a separate special category within the society. Though there is social segregation, the SCs have Hindu customs, usages and religious practices. Most of the SC believe in Jagannath cultures, and practic Hindu religion. After Christian

⁴ Orissa Human Development Report, 2004, Govt. of Orissa, Bhubaneswar, p.116.

⁵ Barik, Sushama, 1997. Education and Economic development of Scheduled Castes: the Cste of Orissa. Kurukhetra, Sept., pp.20.

missionaries active in Western part of the Orissa, some SCs have converted to Christian due to the Economic benefit from missionaries.

Traditionally scheduled castes in Orissa was socially backward 'Mohanty' says that Sudra were Hindvised tribals who provide various kind of service to higher caste and accepted the rituals and norms of the Brahminical order.⁶ The *Antyajias*, who were also, know as ati-sudras were those service groups who mainly performed scavenging and cremation duties. Brahmanism declined them untouchables. In Orissa they were the Hadi, Chandal and damo, pana, Kandra, bauri with the growth of their population they took of other jobs as well, as by nineteenth century, they had became land less agricultural labours bonded to various landlords' families.⁷

In colonial India, the movement against untouchability and upliftment depressed classes, the Gandhian programmed played a significant role in Orissa. In Orissa after the conclusion of the Poona pact (1932) the tempos of the anti-unsociability movement initiated by Gandhi was carried on with great zeal and enthusiasm. An anti unsociability committee consisting of 28 representative from different districts of Orissa was formed at Cuttack.⁸

The weaker sectors of the population especially the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes continue to suffer from various types of atrocities and harassment even today. Recently in Kendrapara district of Orissa, some scheduled caste women has been beaten by upper caste women, because they were entered in to a temple for worship, in puri district another incident has been occurred during a

⁶ Mohanty, Monoranjan. (1990), Class, caste and dominance in a backward states: Orissa, in Francine R. Franckle and M.S.,A. Rao (eds.) Dominance and state power in modern India: Decline of a Social Order (vol.2), New Delhi OUP, p.328.

⁷ I&b1, p.329.

⁸ Sharma, Bina Kumari. (1998), Social uplift of Depressed classes: A Gandhian experiment in Orissa. Gandhian perspectives., Vol. XI, no.1&2, p.84.

scheduled caste lady riding cycle, the upper caste people thought that, it is the insult to them.

The year-wise and crime-wise data relating to atrocities on scheduled castes of Orissa has been given in table 8. The data relates to the period 'between' 1981-1986.

Table 8

Statement showing the number of IPC crimes against the members of Scheduled castes in Orissa during 1981-1986

Nature of Crimes	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	Total
Murder	5	10	9	8	1	4	37
Grievious Hurt	11	16	16	13	19	8	83
Rape	7	11	7	9	12	8	54
Arson	11	13	10	12	10	17	73
Other offences	36	100	105	108	117	146	622
Total	80	150	147	150	159	183	869

Sources: Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Caste and Schdeuled Tribes, Twenty eighth Report, 1986-87, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1988, pp.243 - 247.

The above table-8 reveals that the number of crimes registered against scheduled castes 'between' the period 1981-88 in Orissa was 869 and the number increased from 80 in 1981 to 183 in 1986.

Nutritional status and Infant Mortality

Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribes people suffer from anemia more than other castes. The percentage of SCs people suffering from severe anemia is very high both in urban (2.6 percent) and rural (2.4 per cent) areas,⁹ According to Human development report of Orissa state, regarding knowledge about diarrhea care, moment healthcare and other health problem, relatively very low. In Orissa the infant mortality rate of SCs and STs is much higher than that of India. The infant mortality rate of Orissa was 98 as against 72 in case of India.

Economic Condition

The life and economic of the Scheduled caste people of Orissa were fully integrated with their traditional occupation, and agriculture. Traditional occupation, like, Fishing, washing the cloth, weaving, etc. Most of the scheduled castes work as agricultural Labour or casual wage Labour in urban areas. They often have smaller land holding or less productive plots of land. Average cultivatable land holdings as (table-9) shows, in Orissa are relatively small. Particularly in coastal areas, Scheduled castes are particularly badly off, with average land holding, but these are likely to be in marginal areas, and not irrigated.

⁹ Human Development Report (2004), Orissa State. Bhubaneswar. p.53.

Table 9
Average Cultivating Land holding 1999-2000
(In hectares)

Social groups	India	Orissa	Coastal	Southern	Northern
ST	0.80	0.60	0.52	0.71	0.55
SC	0.31	0.37	0.29	0.44	0.32
OBC	0.72	0.58	0.46	0.63	0.70
Others	0.98	0.55	0.51	0.54	0.71

Source: Official NSS data, as calculated by Amresh Dubey

According to a survey by the Harijan and tribal research and training institute (HTRTI) 8.14% of the scheduled caste families are without sector and home steer land. There are some SCs families who have shelter but do not have home land under the Indira Awas Yojana some houses were constructed for the scheduled caste families. But because of the lack of maintenance many of them soon dilapidated and were abandoned. According to 2001 census, house occupied by scheduled caste house hold 25, 19.64% permanent, 21.86% semi permanence 58.68% temporary. The condition of house hold of SC householder is 15.62% good, 68.25% likable, 16.13% Dilapidated. The household size of the SCs house hold is very miserable.

The incident of poverty of social groups in Orissa shows that there was higher concentration of poverty among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes population both in rural and urban areas, which can be seen from table-10. As elsewhere in India, the poverty incidence of SCs (55 per cent) and (72 per cent) of STs are well above that of other groups (33 per cent), in Orissa SC having (52.30 per cent) below poverty line.

Table 10
Social group wise incident of poverty in Orissa, 1999-2000

Social group			
ST	SC	Others	All
66.63	42.18	24.32	31.74

Source: Arjan de Haan and Amresh Dubey (2003) Poverty in Orissa

Low agricultural output, seasonal unemployment, continued to be responsible for poverty in Orissa. Since the scheduled caste was usually engaged in agriculture they suffered the most. Another important thing is that in the name of development. Policies like, lease of land policy create occupational displacement for that many SCs people lost their traditional occupation. In 1991 lease policy in Chilika lost thousand of livelihood of the Fisherman.

The Census (2001) description of the proportion of work participation rate of scheduled caste 439.3 per cent. An examination of the civil list of 1980 shows there were there were 47 Brahmans, 29 Karans and 14 Khandayats in the IAS Orissa cadres. Scheduled caste and rest shared five posts each among the Oriya IAS officers. As similar picture emerges from the Orissa Administrative Service (OAS) Class II officers as many as 247 belong to Brahman, Khandayat, and Khandayat, the remaining 52 were persons coming from SCs, STs and other castes.

Religion and Custom

The relationship between religious identity and the Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has been one of the influences on the political development of

these groups through out modern history of India. The debate surrounding religious identity became highly politicized with the development of communal electorates under the British. The debate between religious identity and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has tended to present a simple dichotomy between strategies of assimilation versus isolation. This position can be illustrated by returning to different approaches to the issue of conversion articulating by Ambedkar and Gandhi. In 1935 Ambedkar, at a conference of the depressed classes at Xeola, declared 'I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu' and the next twenty years explored the possibility of a new religious identity for scheduled castes, a search that culminated in his conversion to Buddhism in 1956. Gandhi strongly opposed the concept of religious conversion, argued that the solution to unsociability would be a change in the attitudes of the caste Hindu.

The member of scheduled castes of Orissa has increased contact with Hindu society and practices and sharing of Hindu religious ceremonies. The Jagannath cult has remained not only the dominant culture of Orissa, but also an instrument of legitimating of dominance by upper castes. Yet even today the Dalit are not allowed entry into the Puri temple. Mohan Nayak, a congress Dalit Leader who has ventured to take a group a group of Dalits in to the temple in 1948, had been beaten up and thrown out by the pandas. The rich folklore surrounding the cult of Jagannath had many stories about untouchable devotees who craved for a glimpse of the lord, so that in response to their intense desire the lord is said to have appeared before them. However, they themselves never got inside the temple premises. There were few other attempts made to provide alternative to Brahmanism. In the middle of the nineteenth century Alekh Swami stated a new cultural movement was popularized by Bhimo Bhoi, a Dalit from the scavenger caste through his devotional song dedicated to 'Sunya' (emptiness). Thousand of Dalits adopted this religion and practiced a new set of non-Brahmanism rituals at

the turn of the century. But its influence remained confined to little parts of Orissa.

Some scheduled castes are vegetarian, some eat meat, other will not. Some festivals are common to everyone and some festivals are concerning particular scheduled caste, but transition tribe (of death, birth, puberty, and so forth) vary in details from one caste to another. Scheduled caste may contract a valid marriage only with women of the same caste, the scheduled caste allow widow remarriage.

Political Consciousness

The growth of political consciousness among dalits at the national level can be noticed between 1917 and 1929, starting from the Montagu-Chemsford reforms, followed by the Franchise committee with Lord Southborough as its chairman. In 1924, as the result of the findings of the Muddiman committee, the representatives of the depressed classes in the Legislative Council were allowed to be nominated to the central Legislative Council.¹⁰ The dalit movement in colonial India was led by Ambedkar on one hand, and Mahatma Gandhi, through the national congress on another hand. Ambedkar's movement for Dalit emancipation did not focus much in Orissa. Gandhian program of the upliftment of the depressed classes played a significant role in Orissa.¹¹

In Orissa after the conclusion of the Poona Pact (1932) the tempo of anti-untouchability initiated by Gandhi was carried on with great zeal and enthusiasm. An anti-untouchability committee constituting 28 representatives from different districts of Orissa was formed at Cuttack¹².

¹⁰ M.C. Rajah of Madras, who had served in Legislative Council, became the first depressed class member in the Central Legislative Council in 1927.

¹¹ See Bina Kumari Sharma, *Social Uplift of Depressed Classes: A Gandhian Experiment in Orissa*.

