

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES :
"A CASE STUDY OF KHAMMAM DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH"

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

1980

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DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this dissertation submitted to the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, has not been previously submitted by anyone for any other degree of this or any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is pleasure to thank my supervisor Prof. K. Sheshadri, who has taken keen interest in my work for suggestions and help during course of this investigation, and critical comments on this manuscript. I am grateful to Prof. R. Khan for awarding fellowship and encouraging me at various stages of my work.

I am thankful to Prof. B.A.V. Sharma, Head, Department of Political Sciences, Osmania University, Hyderabad for initial helping in the preparation of questionnaire.

I have received much help from the Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi and Osmania University Library and Library of Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, Hyderabad. My thanks are due to the Librarians and the staff of these Libraries for their help. Mr. Ram Prasad deserves special thanks for his typing.

I am much indebted to the various people whom I have interviewed in Khammam town, during my field trip, for their willing help in trying to answer my queries.

Finally, I thank all my friends who have time and again inspired and encouraged me in completing my work.

K. Bhaskaramma

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES - A CASE STUDY OF KHANNA DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH

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Introduction

In the last few decades several volumes of research work on different aspects of Indian Scheduled Castes has gone into the social science literature without precisely making an attempt to identify the communities that can be classified as Scheduled Castes. Every researcher has accepted the established concept duly designed by the Indian constitution as Scheduled Castes. But neither the Constitution nor the 'Un-touchability (offences) Act' 1955 provided any definition for the term 'Untouchability'. Even the Courts of Law have not done this. The picture in the Constitution is not clear as it does not offer a set of certaria to characterise a community of people as Scheduled Castes.

Part XVI of the Constitution of India 1950 deals with special provisions relating to certain classes and Article 330 the first in the part, specifies the main classes to which the provisions will apply. The term Scheduled Castes does not stand for a particular caste but it is a group of such people from among untouchables, who have been declared as Scheduled Castes by the President of India. In fact, without any specific investigation or on a priori basis but through local stereo type and images a group of people are described as Scheduled

Castes or bloc.

The Indian society has been stratified into numerous castes. This stratification of people into a social hierarchy based on relations of production and different rights in the produce of land as well as upon Hindu belief regarding the relative religious values of these occupations, and is also historical. Thus, historically those who are at the lowest level of the social strata were called as "Scheduled Castes". The Scheduled Castes constitute about 14 percent of the population. In absolute number they constitute 82.5 millions. According to the 1971 census the population of the Scheduled Castes was 80 million which constituted 14.6 percent of the total population of India. Such being the magnitude of Scheduled Caste population in India the participative ability or otherwise of it, of this people will have a strong impact on Indian political system as a whole. Therefore, the level of political participation of Scheduled Castes in India in general and in Andhra Pradesh in particular, needs to be studied in detail.

As Aristotle said, Man is a political animal by nature and his political activity may take place either explicitly or implicitly within his own group. But that state structure has transformed from city state to modern Democratic Nation States, from his time to present. As a result the nature of political participation of human beings should be qualitatively different from that of Aristotelian times. The political participation in present nation states has to be highly conscious and constant

in order to establish democratic institutions which are useful for each and every individual.

One way to measure the political participation in democratic systems is to see how many eligible citizens of a Village or Town or a Community are participating in exercising the franchise. Another way is to examine the participative ability of the people in the struggle against injustice, oppression and economic exploitation.

But here we are concerned only with the electoral participation of a particular community namely the Scheduled Castes. According to some studies made in the western countries, participation is a function of status, education, age and male sex¹. But the above observation is based on a study of American situation mostly during elections, where political discussion, rumors political parties operation, other propoganda by a candidate etc., played important role². To a great extent these do not hold good in the Indian situation wherein status and education were not found to be highly correlated to voting participation. But, this is an hypothesis itself and it needs to be tested because the status and education vary from caste to caste, community to community and class to class. Furthermore, this study is intended to examine the status and education of

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1. Robert, E. Lane, "Political Geology (Glencoe 3, free press, 1961).
 2. Seshadri, K. and P. Narayana-Reddy, "Participation at the levels and development", (ed.) Ram-esh K. Arora, Administrative change in India, Aalekh Pub., Jaipur, 1974, p. 176.