¹² Sharma, Bina Kumari. *Social Uplift of Depressed Classes: A Gandhian Experiment in Orissa*. Pp84

According to the constitution of all India *Harijan Sevak Sangha*, the Orissa board of the Snagha took up the following task: opening of separate school for untouchable, award of scholarship and stipends, securing to them the right to enter the public Hindu temples, digging separate wells, providing employment, sanitation in the Harijan basic etc.

The freedom movement in Orissa has acquired a mass character in the 1920 under national congress one side, and socialists and communist who were closely lined with various state people's movements and peasant movement in other side. The congress remained the main force in freedom struggle in Orissa, isolating the socialists and communist in small pocket¹³. The scheduled cast and scheduled tribes not actively involved in the pre-independence political activity, although there are a few very notable exception. It is not surprising that the main political parties of Orissa were lead by upper caste educated persons coming mainly from the landlord classes.¹⁴ During colonial period congress activity to organizing scheduled caste and rural masses, many scheduled cast were rally behind the congress, and had taken active participation.¹⁵

. Political consciousness determined through the process of political participation. Political participation can be studied either at quantitative and quantitative levels. These levels involved the type of politics; people participate or get themselves involved in institutional or non-institutional. The quality level can transform into quality level and vice-versa though politicization or participation process i.e., effective political participation leads to share-in-power and consequent rising up social status.¹⁶

¹³ Mohanty, Manoranjan. Caste, Class and Dominace in a backward State: Orissa. Pp342.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp343

¹⁵ Shрма Bina Kumari. Social Uplift of Depressed Classes: A Gandhian Experiment in Orissa. Pp87

¹⁶ Joseph Benjamin. Scheduled Caste in Indian Politics ans Society. Pp163.

Rush and Alford have presented a political participation scale, where they have divided political activities into their hierarchically placed levels (1) non-intuitional activities like voting, general interest, participation in informal political discussion and participating in public meeting. (2) Institutional activities like, involved passive membership of Quasi and passive political organization (3) power sharing activities, like active member of political organization seeking political administrative office. Scheduled caste usually takes more part in (1) and less in (3).¹⁷

After independence constitution encouraged large number of seats reserved for scheduled castes, in the state legislative assembly, the political consciousness and political participation of scheduled caste, actively taking place after independence. Politics of post independence Orissa continued to be dominated by the Brahman-Karan high castes. The most striking is that all these political organizations are led by Brahman and Karan¹⁸. Even though many of them have “decasted” and declassified”, themselves in the process, an autonomous leadership of the working classes and of scheduled castes has not come up as an alternative to upper caste leadership. The scheduled caste association which periodically emerged in the post-independence period, to weld together cognate sub-caste in to effective pressure groups, failed to establish permanent organizational structure. Among them, the Harijan sevak Sangh, with Mohan Nayak as its Leader until his death in 1983, and the Dalit Joti Sangh led by Santanu Kumar Das function as social service organization under congress auspices. The failure of caste association of opposition parties to pave the way for autonomous politicizations of lower castes had facilitated the continuation of upper caste control over major political parties.

¹⁷ See Benjamin, Joseph. Scheduled Caste in Indian Politics and Society.

¹⁸ Mohanty, Manoranjan. Caste, Class and Dominance in a Backward State: Orissa. Pp334

In Orissa, community has a strong influence. Through day-to-day personal contacts, they influence other in matter of decision and opinion formation on a particular issue, the scheduled caste community is not in a position to take any decision. They have always been depending on community leaders to reach on any decision which may vary from family matter to international issue. These leaders are more aware of the requirements of the rural public. In many case, the community leader take this advantage to revolt against the local administrations. The community leaders generally come from a upper social, economic or occupational level, and they have a special respect in the community, they are more informed about political and social issues as compared to other person in the community. At the time of election, the role of community leader is more visible. Because voting behavior of the scheduled castes and other backward classed total depends on the community leaders; who changed there voting intention during the course of campaign. Where the large mass of the SCs were poor, illiterate and not conscious of there identity or interest were ready to follow there leaders.¹⁹

One important aspect of caste politics in Orissa is that the two caste, Brahman and Karan dominate politics. Both Brahmin and Karan politician have strong patron and allies belonging to the prospective caste at the centre, another factor in their favors is that they are generally more cunning, shrewd and diplomatic than other castes people like, SCs and STs and these qualities are of great help in political games. Backward castes like SCs and STs are lacking these qualities. No wonders, very often they easily fall to the traps led for them by Brahmin and Karan politician. Moreover, within the state the Brahmin, Karan politician get strong support from the bureaucrats, and technocrats belonging to their prospective castes, where as due to the socio-economic backwardness the other castes hardly enjoy such advantage.

¹⁹ Pai, Sudha. Electoral reservation for scheduled castes: Quest for Identity through policies.

The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have formed all Orissa organization formed to 'Promote and safe guard' their interest, but these bodies are better know for their ideologies and slogans than for their functions and achievement.²⁰ First they have been more actively in socio-cultural fields than in economic and political fields. Secondly, the respective leaders of these organization have sought to use them for their personal interest, mostly to promote there political ends.

The emergence of democratic political process in India has provided structural institutions. Like, reserved seats in parliament and state legislative assembly, and the increasing importance of local self government. (Panjayat Raj System). The scheduled castes peoples in Orissa are actively take part in companying activities. They are attending public meeting and procession, and some of them are affiliated to political party membership. Some scheduled caste member holding party important positions. Very important things are that they are actively participating in panchayat elections. Political participation within the new constitutional order, which gave them reserved seats, abolished untouchables and promised economic betterment, emerged as a better means for entering the new power structure and obtaining social upliftment than leading a movement against the established social and political order.²¹

To understanding political consciousness of the scheduled caste, its to understand the electoral behavior and political participation of the scheduled castes is very important. Political participation can be divided into three broad categories; they are (A) non institutional activities, (B) institutional activities, and(C) power shairing activities. Social group like scheduled caste usually take

²⁰ Mohanty, Manoranan. Caste, Class and Dominace in a Backward State: Orissa. Pp334

²¹ Pai, Sudha, Electoral reservation for Scheduled Castes: Quest for Identity thourgh politics.

more part in (A) and less in (C).²²The political participation of an individual, caste or community depends on the levels of political consciousness. The level of political consciousness of a society depends in order, on education; occupation and effective political communication. Due to the low level of socio-economic status of scheduled castes in orissa,²³ the political consciousness has been marginalized. News paper, Radio, T.V, Meetins and personal contact, etc. are import channels of communications. In Orissa, the number educated in rural areas is less. Even if they are educated, they all can not afford to subscribe a dally News Paper. because of the low level economic standards. But, last two general elections of 2000 and 2004 saw powerful changes of scheduled caste voters. We observe two election is to our surprise, a different SCs voters who is no longer a 'captive' follower of the congress, these election highlight a new phase in political consciousness, they change their party preference and complex pattern of their voting, and create a new political identity. There overwhelming support to the congress t offered little and impact to reduce their political deprivation. One expression of their frustration and angers and their deprived conditions has been their organized protests movements in state like Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and part of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa etc.²⁴

Voter turnout is another instrument to measure of political consciousness. Before 1980s the voter turnout is Orissa was 50% in general constituencies, and 40% in reserved constituencies. But tremendous change has been seen in last two general elections voting turnout in reserved constituency is above 60%, it is more or less same with General constituencies. In case of scheduled castes reservation, the higher mobilization among scheduled castes when they are voting in reserved

²² Joseph Benjamin. Scheduled caste in Indian politics and society. Pp163

²³ Education and occupation have been analyzed in first section of this chapter.

²⁴ Puspendra, 1999 Dalit Assertion through Electoral politics EPW. Sept.4. p.2609.

constituencies could be linked to the focus that reservation puts on caste status.²⁵ But in General constituency they have also high participation rates, this has to be weighed against other communities in reserved constituencies.²⁶

Reservation in panchayatraj also playing vital role for scheduled castes political consciousness. A key features of the reservation policies that the seat to reserved were randomly allocated, which ensure that, the only difference between reserved and unreserved village is that some of them were picked to be reserved, while some were not. This reservation facilitated active participations of SCs in panchayat elections. Panchayat election as not found in other states, are regular in Orissa. The role of scheduled caste in panchayat election is comfortable because of the rotation of reserved seats. According to Sachta Nanda Satpaty, the last two panchayat election in Orissa has been seen that the scheduled caste people are very actively involved in Panchayatraj system.²⁷

To conclude with the above analysis of socio-economic- condition of scheduled castes presents a context of sectoral change, with the growth of employment in non-agricultural sector. For the scheduled caste the pattern of mobility is not particularly favorable. Within the agricultural sector, the scheduled have been increasingly concentrated in class of land less laborers, and although there has been some cross-sectoral mobility, it has tended to be into the unskilled sector of the non-agricultural classes. The educational mobility has changed with the high increases in the level of education among the all India rate of the scheduled caste population. Though there have been substantial improvement in

²⁵ McMillan, Alistair, *Standing at the Margins: Representation and Electoral reservation in India*. OUP, New Delhi, 2005.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Sachida Nanda Satapathy, *Women empowerment and Panchayat Raj: A Case study from orissa*. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrpt/2001/sa/8230.htm> Accessed on March 13, 2005.

the educational attainment of the scheduled caste, they have not been able to catch up with levels of attainment among other social groups.

In general the situation presented here suggests that changes in the economic environments which have seen a move away from the agricultural sector, a larger professional class emerged and a shift to urban-based employment have provided new opportunity for mobility for scheduled caste. There has been an improvement in level of education and literacy amongst the scheduled caste. Broad social strategies such as job reservation, government programs only affected a very small proportion of scheduled castes.

According to the 2001 census the literacy rate of the SC in Orissa is 40.3 percent as compared to 63.61 percent for the rest. A similar proportion of SCs reside in urban areas as compared to upper castes-18.7 percent of SCs to 29.2 percent reside in urban areas. Out of the total population, 45.4 percent SCs are agricultural labour and only 23.6 percent are cultivators out of the total main workers.

According to official NSS data 1999-2000 the average size of land holding is 0.37 hectares for SCs and 0.58, 0.55 hectares for the OBC and Generals respectively. The social group wise poverty in Orissa suggests that there is acute inequality in poverty. Among the SCs 42.18 percent are below poverty line in case of general category only 24.32 percent are below poverty line.

Chapter-3
Socio-Economic Background of Scheduled Caste Legislators
IN ORISSA: Emerging New Educated Middle Class.

The success of any parliamentary institution depends upon the quality of the legislators who play a vital role in the determining policies and programs of the party in power to which they belong. By and large, it depends on the quality of the leaders who man it. No elected body can play a useful role that too, in the present context in India if the Legislatures whom the electorates elect are not competent and are insensitive to public need and aspiration. After all the electorate judges what these Legislatures actually do during their term of office. Further it also depends upon the goals of the state. To day the governments want to achieve the economic growth and while achieving this growth it also want to secure social Justice to the people. In this connection the socio-economic and political background of the legislature are important. A study of this kind would throw some light on the nature of the leadership, which aim turn would be determined by looking to their age, Sex, Caste, occupation, income, education and party affiliation etc. All thus these characteristics not only help in the formulation of aptitudes and perception but also influence the behavioral pattern of the members.

The present chapter makes an attempt to understand the socio-economic background of scheduled caste legislator of the Orissa legislative assembly. The Data for the study was collected by Affidavits submitted by candidates, personal interview e.g. members informally, and Who's Who published by the State Legislative Assembly Secretariat due to shortage of time and incumincy factor, I interviewed very few members.

The total membership of the then Orissa legislative assembly is 147. It is a unicameral legislature out of 147 seats of the legislative assembly, 22 are reserved for scheduled caste, and 33 for scheduled tribe. This study only focuses on scheduled caste member's socio-economic background to understand their political understanding and policy formulating capacities. Out of 22 scheduled caste members, it has taken only 4 members as a sample study. Their responses have been taken in order to analyze their socio-economic, educational, and political background. The following analysis will throw some light on the nature of the leadership and their present role in legislature.

Education:

Educational qualifications have a great impact on the behavior pattern of the members. Adequately educated members are likely to possess the qualities of confidence, courage, initiative, drive and understanding and may prove better leader than semi-literate or illiterate persons. The educational levels of scheduled castes legislator in reserved seats in Orissa is neither very high nor very low. The analysis of the Data given by the candidate at the time of nominations through the affidavits clearly shows in Table-1 that, out of 22 members, 4 of them are post-graduates (18.2%), and 15 of them are graduate (68.2%). Those who received college education without any university degree constitute about 9.1% percentage, only a single member having under metric qualification, constitute about 4.5 percentages. On the whole we find that nearly 96 percent of the members possess the required qualification to enable them to discharge their duties and responsibilities as legislators which is highly appreciable, out of total members, it is found that nearly 36.6% having L.LB as an extra professional Education. It is also found that candidate elected from scheduled caste reserved seats is more or less same educational level, with compare to member elected from general seats.

Table-1 : Educational Qualification of the SCs legislator

Edn Qualification	Number	Percentage
Post Graduate	4	18.2%
Graduate	15	68.2%
Secondary	2	9.10%
Higher	1	4.5%
Total	22	100%

Source- orissa lesislative assembly, Bhubaneswar.

Social Background:

The place of birth seems to be an important factor for getting elected to legislature. According to the candidate's profile,¹ nearly 82 percent of members were born and brought up in the constituencies from which they have been elected; about 12% were born and brought up in the district, and elected from one of the constituencies in the district other than their place of birth. Nearly 6 percent of the member was elected from the constituency located outside the district in which they were born. This clearly shows that mostly resident of the constituency were elected to the legislature. Regarding age, all the world constitution require the attainment of a certain age by the representative of a certain age for reasons of experience and knowledge necessary to a successful discharge of legislative duties which are not likely to possessed by minors. However, in India 25 years as given for the minimum age to become a state legislator. In Orissa out of 22 reserved seats for scheduled caste, (Table-2) four member having above 60 age (18.2 percent), Eight member belong to 51-60 age groups (36.3 percent), five members belongs to 41-50 age group (22.7 percent), Five Member belongs to 30-40 age group (22.7 percent). There is no one below the age group of 30s. The data shows that maximum numbers are belong to old age groups.

Table-1: Age wise distribution of scheduled caste legislator.

Age Group	Number	Percentage
Aged (30-40)	5	22.73
Aged(41-50)	5	22.73%
Aged(51-60)	8	36.36%
Aged(Above 60)	4	18.18%
Total	22	100%

Source-Orissa legislative Assembly, Bhubaneswar.

¹ In legislative assembly, the candidates summated their member profile.

Regarding marital status and size of the family, almost all 22 members belongs to Scheduled caste were married. Member have generally maintained the size of their families about 55 percent of the members have got children from 1 to 3, 39 percent more than 5 children. The small size of their families is due to the increasing realization for the need of a planned family amongst them. It is perhaps also due to the fact that the government has created considerable awareness among the people of the state to plain their families

Religion and Caste both were important factor, in Orissa mostly scheduled castes were belongs to Hindu religion. Some scheduled cast converted to other religion. It is important to examine that whether they are in legislator or not out of 22 scheduled caste members, all mention 'Hindu' as their religion. The religion of a person is neither a qualification nor a disqualification to get elected to the legislature.

The caste background continues to play a very important part in state politics. As scheduled caste general but particular sub-caste is important to understand the representative politics. Mostly scheduled caste legislator belong to Dhobi, Pano, Gokha, Kaibarta, and Domo, rest of the sub-caste has less representative in compare with them. Orissa has 62 scheduled castes sub-castes.

Sex is an important issue in Indian politics. The Women representation in politics is very much essential, because near about 50 percent are belong to women in our society. Now India has taken women reservation bill to the parliament. To keep in this to mind, the Orissa has not ensured much women candidate as legislator. Table 1 shows that the total number of women candidate elected as general and scheduled caste women elected as particular; previously there are no SC women candidate elected as Legislator. But in 2000 and 2004 General election shows that 3 and 2 respectively elected from the reserved seats entail for scheduled castes. (Table-3)

Table-3. Sex wise elected SCs legislator

General Election	Total Seats	Total Women	SC Women
1980	147	5	Nil
1985	147	8	Nil
1990	147	9	2
1995	147	10	Nil
2000	147	14	3
2004	147	12	2

Sources: Orissa Legislative Assembly, Bhubaneswar.

Economic Position:

Economic is one of the important criteria not any to determine the social status of a member but also to enable him to play his useful role as a legislator, the basis of the information furnished by the member at the time of nomination through the affidavit.² It can be concluded that the most of the legislator have agricultural land, and they have got regular income from agriculture. The legislator whose, agriculture land has been evaluated by the government, in terms of money (value price). Out of 22 legislators 3 do not own agricultural land. Four legislators were found below 1 lakh income, and ten legislators have more than one lacks and below five lakh, and four legislators have above five lakh.

Regarding occupation the data demonstrate that agriculture and legal profession to be the main profession of the half of the legislators. Three legislator's mention that they were government servants and some mention politics as their profession. Thus the

² All the members of the legislative assembly summated their property amount and assets through the affidavit at the time of nomination.

analysis amply shows that agriculturalist and the lawyer from a predominant position occupy most of the seats in the legislature.

Table-4:
Occupation/Profession Pattern of SCs Legislator

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	5	22.73%
Politics/social service	9	40.91%
Advocate	5	22.73%
Govt. servant	3	13.63%
Others	0	0%
Totals	22	100%

Source-Orissa legislative assembly, Bhubaneswar

Table-5: Land Holding And income (Annual Income)

Land in Acres	Number	Evaluation of land in terms of money (value price)
Land less	3	00,000
Below One Acre	3	Below one lakh
1.5 -5.0 Acre	4	One lakh to
5.5-10.0 Acres	3	Five lakh
Above ten Acres	5	Above five lakh

Source-candidates affidavit. Election commission of India,Orisa.

Orissa scheduled castes are considered one of the poorest groups in the country. But three politicians are certainly rich, if one would go by the affidavits filed by the candidates for the assembly elections in the state. Out of 22 scheduled caste members more than half are "Lakhpati". These men of lakhs belong to all major political parties. So far as 'Lakhpati' candidates are concerned, many of them own assets and properties both inside and outside the state. They included buildings, flats, agricultural land besides bank balances, gold ornaments and shares in different companies, etc.³

Political

With the role as representative in political institutions. It provides a pre-existing political experience of scheduled caste legislator has a greater relevance picture about SCs leaders of the legislative assembly. The outlook and of the member towards various problems confronting the state are to a very large extent determined by their political affiliation and political experience. The position of the party affiliations of 22 scheduled caste legislator shows that, twelve of the members belongs to B.J.D. followed by 6 of the member belongs to congress and rest four belongs to B.J.P.(Table-6).

Table-6 Party Affiliation of SC legislator.

Political party	Numbers of seats	Percentage
Congress	6	27.28%
BJP	4	18.18%
BJD	12	54.54%
Total	22	100%

Source- Whos Who Orissa legislative assembly, Bhubaneswar.

However, the legislators have all taken keen interest in party work, and actively involved in student politics. Regarding the previous experience of the member in local

³ The assets declared by some of the crorepati politicians have already become talk of the entire state after the state election office made them public as per the directive of the Election Commission.

bodies. The data pertaining to the member experience in the legislature reveals (Table-7) that, five of them have four term experience, six members have three time experience, five of them have two times experience. Only six of them have become members for first time. This shows that members with legislative experience are in big majority in the legislature. Regarding the understanding of politics, many of them had taken active participation in politics during their student life. According to their profile out of 22 scheduled caste legislatures, three of them became the student union president through the major political student organization, and some of them were with party organization. Candidates Profile has given many scheduled caste a greater understanding of the workings of politics, in particular the importance of political parties. Netranada Mallik is a Congress-I member of the Chandabali reserved constituency, a senior party member and three times M.L.A from congress ticket from Chandabali reserved constituency. He says that, the party bureaucracy (at the State level) usually controls its members in the constituencies. Without the party, no one else would be able to control them. The party functionaries and the leaders are well-informed of the activities of the members, and they take some care to see that they function in such a way as not to jeopardise the outcome of elections.⁴Pramila Malik is a Scheduled Caste member and belonged to the Biju Janatadal. She says 'that the influence of the political parties is such that now....*persons from deprived groups have a better chance of being elected members. Earlier, only persons with money and of the upper castes could be elected to any position of importance*'⁵.