Scheduled Castes of Khammam District viz., Electoral participation.

ANDHRA PRADESH BACKGROUND

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest state in area (2, 76, 754 Sq. Kms.) and fourth largest State in population (435.031 Lakhs) in the Country. The first four states being Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh respectively. The State has 23 districts with 195 Taluqs. The density of population of Andhra Pradesh according to 1971 census is 157 persons per Sq. Kilometer as against the corresponding figure of 182 persons per Sq.Km. at all India level.

The 23 Districts of the State grouped into three historical regions, Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana^o. Andhra Pradesh was the first linguistic state to be formed in 1956 as a result of re-organisation of states in India. Andhra Pradesh is a rich state interms of natural resources like Minerals, Forests and Industrial Potentialities. According to 1971 census Andhra Pradesh has 27, 227 villages and 224 Towns.

Such being the importance of this state interms of its population and geographical location, the activities that are taking place in this state would have a bearing on the entire Country.

^o Planning and co-operation department, Government of Andhra Pradesh Fourth Five Year Plan, Andhra Pradesh out line and programme, 1969-70 to 1972-75.

The Telugu speaking people and their activities in the recent past have come to occupy a predominant position in the History of India. The role of Andhra people in the Freedom movement appears to be considerably good. But more than that Telugu people are known for the Historical struggle that they waged against Nizam. Viz., "Telangana Arms Struggle".

Historically speaking political consciousness in Andhra Pradesh started with the organisation of Andhra Mahasabha. Andhra Mahasabha basically is a branch of Indian National Congress, organised by the local people. The historical conditions in this part of the country were different when compared to that of rest of India. The Telangana region and some districts of the present Karnataka and Maharashtra were under the dominant control of "Nizam Feudal Autocracy". Andhra Mahasabha in the beginning started as a literary movement. But later on it took a political shape in order to fight the autocracy of Nizam. Swamy Ramananada Tirtha, Burgula Rama Krishna Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy and Bhaddam Yella Reddi were the main leaders. But in a period of time there were ideological differences among the leaders of Andhra Mahasabha. These ideological differences led to formation of a Telangana unit of the communist party as a part of the communist movement in Andhra and other regions. This gradually led to a struggle against Nizam's Feudal region by the Communist Party of India of Telangana Region. At a stage it took the form of "Guerilla

Struggle" where a systematic armed ^{struggle} was organised in two districts of Telangana mainly against the Nizam's autocracy in general and the local land lords in particular. The struggle in the beginning was only to counter the terror of the "Razakars which was planned to suppress the political movements in Telangana. The Razakar bands started as a communal muslim movement against Hindus but over a period of time it became the organised force of Nizam against the communist movement in Telangana. As the situation varied from District to District the nature of the communist movement also varied from district to district. Mainly Nalgonda and Warangal became the centres of arms struggle where as Khammam as an adjacent district to both Nalgonda and Warangal did not experience the same amount of intensity of struggle for the reasons that need to be explained. Firstly, Nalgonda and Warangal were the districts where most of the land was concentrated in the hands of very few land lords. As a result of rest of the population was totally pauperised. This has a bearing on socio-cultural relationship of the landlords, tenants and land less labourers. The land lords in these districts not only exploited the general population but also harrassed them without discrimination. This in a way forced the land less labourers and tenants of these two districts to respond to the call given by the communist party to take up arms against landlordism.