Table-7

⁴ An interview was taken place during my field study, to know whether the scheduled caste legislature has independent opinion or bind by party bosses.

⁵ Pramila Malik is currently serving as minister of Orissa govt. She is the only scheduled caste women candidates who is holding ministries.

Political Experience of SC Legislators.

Political experience (in terms)	Number	Percentage
New member	6	27.27%
Two times	5	22.73%
Three times	6	27.27%
Four times	5	22.73
Total	22	100%

Source- whos who Orissa legislative assembly, Bhubaneswar.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND THE ROLE OF SCHEDULED CASTE MEMBER

Out of twenty-two elected scheduled caste leaders, all of them contested election with ruling party support like Congress (6), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) (4), and Biju Janata Dal (BJD) (12) and won by a comfortable margin defeating their nearest rival from opposition camp. The average expenditure for election per candidate was Rs15, 0000. According to three elected leaders, they won election as they were aquatinted to that constituency since birth itself⁶. The principle of inducting reserved seats for scheduled castes through affirmative action in parliament and state legislature raises two basic questions. The first is the question of their capacity to effectively represent interest of their community and second more specifically, their capacity to conceptualize and effectively represent the interest of the general community. In interviews, the most basic

⁶ Information about this fact was given by three elected scheduled caste member, whom I meet during my field study.

problem with political efficacy appear to be handicaps which are typical in low income, rural settings but which are compounded in the case of women..

In the examination of the task of elected member from scheduled caste reserved constituencies in assembly, the dilemma is whether the representative should work merely for the problems and improvement of their community or whether they would stand for the electorate comprising all the community. When I met, Jayadev Jena, he asserted that they were not in favour of exclusive scheduled caste issue or cause; they rather tried to work for collective interest of the whole constituency.⁷

The effect of reservation of seats on the quality of representation is even more difficult to assess. How well served are the resident of the reserved constituency? And apart from them how well served are the members of scheduled castes, who reside the outside reserved constituencies? In what sense do the reserved seats Legislatures represent them? Does the presence of their fellows in reserved seats assure that they are better served by their own representatives? Finally is the nation as a whole well served by the Legislatures? What effect do they have on the working of the Legislatures?

Studies of type of representative elected to the legislatures from reserved constituencies and their legislative behavior have tended to focus on the socio-economic characteristics of those returned from reserved constituencies and they extend to which they actually represent the wider communities of backward castes. From a hand-full previous study we may draw a composite portrait of the member of legislative assembly who occupy reserved seats.

Members elected from reserved constituencies have tended to have different backgrounds to those elected from General seats. In two studies from the 1970s, Narayana (1974 and 1978) show that the members elected from reserved constituencies have tended to be younger, less well educated and with less previous legislative or parliamentary experience than those elected from general constituencies. There is also

⁷ Jayadev Jena is now Pradesh Congress Committee president of Orissa, he is elected from Ananda Pur reserved constituency.

different occupational profile, with more members elected from reserved seats from agricultural backgrounds.⁸ Zoya Hasan notes that in Uttar Pradesh MLAs from reserved Scheduled Caste constituencies were unrepresentative of scheduled caste in the state in terms of occupation. Only 3 percentages of MLAs being agricultural labours compared to over half of the scheduled caste population.⁹ In terms of Legislative behavior, the limited evidence from legislative studies suggest that representative from both scheduled caste and scheduled tribe constituencies were relative inactive in terms of participation in debates, and were under represented on committees and in terms of profit holding.

Studies of the social background of legislators from scheduled caste reserved constituencies appear to have a dual and some what conflicting agenda on the one hand, there is a focus on the contrast and similarity between members from reserved and general constituencies, and other a focus on the differences between the representatives of reserved constituencies and those groups they are proposed to represent.

Hence whilst Narayan describes a move towards homogeneity among Indian political elite, he also highlight the fact that scheduled caste members have a social background different from that of the population which they represent.¹⁰ For Gopal guru, the electoral reservation for scheduled caste entail the selection of legislators from a 'bourgeoisified microscopic middle class' The ability of legislators from reserved constituencies to use the trapping of power leads to further dissociation from the masses whom they are mean to represent.¹¹

From a handful of previous studies we may draw a composite portrait of the member of legislative assembly who occupy the reserved seats.¹² They are younger and more rural in residence than their below legislator; Fewer have professions, other than land holding and they have less formal education. The median of reserved seats MLA is

⁸ Narayan, G (1978), Social background of Scheduled caste Lok Sabha Members, p. 1608.

⁹ Hasan, Zoya (1989), Power and Mobilisation: Pattern of Resilience and Change in Uttar Pradesh Politics. P.342.

¹⁰ Narayan, G (1978), Social background of scheduled caste Lok Sabyha Members, 1962, EPW 13(37), p.1603

¹¹ Guru, Gopal, (1986) Political Reservation for Scheduled Caste: A Politics of Reformism, in Ram Gopal Sing (ed) The Depressed class in India: Problem and prospects. New Delhi, B.R. Pub. Corp: p.85.

¹² My account is drawn from the previous study on background of scheduled caste legislature in Mark Galanter (1979) Gopal Guru 1986 and Narayan, G. 1978.

in the early forties .It is widely believed that reserved seats candidates are less articulate, less assertive less independent than there follow.

Reserved seats legislator as we noted before are younger, less educated, less professional and less experienced. Previous chapter we have been that the socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste people in General, Orissa is particular has been increasing, and due to the effects of reservation, the political consciousness all increasing among the SCs peoples. But our study is on Orissa scheduled caste legislature. In Orissa the last general election took place in 2004 for legislative assembly. The most important things are that, the qualitative changes had occurred in reserved seats. In terms or education, profession, and more politicized, than it were previous. Previously in this chapter supplies some evidence for the view that reserved seat holder were educated and holding some short of profession. Most striking is that their political experience. Previously they were less active in legislature, less political experience and less holding party office. But in 2004 General Election those who were elected they were different from previous. According to the candidates profile of the reserved seat legislature, out of 22 legislatures, near about half of them holding various committee members. Before elected as a legislator out of 22 members all of them were in various party office, bearer at state level, district level and Jonal level most of them participated in Student politics also. In case of holding ministries; an analysis of member of ministries by caste table-8 show that “between”1952-1967 there was only one minister from scheduled caste. “Between” 1971 to 1980 there were two or some times three ministers. But after 1985 the number of ministries of scheduled caste increasing. After 2004 General Election out of 22 ministers 4 were scheduled caste.

Table 1 Analysis of membership of SCs ministries in Orissa, 1952-2004

Year	SCs	STs	Others	Totas
1952	1	1	11	13
1957	1	2	9	12
1961	1	3	10	13
1967	2	5	12	19
1971	3	9	14	26
1974	3	3	12	18
1977	1	4	10	15
1980	2	2	15	19
1985	4	2	11	17
1990	4	4	13	21
1995	4	3	13	20
2000	3	4	14	21
2004	4	3	15	22

Source-Whos and Who, Orissa Legislative Assemblies

Out of 4 in 2004, 3 occupied cabinet ranks. Forth more there presence in such members provides a quantitative basis for scheduled caste participation in leadership at the cabinet level. Unlikely that there would be many persons these groups, holding various party position. Now in Orissa, the main opposition in congress party, after debt of 2004 General Election, congress also appointed a scheduled caste member as Orissa Pradesh

Congress committee” president.¹³ In Orissa have accepted the patronage of the congress government and have given their vote to the congress party in return. The scheduled caste leaders who have given congress ticket in reserved constituencies are non-militant and have no power in the local or state congress organization. But Now Scheduled Caste Member within Congress has occupied various party positions.¹⁴

An analysis of women members by caste Table-1 show that, over all the women MLAs has remained small. But the striving fact is that, there are two scheduled caste women member. Both are coming from well-socio-political background, and one of them included Cabinet rank Ministries.¹⁵ All these changes imparted a structural sustainability to the marco-stratificatory system of a kind it did not have in the past. What was most striving is that all these political organization were led by upper castes. Even many of them have ‘decasted’ and ‘declassed’ them self in the process, an autonomous of the Leadership of the depressed classes has not grown up as an alternative to upper caste leadership.

The analysis of socioeconomic condition of scheduled caste legislator presented here shows that MLAs Elected from reserved constituencies are better up than what were in past. But can they effectively represent the interest of scheduled caste, in which group they are belongs. Thus in order to promote the interest of the scheduled castes, it is depends on the quality of representation afforded by these representative. They quality of representation is even more difficult to assess. Assessment of the quality and effectiveness of representation would afforded by the Examination of the reserved seats legislators voting behavior, their sponsorship of legislation their role in party affairs in the Cabinet and Committees, their participation in questioning and debate and their activities “behind the scenes” No investigator has undertaken such an assessment. Hence we have to attempt to piece together a tentative picture from the fragmentary evidence that is available.

¹³ Jayadev Jena, who is a congress MLA from ‘Ananda pur’ reserved constituency was appointed OPCE President, after congress debated in 2004, General Election.

¹⁴ Ananta Sethi who is also a congress member from ‘Bhandaripokhori reserved constituency, he was member, National Council of Indian Youth congress, General Secretary, Orissa Pradesh Congress committee, and Now vice-president, Orissa Pradesh congress committee.

¹⁵ Pramela Mallik, who is now holding Ministry of child and women development. And Another is Anjali Behera, whose father Late Trinath Nayak elected three Tomer as member of Orissa Legislative.

Whilst those elected from reserved for scheduled castes have a symbolic role in representing these groups, the substantive representative process is dominated by party organization.¹⁶ The scheduled caste reserved seat holders were less active and participated less in debate. This is reflected in Gopal Gurus, withering assessment of the performance of Scheduled caste Legislators, as materially and ideologically dissociated from the masses they are meant to represent, and conditioned in to a passive role within the Legislative system.¹⁷

The scheduled caste moreover, were elevated in electoral importance because of the constitutional provisions for the reservation of seats in state legislature considering their continuing condition of abject poverty, it would otherwise have been difficult for them to with direct participation in state level politics. As it is scheduled castes and scheduled tribes MLAs, at least until the late 1970s, remained passive participant.¹⁸

Nevertheless, all major political parties have been involved in the competition for the votes of their communities over all, until 1970s the Scheduled caste MLAs were less active” in Orissa politics, this mainly due to the following two factors. Firstly, the number of Cabinet Rank posts that they have held so far is much less than that held by upper castes ministers. Secondly, even those few scheduled caste ministers who have been lucky to get Cabinet ranks have rarely been placed in charge of heavy and prestigious department like home, finance, Revenue and education, Further any one of them has seldom been a member of the ‘kitchen Cabinet’ the small body of influential ministers who have the ears of the chief minister in each ministry. Some posts are allotted to the MLAs belonging to scheduled castes not so much in recognition of their genuine claim as to project an impression that they are equal to other and both the congress party and congress government are paying due attention’ to them.¹⁹

For many years, the scheduled caste MLAs because of their low self esteem and low level of efficiency were satisfied with which ever ministerial post were offered to

¹⁶ McMillan, Alistair, 2005, *Standing At the Margins: Representation and Electoral Reservation in India*, OUP, New Delhi, p.296.

¹⁷ Guru, Gopal, 1986, *Political reservation for scheduled castes: A Politics of reformism*, in Ram Gopal Singh (ed.) *the Depressed class in India Prospect and problem*, p.65.

¹⁸ See in, Kar, Bhagaban, 1979, *Role Perception of Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe legislator in post Emergency Orissa Legislature*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Berhampur University.

¹⁹ Baral, J.K. (1986, *Congress Party of Orissa*, in *State encyclopedia (Orissa State)* p.725.

them. But or Late, there seems to have occurred some significant change in their attitude and participations. Some of them protesting against their alleged neglected, by various political parties. It has been reported that almost half ouster rebel congress MLAs who went to New Delhi. In August 1980 with the demand for the Ouster of J.B. Patnaik from office were scheduled caste and scheduled tribe.²⁰

Active Legislator as an indicator of political development The Legislative behavior of Legislator, depends upon their socio-economic back ground, the member of the lower socio-economic strata in society hesitate to directly approach the public governance.. On the other hand, the orientations of the Public administration toward the low socio-economic classes may not be conducive to effective communication, under such our circumstances, the legislatures representing the lower economic classes may become the linking pin the lower strata of society.

In Orissa, higher caste legislatures continue to dominate the ministry, the committee membership, and their chairmanship.²¹ A cursory review of the Assembly proceeding also indicates limited participation of scheduled caste in Legislative activities. The reserved seats legislator come from all sorts of political parties that constitute the legislature and are not organized as a group, and an autonomous leadership of the working classes and scheduled classes has not grown up as an alternative to upper caste leadership.

We may conclude that, the soci-economic background of scheduled caste legislators in Orissa Legislative Assembly in general reflects that, a great majority of Legislature come from middle class backgrounds, and most of them having higher educational qualification. The occupants of scheduled caste reserved seats were probably less influential than other legislators in shaping policy and other influential matters. Since the reserved seats legislators have come to resemble their follows, in terms of education, occupation and urban residence. In last General election (2004), it is the history of the reserved seats that, Six new member elected from SC reserved seats are from very rich Socio-economic backgrounds, and they defeated more political experienced candidates.

²⁰ J.B. Patnaik, who was the three time Chief Minister in Orissa. from Congress party, was faced factional movement in 1986, for authoritarian attitudes.

²¹ Mohanty, Monoranjan. *Caste, Class and Dominance in a backward State: Orissa*. Pp342

According to their Political affiliation, the last two general elections (2000 and 2004) shows that the Congress tremendously suffered in reserved seats as it was not before. Why these types of shifting pattern occurred and which party gained its, all the details of party performance in reserved seats are discussed in next Chapter.

Chapter 4
**Shifting pattern of representation on Reserved Seats: From
Congress to Opposition parties.**

This chapter makes a comparative study of party competition in Orissa by focusing attention on the electoral politics of the states.¹ It gives a chronological explanation to various questions related to the electoral politics and party system in Orissa. For instance what change or shift has taken place in reserved seats in particular and other seats in general? What are the trends in electoral politics in Orissa? Whether it has resulted in the process of modernization in the state? What is the impact of scheduled caste legislator in Orissa politics and policy formulation?

This chapter deals with the process of party representation of reserved seats through an analysis of electoral politics in Orissa. The chapter is divided into two sections.

Section A: Party performance and party politics in reserved seats.

Section B: Shifting voting patterns in reserved seats.

Politically, the separate province of Orissa consisted of six districts, viz. Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput in 1947 when India became independence. On the 1st of January, 1948, 25 native sates merged with the province of Orissa. The territorial map of Orissa was drawn with 13 districts in place of the six old districts on January, 1940. Mayurbhanj was the last princely state to merge with Orissa on January 1, 1949. A Congress ministry was in power in Orissa when the country became free on the 15th August 1947.

Politics in Orissa after independence has always been guided by regional considerations. The history, geography and cultural background of the state and its people prevails the traditional conflicts and pattern regional cleavages between the two broad regions of the state. These sub-regional differences between the costal and the hill division of the state have been predominantly strong and continued for a long time. It is largely determined the political behaviors of these two regions in the politics of the state, it led to the growth and development of very strong regional political parties right from time of the independence. It is import to note here that the post-independence era has witness the birth of regional political parties and their

¹ The purpose of this chapter is to show the evaluation emergence, growth of political parties in reserved seat of SC through Electoral politics science election. Election constitute on the important barometer in party building, party decline, party merger and party spilt in a developing society.

active participations in the state politics. Regional political parties in Orissa became strong contenders for power in the state.

Politics in Orissa since 1957 to 1974 general elections has dominated by coalition governments. All the coalition governments have been formed by regional political parties as its main partners. No single parties could secure majority in the state assembly except on few occasions. In fact the regional parties have dictated the terms in formations of all the coalition governments. On two occasions coalition governments have been purely formed by regional political parties themselves and the congress completely removed from the political scene.

The party politics in Orissa reflects this socio-economic environment. After the very fast general elections (1952) of the state no political party could not gain majority in the state legislature. But the Congress party formed the governments with the help of little independence. Ganatantra Parishad a regional party emerged as the second largest political party and assumed the role of principal. In the 1950s the congress faced oppositions from the Ganatantra parishad (GP) as well as the socialists. The socialist parties were an important force in Orissa right up to 1971. In 1967 elections they reached the peak of their popularity because they were the main alternative in coastal Orissa when the congress was condemned for corruption and economic failing.² When Indira Gandhi adopted the socialist idiom in 1971, the socialist, however remained anti-congress were weakened and many member joined Congress. Thus, a series of political realignments occurred in the aftermath of 1971 elections. Thereafter a period of political instability in the state was again ushered in. It witness the fall of two governments in quick succession within the period of three years

This period of twenty-five years of state politics since independence has been regarded as a regional-coalition and defection based politics in the state. More than one regional political parties one after another right from the independence dominated the political scene. Most the government that was formed during this period was coalition governments. None of the coalition governments could complete a full term of five years.

² Dwivedi, Surendra nath, 1984, *Quest for socialism : Fifty year of Struggle in India*, New Delhi: Radiant Publisher. In Mohanti Monoranjan. 1984. *Class, caste and dominance in Orissa*, p.350

The second phase politics in Orissa since 1980 took a different turn from that of earlier period. The most important difference in this context was that there was no regional political party in political landscape of the state. This period was considered as bi-polar political party system. Two national political parties viz. Janata Party than Janata Dal one side and Congress was another side. This period was also witnessed the political stability in the state politics. After 1980 general election all political parties completed then full term tenure in Orissa. The third phase (in 2000 election) witnessed the emergence of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), break down of Janata Dal and the emergence of BIju Janata Dal (BJD) as a regional political party with same socio-political bass of Janata Dal. The congress has faced opposition from BJP-BJD alliance in both 200 and 2004 General Election. Again coalition politics emerged in Orissa politics. What is most sticking that all these political organization from independence to till now are led by Brahmans and Karan and an autonomous leadership of the working classes and of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribe has not group up as an alternative to upper caste leadership. The failure of caste association or opposition parties to pave the way for the autonomous politicization of the lower castes had facilitated the continuation of upper caste control over major political parties.³

CASTE POLITICS IN ORISSA.

Orissa is multi caste state, but the castes in the states are neither of equal size nor of equal power.⁴ The important castes of Orissa are Brahmins, Karan, Kshatriya and Khandaya. The writer castes are known as Karan in Orissa and are similar to Kayasha of north India. Brahamins gradually emerged as a landed caste by the time of Kharavela, they migrated from Varanasi region during the Gupta period⁵. The Khandayat who constitute the largest caste group in Orissa are not homogeneous and well- integrated. Both brahmans and Karans were the traditionally dominant caste in Orissa⁶. They are not only ritually superiors to other caste but also dominating the power structure. The freedom movement during colonial periord was led by upper caste politicians and all the printing media is also dominated by upper caste. One most

³ Mohanty, Nonoranjan. 1984, class, Caste and dominance in Orissa p.353.