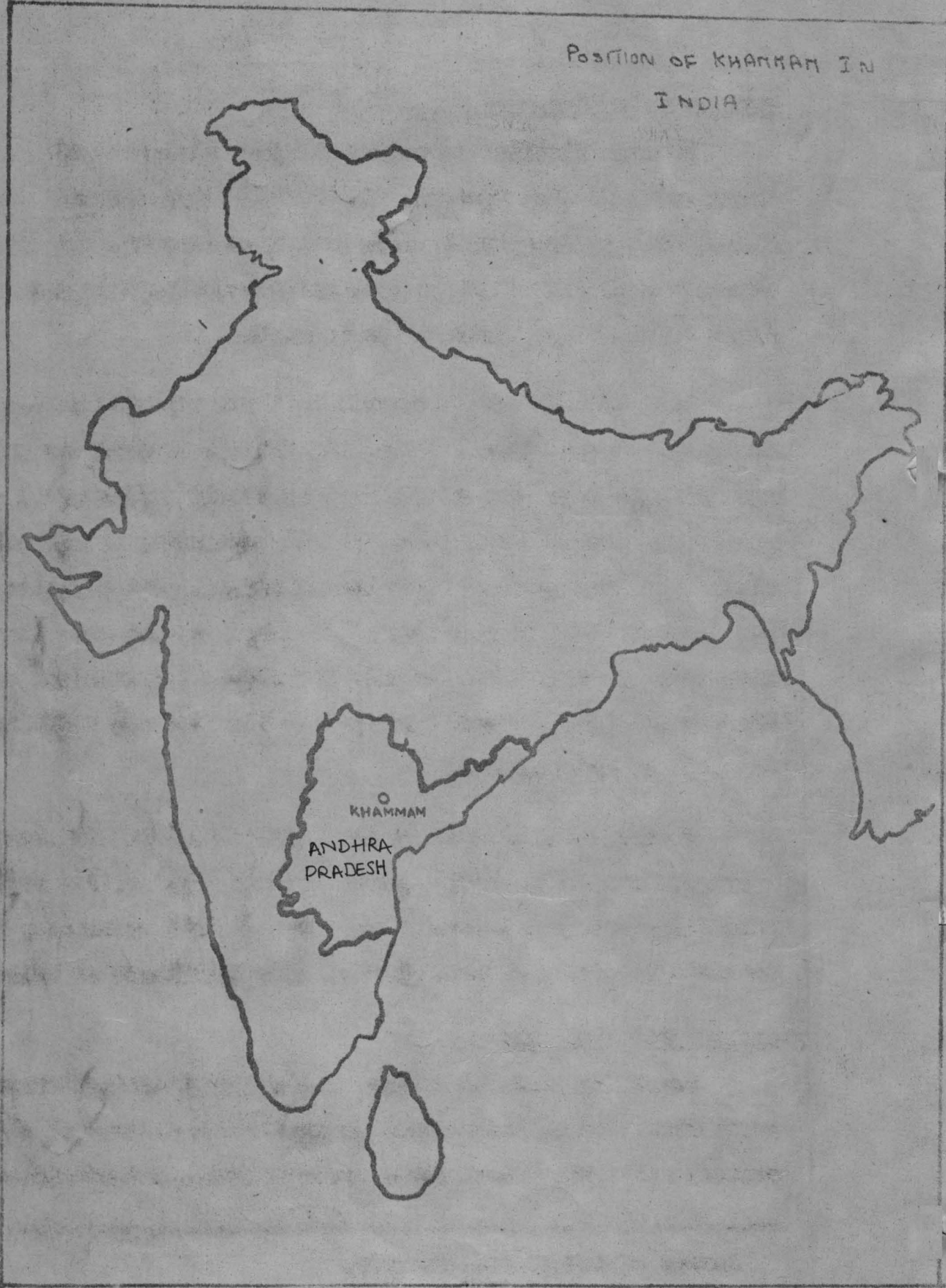
Secondly, unlike this situation the socio-economic situation in Khammam District appears to be different because

of two reasons : (i) Khammam is a border District to both Telangana and Andhra Regions. Hence, it shared the experiences and historical growth of both these regions. The Agrarian system in Andhra Region was the "Ryotwari" system and it was under the direct control of Britishers for nearly two hundred years. Therefore, socially, politically and economically Andhra Region was far advanced than Telangana.

The impact of the advanced socio-political situation was very much there on Khammam^m district and, (ii) this district also shared the socio-economic and political conditions of the feudal Nizam's regime. Thus, the land concentration in this district was not that high as it was in other districts of Telangana. This doesn't mean that there were no feudal land lords in Khammam district. There were some feudal land lords. But the land lords of Khammam were more benevolent than the land lords of Nalgonda and Warangal. They were more influenced, atleast culturally by the landed gentry of the Andhra Region. Therefore, the exploitation, it appears was not that brutal. Hence the uprising of the peasantry in this district was not that severe and did not deeply penetrate into the rural Khammam. Therefore, the political participation of the people of Khammam should be judged against this background.

It is for these historical reasons Khammam district has been chosen for study:

POSITION OF KHAMMAM IN
INDIA



Background of Khammam:

Khammam district is one of the ¹⁰⁷¹ nine districts of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. It has the population of 1,369,892. It occupies seventh rank in Telangana. It represents almost all the castes and sub-castes that are found in any other districts of Telangana.

Khammam district is endowed with the most varied types of rocks and mineral deposits such as igneous, sedimentary and meta morphic rocks and a rare type of alkaline rock known as nepheline. Syenite found only in this district. As regards mineral wealth, the district abounds in rich coal deposits besides considerable reserves of iron ore, copper ore, lime stone, marble etc.,. Due to this favourable geographical setting Khammam district has been referred as the "Natures Geological Museum"^o of Andhra Pradesh.

Though Khammam district is a border district cutting between Telangana and Andhra both culture and language wise it represents more Telangana than Andhra. Hence the present researcher has intended to make a "Case Study" of Scheduled Caste of this district.

Caste - Class Situation :-

There are numer of castes and classes in Andhra Pradesh particularly rural Andhra Pradesh presents a picture of various castes, subcastes and classes. From Bramhins and Reddies down

^oCensus of Andhra Pradesh 1971.

to Madigas and Malas the caste structure of Andhra Pradesh divides the society into number of segments. When this division is vertical the society is divided into number of classes horizontally like land lords, rich peasants, small peasants, tenants and landless labourers. But in Andhra Pradesh it appears that there is co-relation between class structure and caste structure while majority of the Ryotdars are the land owners, an overwhelming majority of the Madigas and Malas are land less labourers. The remaining backward castes hang in between these two castes both socially and economically. Hence, in so far as scheduled castes are concerned there is inbuilt caste, class congruity. Therefore, a systematic study of Scheduled castes of Khammam district assumes historical importance.

SCHEDULED CASTES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

The Scheduled Caste population of the state in 1971 was 5,774,548 comprising of 2,926,416 males and 2,848,132 females. According to 1961 census Andhra Pradesh constituted 4,478,609 population of which 2,262,559 were males and 2,216,050 were females. The rate of increase in between 1961 and 1971 census, increase in Scheduled Caste population in Andhra Pradesh is 29.9 percent. The increase during the same period in Scheduled Tribe population is 16.58 lakhs. Scheduled Castes alone constitute 14 per cent of the state population. It is because of such huge population the state Government has two ministries to look after the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The dominant castes in Andhra Pradesh constitute the Reddis, Kammars, Merchant community, Velamas and the Brahmins. A good majority of the population constitute the intermediate castes known as "Backward Classes". As has already been pointed out 14 percent of the population is thrown to the rock-bottom of the society known as Scheduled Castes.

However, the Scheduled Castes is a combination of several castes and sub-castes. Further the point to be noted is there is slight variation of existence of certain castes and sub-castes from district to district. For example, the existence of Mala, Madiga and Chalavadi appears to be common to all the districts. But certain castes like Maladasari, Mala Hannaiiah, Mala Jangam, Mala Masti, Mala Sayi and Mala Sanyasi appear to be existing only in some districts of Telangana. Some other sub-castes like Adi-Andhra, Adi-Dravida, Bariki, Chandala, Dandagi, Domalamadiga and Mala Dasu are found in certain districts of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema.