⁴ Baral, J.K and Mohapatra, J.K. Political culture in abackward state: Orissa pp619

⁵ Das, Biswarup. Orissa social, culturel and religious Aspect. Pp21

⁶ Baily, F.G. Caste and Economic F rontier. Pp56

aspect of the caste politics in Orissa is the rivalry between the Brahman and Karna. This rivalry dates back to pre-independence days and it has different dimensions in post-independence days. Orissa consists of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in large numbers also. In general both these groups are backward socially, economically and also politically, but between them the former is less backward than the latter's.

A study of various historical accounts shows that the scheduled castes of Orissa were very little influenced by the centrally organized movements sponsored by the Congress in the pre-independence period. The Harijan upliftment programmes of Mahatma Gandhi gained momentum in 1934 when Gandhi decided to tour the whole India for their cause. The main objective of the tour was to make propaganda for the education for untouchability and to collect funds for Harijan work. During that period, his mission and programmes took such a form of great magnitude that it would be remembered for ever by the lower caste people of Orissa. However the main aim and intention of Gandhi's foot march for padayatra was to open the door of Hindu Temple, specially the great Jagannath temple of Puri to Harijan

The Congress ministries in Orissa subsequently (1937-39) following the policy and advice the ideology of Gandhi adopted several measures for the upliftment for the Harijan. The first budget made financial provision for the improvement of Harijan boys by way of stipends, scholarship and grants to the hostels etc. The second Congress ministries (1946-47) following the footsteps of the ministries initiated certain measures based on Gandhian ideology for the upliftment of Harijans. The ministries realized that some legal enactment was necessary for the removal of disabilities of Harijans. The first bill in this regard was the *Orissa removal of civil disabilities bill 1946*. Another important legislative bill was the *Orissa temple entry Authorization and indemnity bill of 1947*. This bill was meant to legal disabilities imposed on Harijans in entering temple.

After independence Congress did provide space for scheduled castes in politics. Table-1 shows that the Congress did give more political space for the scheduled in the state assembly election. Over the years the scheduled caste have to some extent succeeded in increasing their presence in the power structure of the state. But this increase is not as real as would appear to a casual observer or they would like to be. This is mainly due to the following two factors. First the number of cabinet rank posts that they have held so far is much less than that held by upper caste ministers.

Secondly even those few Harijan ministers who have been luckily to get cabinet ranks have really been placed in charge of heavy and prestigious departments like Home, Finance, Revenue and Education.

Table-1

Caste wise break-up of the Congress candidates in Assemble elections

Caste	1952	1957	1980	1985
Brahmin	30	27	29	31
Kshatriya	6	12	–	2
Karan	15	13	9	10
Khandayat	19	21	37	32
SC	23	26	22	23
ST	25	29	34	33
Others	18	12	15	13
Totals	136	140	146	144

Source- In J.K. Baral. Congress party in orissa.(Orissa encyclopedia)

Party Competitions in Reserved Constituencies

This section offers an overview of the development of schedule caste representation in the post-independence era, and the relationship between representation and electoral reservation. Two aspects are taken up, first the nature of scheduled caste representation within state electoral politics and second the political party competition and trends and pattern in reserved seats. The broader context of Scheduled caste representation within the changing party system of Orissa is examined, looking in turn at two periods: the first period was 1952 to 1985, and second period was 1990 – 2004. Thus, in the first phase Orissa political system has always been influenced by deep sub-regional difference between two broad regions;⁷ it led to the growth and development of very strong regional parties' right from the independence. It is important to note here that the post-independence era has

⁷ Within the state politics, there is a sharp distinction between the costal and the hill inland district, the division of the state have been strong and have continued for long time.

witnessed the birth of regional parties and their active participation of state politics.⁸ The regional political parties in Orissa become strong contenders for power in the state.⁹ The second phase politics in Orissa since 1990 took a different turn from that of earlier period. The most important difference in this context was that there were no regional parties in the political landscape of the state.¹⁰ It was believed to be a model of two party systems.

The pattern of party support in different types of constituency between 1952 and 2004 are shown in table 2 and 3. During the first period the Congress party won the larger number of seats compare to any other party. In two exceptional cases, general election of 1961 and 1977 the Congress party could not gain large number of seats in the state legislature but in next election the party gained its dominant electoral position.

Table-2

Party Position in state Assembly

Name of the party	1952	1957	1961	1966	1967	1971	1974	1977	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004
CONGRESS	67	56	82	31	51	69	26	118	117	10	80	26	38	
GP/sWATANTRA	31	53	37	49	36	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CPI	7	9	4	7	4	7	1	4	1	5	1	1	-	1
CPI(M)	-	-	-	1	2	3	1	-	1	0	1	-	1	1
SP	10	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSP	-	11	10	21	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SSP	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
J Congress	-	-	-	25	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
U Congress	-	-	-	-	32	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Congress(O)	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Janasangh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Janata party	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	110	13	21	-	-	-	-

⁸ For detail see K. Banerjee, Regional Political Parties in India. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi-1984.

⁹ These regional parties were the Gantantra Parishad, the Jana congress and the Utkal congress. All these regional parties are shared power with the congress party or with other non-congress. Or regional parties in the state.

¹⁰ Orissa Political landscape which one characterized political instability and frequent change of ministry. There were 13 ministries in 28 gear during the period from 1952-1980.

Jata Dal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123	46	-	-
Jharakhand	-	-	-	-	-	15	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
BJP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	32
BJD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	61
OGP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
BSP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	24	11	7	4	4	7	9	7	7	6	6	8	8	8

Source: Orissa encyclopedia, Orissa election result, 2005.

Table-3

Performance of Party in SC reserved constituencies.

First phase	Total Seats for SC	Congress	Non- Congress
1952	21	16	(SP-5)
1957	21	15	(SP-6)
1961	21	17	4
1967	21	6	(SP-4, PSP-5, JC-6)
1971	21	12	(UC-4, SP-5)
1974	22	15	(SP-3, PSP-1, OC-2)
1977	22	6	16 (Janata Party)
1980	22	20	2 (Janata Party)
1985	22	19	3 (Janata Party)
Second Phase			
1990	22	1	(Janata Dal 20), (1 CPM)
1995	22	10	(Janata Dal 11) (BJP-1)
2000	22	1	20, (14 BJD) (6 BJP)
2004	22	6	16, (12 BJD) (4 BJP)

Source: Who's Who Orissa legislative assembly and personal inquiries.

In 1952 general election the Congress party could not gain majority in the state legislature but formed Government with the help of some independents. Out of 140 seats Congress got only 67 seats The Ganatantra Parishad (G.P), a regional party, emerged the second largest party with 31 seats. In 1957 General election the Congress seats were reduced to 56 and the G.P was an improvement his seats to 51. But in SC

Reserved seats the Congress was in dominant position. Out of 21 reserved seats Congress got 16 seats in 1952 and 15 in 1957. In 1961 mid-term election Congress could secure for the first time an absolute majority of 82 seats in the state Assembly. The strength of G.P was reduced in this election. The G.P. transformed into a national party the 'Swatantra' in the following year. In S.C reserved seats Congress captured highest seats as it was not in previous. Out of 22 reserved seats Congress captured 17 seats. The political situation underwent a change before the fourth general elections of 1967. The Congress government of Orissa had to face change of leadership and anti-corruption campaign by the opposition parties, the formation of Jana Congress.¹¹ The Congress suffered a debacle in the 1967 polls. Its result was disastrous with only 31 seats as against 75 seats of the Jana Congress (J.C) and Swatantra alliance. But in case SC reserved seats Congress secured only 6 seats, rest of 15 seats was won by J.C and other parties, it was happened due to the factional conflict within the Congress. The JC- Swatantra coalition government remained in power for about four years and created history in the chapter of coalition government in the states. Events in 1970 altered the political situations and the two partners developed conflict among themselves. The formations of Congress (R) under the leadership of Indira Gandhi at the Centre has the immediate cause of the fall of the coalition government¹² which led to another poll in the state constituency. In 1971 and 1974, the congress could win 51 and 69 total seats. Out of these 12, 15 seats were SC seats.

Thus a series of political realignments occurred in the aftermath of 1971 elections. Thereafter a period of political instability in the state was again ushered in. It witnessed the fall of two governments within a period of three years. However in 1977 general Election, where the congress has faced the united opposition,¹³ and got only 26 seats, out of these 6 were scheduled caste candidates. Janata party owns the state elections with massive victory. It secured 110 out of 147 seats in the Orissa legislative assembly and got 16 SC seats. Since 1980 Orissa politics took a different turn from that of earlier period. The most important difference in this context was the

¹¹ Mahetab campaign the the anti-corruption against the state Congress and particularly Biju Pattanaik and his allies, it revealed how the state congress suffered from group rivalry and factional conflict. Mahetab was the founder of Jaana congress.

¹² The coalition government resigned on 9th June, 1971, because the division in the Jana Congress. The leader of the party Mahetab and along with majority of its members joined the congress @.

¹³ In this period of election congress was faced opposition from his spinter group like, congress (O), jana Congress and has main rivalry Janta party. The emergence of Janata party in 1977 was a historic development after 19 months of emergency.

absence of a regional political party in the political landscape of the state. The Congress was able to retain over power and secured 118 seats, out of these 20 seats were scheduled caste seats. The ministry under the leadership J.B Pattanaik was formed and completed the full term of five year for the first time in the political history of the state¹⁴ In 1985, congress maintained more or less same position, won 117 seats, and 19 scheduled caste constituencies, and second time J.B. Pattanaik became chief minister.