Occupationally speaking one finds differences among various castes and sub-castes of Scheduled Caste Community. For example, the madigas are leather workers or shoe-makers and some of sub-Scheduled Castes have beggary as their main profession. However, it should be noted that all the Scheduled Castes remain to be untouchables to the rest of the society.

Culturally speaking, as it is observed in Andhra Pradesh the Scheduled Castes remain to be tribal in character though this tribal culture is found among some of the backward classes, the intensity of it is more among the Scheduled Castes. Practices like 'Jantu Bali' are very common among the Scheduled Castes. As many sociologists have observed dwellings of Harijans continue to be the living places of superstitions. Worshipping 'Kali', Vanadevatha, Agni Devatha, and Varna Devatha are still phenominal among the Scheduled Caste people.

The most unfortunate aspect of this society is that there is untouchability among themselves. For example, inter-marriages and inter-dinning is prohibited among malas and madigas. One feels superior to other -- though there is no established norm whether who is superior to whom.

SCHEDULED CASTES POPULATION IN KHAMMAM DISTRICT.

According to 1971 census the population of Scheduled Castes of the district was 167, 896 and Scheduled Tribes 201,670. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes constitute 30 percent of the total population. Only in Khammam^m Head Quarters, it is 4,107 and total number of Scheduled Caste voters are 2,497 in the town itself. Seven of the 13 community Development Blocks in the district are tribal. The District has the highest number of tribals compared to other Districts in Telangana region. Despite the efforts which the Government has made to uplift the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in gen-ral and they are left

with the worst socio-economic conditions.

Khammam parliamentary constituency comprises seven Assembly constituencies, Khammam, Kothagudem, Madhira, Sathupalli, Sujatanagar, Pallair, (SC) and Yellandu (ST). The number of Electorate in this constituency has increased from 596,499 in the 1977 polls to 701,335. The increase is more among women voters than men voting population.

Methodology:

This study is proposed to be basically an empirical one and the hypothesis that is proposed to be tested is: whether there is any relationship between political participation and status and Education or not. The town taken for the study is Khammam in Andhra Pradesh. The community chosen for this purpose is Mala and Madiga within Scheduled Castes of Khammam Town. Since the population of Malas and Madigas is considerably big, a universe of 50 respondents has been randomly selected for this purpose.

Dependent Variables:

As K. Seshadri and Narayana Reddi's study points out¹⁾ the dependent variable is respondents participation in different political actions ranging from passive to activist items so that the whole gamut of political actions are taken in. In this study participation in campaign activities, processions, Public Meeting and Party likes and dislikes etc., were taken into consideration.

1. Op. Cit., p. 3.

Campaign :

There is a general understanding that Scheduled Caste people do not take part in campaign activities. In this study questions like "did you help in arranging Election meetings", "did you distribute polling cards along with the party candidate"? "did you help the voters to go to the polling station"? and "how much interest did you show during the last election campaign"? etc., were asked. And the responses were codified and analysed.

Processions :

There is also a notion that Scheduled Caste people do not show much interest in attending public meetings and processions. To test this hypothesis questions like "did you participate in political procession?", "Have you participated in door to door Campaign?" and "did you ask others to vote for particular party?" were asked and the responses of the 50 respondents were codified and analysed.

Party likes and Dislikes :

It is generally assumed that the political consciousness among Scheduled Castes people is very low. Hence there preferences to political parties is vague and haphazard. To test this hypothesis questions like "is there any political party that you like"? "is there any other political party which you never want to vote"? "whom did you vote in the last Assembly Elections," were asked and the responses were codified and analysed.

Independent Variables:

In this study six independent variables are examined. They are (1) Age, (2) Education, (3) Family Income per annum, (4) Occupation, (5) Property in Land and (6) Political Communication.