The second phase started from 1990 General election, in this period the whole political scenario changed. The Janata Dal won a vast majority, out of 147 seats it own 123 seats. Out of 22 reserved for SC, Janata Dal won 20 seats rest two seat were won by the Communist and congress party both one seats each. In 1995 General Election, Congress party return back to power with only simple majority. Out of total 147 seats Congress won 80 seats. But in case of reserved seats for SC Congress did not well, out of 22 Congress own only 10 seats, rest 12 seats were won by Janata Dal (9) and BJP (3). In Orissa politics first time BJP won three reserved seats for scheduled castes. In 2000 General election the new combination emerged with BJD¹⁵ BJP. This combination won 68 and 38 respectively: The BJP-BJD alliance has polled more votes than the Congress.¹⁶ In all of 22 assembly constituency for scheduled caste the Congress has come as third position won only seat. The BJD won 14 seats and BJP won 7 seats. Both combine own 21 seats. In 2004 General Election Polls, the BJD-BJP alliance was in a position to win 93 of 147 seats, the congress won 38 seats. In reserved constituencies for SC Congress won only 6 seats and rest 16 seats was won by BJD,12-BJP;4 alliance. Identity based political parties like Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has emerged in 1990s and contested election. In 1990 elections BSP secured only 0.27% votes and last election in 2004 secured 1.93% of votes. So the identity based party did not impact on reserved seats.

In this above discussion, we have seen that how the reserved seat for scheduled castes underwent changed. Previously they were dominated by the Congress party but after 1990. The reserved seats are shifted to anti-Congress political parties like, Janata Dal in 1990 and BJD-BJP alliance in 2000 and 2004. Why this

¹⁴ None of the previous incumbents in Orissa had ever completed a full term in office. There were 13 ministries in 28 years during the period from 1952 to 1980.

¹⁵ BJD is a rejoinal Political party which is emerged after back down of Janata Dal in the state. the socio-economic province of BJD was as Janata Dal.

¹⁶ Mishra, Surya N, Ruling Coalition Returns. EPW. Dec.18. 2004. PP5523.

types of changing pattern representation occurred in reserved seats. Whether it is dissolution with Congress or any other things that we discuss in next. In this respect why earlier the reserved seats was with congress, and now why changes occurred, and why the Congress has failure to attained more seats in reserved constituency. This question should be answer in this paper.

Since independence, the SCs reserved constituencies were considered a committed seat of the congress. The Congress in pre-independence period did provide political space for SCs to participate in the freedom struggle. This is not to deny the role of power hegemony, and dominance exercised by the upper castes, who dominated the upper layer of Congress leadership. At the same times we find that the SCs waged anti feudal struggles against the local land lords. At many place it were the Communist who attracted them.¹⁷ The electoral result of reserved seats for SCs in all the assembly election Orissa from 1952 to 2004, shows the pattern of shift in reserved seats through-out the post independence period has largely followed that of general seats and reflect larger change in polity, particularly the decline of the one party system the and rise of the multi-party system. Throughout the post-independence period SCs have through reserved seats supported the *dominant mainstream party at any point of time*. From 1950 to 1990 the party was Congress except 1967 and 1977 where were the Swatantra in 1967, Janata Party in in 1977, the Janata Dal in 1995 and in the 2000 and 2004 the BJP-BJD alliance. Whenever there is change in dominant party, the voters in the reserved seats shifted to the alternative wining party, which gained the majority of seats and high percentage of the votes in the reserved seats.

Orissa had as many as 21 reserved seats in the state assembly in 1952, and 22 in 1974. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Ganatantra Parishad (GP), Socialist, Communist and other smaller political parties in Orissa put up candidates on the reserved seats, but the Congress won in the large majority of constituencies. In the 1950s Congress faced opposition from the Ganatantra Parishad (GP) as well as socialist and communist. The GP strong hold was in the hill land areas of the ex princely states, where the federal appeal of Rajas remained strong. Nevertheless, all major political parties have been involved in the competition for the seats of these communities. Overall, except in 1977, when the Janata swept the Pool, Congress has

¹⁷ Mohanty, Manoranjan, *Class, Caste, Dominance in a backward state: Orissa*. Pp.335.

maintained its lead in the reserved constituencies. But in 1967, the PSP own victors in five reserved constituencies for scheduled castes. The communist party's have also occasionally won in reserved seats. While in 1990 it looked as Orissa was moving towards two party contexts with the Janata emerging of the largest opposition to Congress party. In 1990 Assembly Election Janata Dal gained 20 reserved constituencies, and Congress got any one seats. In 1995 Congress tried to maintain the traditional trends, in that election Congress and Janata Dal captured more or less same seats. (Congress, 10, Janata Dal 11)

In 2000 the new emerging pattern is visible: the Congress gained only one reserved seats. The Biju Janata Dal as the dominant party gained 14 seats while the BJP as a rising party could get only seats. Both BJP-BJD alliances gained 14 seats. In 2004 assembly election, the ruling coalitions return back to power. Both alliances secured 14 seats, rest six seats gained by Congress. But the most important changing pattern is that, out of 22 SC legislators 11 were elected within these two elections. Out of 11 seats 8 were belongs to BJP-BJD combine. It's also that the new generation has preferred BJP-BJD than Congress.

In this context, the under standing the electoral behavior of the scheduled castes (SCs) is very important. Historically the state has no experienced any strong mobilization whether in to class or caste or religion or national identity. This implies that there is no strong structural connection between party's electoral base and the social group in Orissa. In other ward changing electoral verdict does not necessarily signify a qualitative change in the sphere of society.

The general elections of 2000 and 2004 saw a powerful assertion of Dalit politics. What we observe in these two elections is to our surprise, a different SC voter who is no longer 'captive' follower of Congress. These elections high light a new phase in their political consciousness in the state. To understand the electoral behaviors of SCs, three indicators like, education, age and residence is necessary. A study based on the post-poll survey data of the 2000 and 2004 General election conducted by the Centre for Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) Delhi. Table-4 shows that, the BJP-BJD alliance appears to enjoy greater support among the more educated. The illiterate and less educated voters supported to Congress. Survey data also reveals that the youth seems to be split between the Congress and alliance. Among the age group (25-35.36-45, 46-55) the BJP-BJD alliance had a clear

advantage over the Congress while the senior citizens appears to favour the Congress party. Further the alliance enjoys greater support among the urban areas.

. It can be says that, the most of the schedule caste and scheduled tribe people in the states are illiterate, and it's clear that the un-educated peoples are voted to Congress.¹⁸ The congress could barely manage 54 percent or SC votes, but loosed more seats, never in the paste, because of the effect of the general trends toward the coalitions

¹⁸ Mishra Survy. N. Orissa, Ruling coalition Return CPW, Dec. 18, 2004, p.5523.

Table- 4

SCs Voters Pattern of Voting Education, Age, Locality

Education	Congress	BJP+BJD	N
Non-literate	45	42	283
Upto primary	40	53	245
Upto matric	44	49	229
College and above	28	56	134
Upto 25 year	43	43	166
25 to 35 year	40	52	268
35 to 45 year	39	50	166
46 to 55 year	29	61	106
56 and above	49	40	134
Rural	44	48	622
Urban	31	53	218

Note: All figures are in percentage point.

Source: national election study, 2004; weighted data sheet

Theoretically the voting behaviors of the voter depend upon the political parties' policy, programmes and election manifestos. In 1952 and 1957 on both occasions the Congress package of promises to the electorate included, wide-ranging, state sponsored measures for the advancement of education, public health, labour welfare (including minimum wages for worker and resettlement schemes for landless agricultural Labour). And the abolition of all intermediary interest in the land tenure system, and the amelioration and the condition of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.¹⁹ The Ganatantra Parishad which emerged during this decade, concentrated on issue like, development of inland region, free and compulsory education, Health

¹⁹ Mishra Survyaa. N. Orissa, Ruling coalition Return CPW. Dec. 18. 2004. p.5523

insurance and sanitation, and it also spoke for providing land to land less, removing corruption, providing better opportunity to backward classes in the society.²⁰ In 1971 when Indira Gandhi adopted the socialist idiom, Her promises own over the lower caste agricultural worker, and her policy of 'Garib Hatao' had been an important appears to capture the scheduled castes voter in the state. In Last two General Elections we have seen that, in Orissa congress seriously defeated, in the reserved seat for scheduled caste which was the captive power of Congress, that is also loosed in these two election, and the BJP and BJD combine could seriously undermine the support base of the party in Orissa in some since, one cannot truly argue the decline of the congress from it vote share in the state.

There are So many causes for the decline of the Congress party in the state. The Congress was probably in a losing wicket before the cyclone but the state, and it is unlikely that its handling of the disaster relief won it new votes²¹ in 1999 super cyclone those who lost their lives and property most of them were belongs to lower and scheduled castes people. Overall all, 17 percent of the respondent were vary satisfied with the work that the Congress government did in the state. When the respondents were asked to name which government or agency had done the best relief work, the Orissa government came off an even worse light. Only 5 percent of those polled thought that it had done the best relief work.

The Congress party in the state prove inefficient, is unable to provide good governance, and rampant political corruption. The overt and covert factional fight within the Congress, no doubt contributed to the electoral plight of the congress.²² The inefficiency, corruption, the intense factional rivalry within the congress in the state is both cause and consequence of its weakness. In another side is where the BJD's alliance with the BJP offers a big contrast. The BJP was not a player in State politics till 1991. It entered via the western Orissa region, where the backwardness and regional discrimination were beginning to become a political issue. Besides, the BJP has cultivated a base among the Adivasis, in much the same fashion as it has done in Chhattisgarh and the rest of middle India. Thus the BJP's social and regional support basis complements the BJD's social base. The BJD is stronger in the largest and the most developed region of coastal Orissa and draws support from all sections

²⁰ Ibid. pp5522.

²¹ Heath Oliver, an Unequal Alliance in Orissa. Frontline. April. 14, 2000, p.52.

²² Mohapatra. Vishnu N., Orissa; Election and Every day politics. EPW, Jan 22, 1999, p.171.

of society in a way typical of regional parties. Orissa is now one of the few States in the country that have not witnessed any major sectional mobilization, along caste or class lines. The absence of a large scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has meant that politics is still the prerogative of the small upper castes. In this context of low participation and politicization of scheduled caste, the man oeuvres of the elite tend to be decisive. For all his obvious failings, Chief Minister Navin Patnaik has managed to maintain a clean reputation, something that cannot be said of his colleagues who have left the BJD. This has reinforced Mr. Patnaik's image as a benevolent patriarch, somewhat like his father Biju Patnaik. The Congress shows little signs of a collective will to power. The infighting within the Congress and the Congress workers was illustrated by the tragic-comedy of the Gamang family drama over allotment of a Congress ticket. There is no Congress leader of any stature today who can be pitted against Mr. Patnaik.