(1) Age :

Age of an individual may be responsible to some extent to make the individual to take interest in the political activities. The older people who are more experienced in politics may involve more in political activities than the younger generation. This has to be tested. The age groups are divided for the purpose of convenience as follows: 21-30; 31-40; 41-50; 50 and above.

(2) Education :

The level of education to some extent decides the level and nature of political participation. It is well known that the Scheduled Caste people are not well placed in education. However, the relationship between education and political participation is proposed to be analysed. Information on education of the respondents was collected in terms of categories like illiterates, educated upto primary level, educated upto secondary level, educated upto high school level and educated upto Degree and above.

(3) Property in Land :

Owning land or otherwise of it decides the social status of a man. And the relationship between social status and political activity is well known. Therefore to judge this relationship among Scheduled Castes of Khammam Town, information on the ownership of land has been collected. For convenience sake the groups are divided into 11 categories: those who own no land, (NIL) is one category and the remaining ten are: 0.5 - 1; 1.5 - 2; 2.5 - 3; 3.5 - 4; 4.5 - 5; 5.5 - 6; 6.5 - 7; 7.5 - 8; 8.5 - 9; 9.5 - 10 Acres.

(4) Occupation :

It is possible that there may be people who do not own landed property but do have secure life through employment. So such employment status was also been studied. To this effect data have been collected in categories like Municipal workers, leather workers and other workers like rickshaw pullers and stone cutters.

(5) Family Income per Annum:

In order to avoid errors in income structure of the Scheduled Castes information about family income per annum has also been collected. The categories have been divided as follows:

Rs. 500/- to 1,000/-; 1,100/- to 2,000/- 2,100/- to 3,000/-; 3,100/- to 4,000/-; 4,100/- to 5,000/-; 5,100/- to 6000/-; 6,100/- to 7,000/-; 7,100/- to 8,000/-; 8,100/- to 9,000/-; 9,100/- to 10,000/-; 10,000/- and above.

(6) Communication:

It is well known that the level of Political participation is in a way related to the impact of mass media on the voters. Now to examine the relationship between the communication net work and the level of political participation, questions like "do you read News Papers daily"? "did you come to know about elections through News Papers"? "do you listen to the Radio", and "do you discuss political matters with other people"? were asked and data was collected to this effect. The last question was intended to examine the effect of "mouth to mouth" communication.

In the last chapter (Chapter-V) a brief summary of the preceding four chapters has been explained. Further in this chapter proper conclusions are drawn so that interested researchers find the study useful. Moreover, certain important questions are also raised whereby more serious research in this area may be taken up to solve the basic problems of the Scheduled Caste people in this country. Further, necessary suggestions to improve the socio-political conditions of Scheduled Castes of India in general and of Andhra Pradesh in particular were sought to be made.

CHAPTER II**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF HARIJANS IN KHAMMAM**

The active political participation or otherwise of it of the Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh can be properly understood only when, we understand the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Caste people of Andhra Pradesh. Studying the socio-economic conditions of the entire Scheduled Caste population of Andhra Pradesh should be a difficult proposition. Hence Khammam town has been chosen for a close examination of the problem. The reasons for such selection of Khammam town could be broadly two: (1) The present investigator belongs to Khammam Town itself. Therefore, the investigator has had various occasions to understand the socio-economic conditions of the Khammam Scheduled Caste people; (2) Khammam town consists fairly good number of Scheduled Caste population of Khammam town, giving scope for understanding the problem considerably well.

Khammam is a district Head Quarter situated in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. It consists of 1,100 villages and this district is said to have had 28 categories of Scheduled Castes as listed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. However, the entire Scheduled Caste community can be divided into two broad sub-castes: (1) Madigas and (2) Malas. The historical division of these two sub-castes is not exactly discovered.