There are two main conclusions to be drawn from the details analysis of party competitions in scheduled caste constituencies and the pattern of scheduled caste representations. The general framework of the study represented here suggested that the nature of electoral representation is likely to vary according to the nature of party competition. In the period of Congress dominance, they were with Congress, and after the breakdown of congress they follow the general pattern of representations. Second, the SC seats since independence represented through mainstream dominant political party. From 1952-1985 they preferred Congress, except few occasion. From 1990-2004 was Janata and BJP-BJD alliance. Identity base political party has no impact on reserved seats.

Conclusion

The thesis concludes with an assessment of political party competitions on scheduled caste reserved seats and looking at how the reserved seats have changed the party affiliation and how various political parties won the reserved constituency. There is a definite pattern of party preference of SCs who have gradually shifted from Congress and opted for alternative where they could find them. This change in allegiance is more guided by the secular concern to assert in the power structure in order to gain benefits that may accrue from it, than by mere parochial interests. This has led them to search for alternative as they are no longer prepared to accept the role of the passive-voter supporter in the overall environment of subjugation.

The description of the emergence of electoral reservation as a means of representing of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, presented in chapter 2, shows the development of electoral reservation during the colonial period. The need to discriminate positively in favour of the socially underprivileged was felt for the first time during the nationalist movement. It was Mahatma Gandhi, himself a devout Hindu and a staunch believer in the caste system, who was the first leader to realise the importance of the subject and to invoke the conscience of the upper castes to this age-old social malady of relegating whole communities to the degrading position of "untouchables". He also understood the political logic of inducting this large body of people into the political mainstream in order to make the freedom movement more broad based. By renaming these untouchables as "Harijans" (people of God) he tried to give this policy a religious sanction so as not to disturb the traditional sensitivities of the caste Hindus more than was really necessary. Gandhi's logic was not greeted with enthusiasm by all sections of the untouchables, most notably by their leader B R Ambedkar, who felt that it represented an extension of the patronising attitude of the upper castes, and no more than that. Against the background of the political conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League. Ambedkar found the situation conducive to ask for separate electorates for the untouchables on the lines of the Muslim League. The British government had obvious reasons to support the demand and on 17 August 1932 it announced the Communal Award granting separate electorates for the depressed classes by treating them as a minority. Gandhi protested against the Award and went on a fast unto death if it was not withdrawn. His contention was that the caste Hindus would react violently to the

Affirmative Action in India 137 scheme and in rural areas which were dominated by upper castes the lives of the depressed classes would become even more miserable. Behind this argument of course was Gandhi's political understanding that it would weaken the freedom movement. Whether Gandhi was actually interested in bringing the depressed classes into the social mainstream of Hinduism or was just indulging in a political ploy to gain the support of these classes for the freedom movement without tampering too much with the Hindu caste structure has been a long debate which has become extremely acrimonious of late. The political crisis that Gandhi's hunger strike had triggered was resolved by the Poona Pact of 24 September 1932 signed between the non-Harijan Hindu leaders and Ambedkar. The pact was a compromise which provided for 148 reserved seats instead of the 78 separately elected members provided for by the Communal Award. This schedule was prepared in 1936 after considerable difficulty following the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935. It covered 43.6 million people in all, which meant 28.5% of the Hindu population and 19% of the total population of British India. By the time of the census of 1941 the number had risen to 48.8 million. It was this list which the Constituent Assembly later adopted.

The broad analysis of socio-economic condition of scheduled in orissa presented In chapter 3 attempted to asses the extent to which, in a period in which electoral reservation has been in place, the beneficiary grouped have changed in their relative position. In term of general impact of electoral reservation, this broad socio-economic analysis suggested that, the class position of the scheduled caste in orissa has showing no sign of improvement, although a small upward mobile section exists which has taken advantage of new opportunities, particularly in non-agricultural sector. Urbanization has less impact on the scheduled caste population in orissa in comparisons to other social group. Most of the scheduled caste women and children suffering from various malady of health, and still the stigma of untouchable persist. This broad socio-economic suggested that there has been no relative improvement in the position of scheduled castes.

The study regarding the socio-economic condition of scheduled caste legislature and their political performance shows in chapter 4. Finding of the present study show that, there were comparatively larger proportion of aged group elected from reserved constituencies, they are married and maintain their family size to the needs of time,

however the educational level of the scheduled caste M.L.A. was comparatively higher than it was previous, and it also more or less same in comparisons with others M.L.A of the legislators. It also shows that the percent of women among elected from the reserved constituencies were slightly lower than those members elected from general constituencies, and they are very rich political background. Maximum numbers of legislator posse's lawyer degree and post graduate degree. By the profession they are agriculturalist and lawyer and all the M.L.A belongs to major political parties, they posses experience and administrative and other skill, some of them holding important party office some of in government important office. The majority belongs to their own constituencies and maximum belongs to moderate income group. The most striking is that the untouchable legislators do not come from the land less labour. It is also found that scheduled caste legislature are not prepare to stand up as a bloc, ignoring party line, on the issues of significance for there communities, they will not do so in 'Harijan atrocities.' Regarding their performance in legislature towards the police formulation and decision making process, they are less active in comparison with general legislature.

Lastly it was quite interesting to observe that contrary to the general belief congress does appear to have monopoly influence over the scheduled caste reserved seats. Closer look at the electoral record of the State shows that the Congress' task is far more difficult than it might appear. Over the last decade or so, the Congress has experienced more than just a few defeats. It may have suffered long-term erosion in its support base. The party did win the Assembly elections held in 1995, but it was hardly a victory the Congress could be proud of. Its vote share did not touch 40 per cent, while the party had crossed the 50 per cent mark earlier. All the parliamentary elections held in the State show a consistent decline in the party's vote share. The Congress should be particularly worried about the erosion of the scheduled caste vote in the costal region.. While the Congress has maintained its hold over the other Adivasi belt in southern Orissa, it has suffered deep erosion in the backward region of western Orissa as well. In other words, the Congress may not quite be in a position to bounce back on its own. Perhaps the Congress leadership has recognized this and has decided to have pre-election alliances. The party has firmed up an alliance with the JMM, the CPM and the OGP. The Congress-CPI alliance talks have not worked out so far. But all these are marginal players

in Orissa politics and may not succeed in rescuing the Congress from the long-term erosion of its support base. This is where the BJD's alliance with the BJP offers a big contrast. The BJP was not a player in State politics till 1991. It entered via the western Orissa region, where the backwardness and regional discrimination were beginning to become a political issue. Besides, the BJP has cultivated a base among the Adivasis, in much the same fashion as it has done in Chhattisgarh and the rest of middle India. Thus the BJP's social and regional support basis complements the BJD's social base. The BJD is stronger in the largest and the most developed region of coastal Orissa and draws support from all sections of society in a way typical of regional parties. Orissa is now one of the few States in the country that have not witnessed any major sectional mobilization, along caste or class lines. The absence of a large peasant caste has meant that politics is still the prerogative of the small upper castes and that Mandalisation has had no effect.

In this context of low participation and politicization, the man oeuvres of the elite tend to be decisive. For all his obvious failings, Chief Minister Navin Patnaik has managed to maintain a clean reputation, something that cannot be said of his colleagues who have left the BJD. This has reinforced Mr. Patnaik's image as a benevolent patriarch, somewhat like his father Biju Patnaik. There is no Congress leader of any stature today who can be pitted against Mr. Patnaik. However, in many ways it is surprising that the BJD-BJP alliance did not do better than it did. The timing of the elections was perfect for a landslide victory for the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The good showing of the BJD-BJP combine in the Lok Sabha elections, the incumbency factor that worked against the Congress (I), and the devastation that the December cyclone wreaked all meant that a haul of 140 seats or so was not an unrealistic possibility. In this light, then, the Congress(I) was probably lucky to escape a more severe punishment. The Congress(I) was probably on a losing wicket before the cyclone hit the State, as was evident from the drubbing it received in the Lok Sabha elections, and it is unlikely that its handling of the disaster relief won it new votes. Overall, only 17 per cent of the respondents were very satisfied with the work that the Orissa Government did in the aftermath of the cyclone, and 25 per cent were not at all satisfied. This approval rating is

much lower than that for the Central Government, with which 35 per cent were very satisfied

The community profile of BJD voters is quite unusual for a Janata formation: it is dominated by the upper castes. This is probably a legacy from the State Janata Dal unit led by Biju Patnaik, which was the only Janata Dal unit in the country to oppose the Mandal Commission report. This gives the BJD a profile very similar to that of the BJP. Overall, they are both strong in the same sections of society, drawing many more votes from the upper castes than from the Scheduled Castes and Muslims. The high proportion of Scheduled Tribes voting for the BJP compared to the BJD is largely explained by the fact that the tribal people are mainly located in the areas where the BJP contested. If their voting behavior is examined according to which party contested, then they actually give more or less the same degree of support to the BJP and the BJD. The profile of the Congress (I) vote base is the opposite of that of the BJD-BJP; it is stronger among the lower castes and Muslims than it is among the upper castes. In terms of class, the BJP does best among the rich whereas the BJD is the strongest among the middle class. There is not much deviation among Congress (I) voters, although the party is noticeably weak among the highest class. Education also shows a pattern similar to that of class. The Congress (I) support base is bottom-heavy, BJD voters are concentrated in the middle class, and the BJP is the strongest at the top. Interestingly, the BJP is also relatively strong among the very low classes and the uneducated people. These people are mainly small-scale agriculturists, such as cultivators or tenant farmers.

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