Further, no source material to indicate the historical phrase of the division of these two sub-castes was available. But nonetheless, a general discussion with the people belonging to these two sub-castes indicates that the division of sub-castes was, however, based on their occupational patterns. It is said by many Mala and Madigas that the main occupation of Madigas was and is shoe-making, or any work related to leather. Whereas it is said, the main work of Malas was and is other than Shoe-making. According to them their main occupation differs from village to village and area to area. But the occupation of Malas in Khammam town seems to be stonecutting, scavenging and road sweeping etc.

Apart from this kind of a division into occupational pattern there are varieties of duties that are performed by both Mala and Madigas. Examples like burrying the deadbodies and removing the dead cattle - more often dead cattle are eaten by Malas and Madigas and the skin of the dead cattle is used for Shoe-making - playing 'Dappus' while removing the dead bodies may be cited. An important point to be noted here is that among Madigas and Malas, as generally believed by Mala and Madiga people, the Madigas are considered to be superior and Malas inferior. It is very difficult to give a reasonable explanation for such hierarchy. However, the question of Madigas being superior and Malas being inferior

'Dappu' is a drum generally used by Telangana Scheduled Castes on both sorrowful and joyful occassions.

is not socially accepted in all the regions. In certain regions both these caste groups are considered to be equals avoiding inter-dining and inter-marriages between themselves. Nonetheless, Telangana in general Khammam town in particular presents a picture of existence of clear hierarchy between Madigas and Malas.

So far as the geographical location of Scheduled Caste population of Khammam town is concerned, the entire Scheduled Caste population of Khammam town is scattered over four different places. Viz., Guttla Bazar, Nizampet, Zublipura and Parabanda. All these 'gudems' where the Scheduled Caste people live are situated at the outskirts of Khammam town. That is to say though these people live in town, for all practical purposes they are out castes living away from the general population of Khammam. Recently the government of Andhra Pradesh built few houses for Harijans but these so called newly built 'Harijan Colonies' are also at the outskirts of Khammam town. This programme of government, as it is present in Khammam, appears to have not dislocated the outskirts inhabitation of Harijans. Harijans remained to be untouchables living away from the general masses even after this programme has come into force. This in a way can be said that the government programme instead of removing untouchability appears to be perpetuating it.

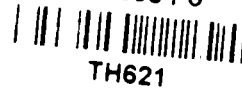
Social Conditions :

The social conditions of Scheduled Caste people of Khammam should be understood at two levels: (1) The cultural differences between the general Scheduled Caste population and the caste Hindu population of Khammam town, (2) The cultural differences between the Malas and Madigas themselves.

A striking difference between the Scheduled Caste people and the general caste Hindu is that of the method of celebration of marriages. All the caste Hindus except some of the backward castes, celebrate their marriages in highly ritualistic manner. A brahmin who can recite 'Vedamantras' is a must at caste Hindu marriages. But for Harijans marriage is not a sacrament. It is neither sanctified by Brahmins nor by fire. Widow marriages and divorces are very common among the Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh.

The difference in celebrating marriages between Madigas and Malas appears to be marginal. Except in one respect in all other methods there appears to be similarity of customs and conventions. The difference seems to be the Malas invite their own caste 'Brahmin' -- not the caste Hindu Brahmin -- whereas the Madigas invite a person called 'Guru' for their marriages.

Another important aspect of the social life of Harijans of Khammam that needs to be examined is their customs and the



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conventions. It is a striking feature to note that though Harijans are known as Hindus in Indian Mythology and Vedic literature that the festivals observed by general caste Hindus are not observed by Harijans. A glaring example could be 'Batakamma Pandaga'. When asked why they do not celebrate this festival they say that it is the opinion of the caste Hindus that if they touch the Flower Beds they get polluted where by 'Gouri' the wife of Shankara gets annoyed with it. Such are the stories build up to keep the Harijans away from the general practices of the caste Hindus. It is observed that the Harijans of Khammam town are more superstitions than the general caste Hindus. They worship goddesses like 'Mutyalamma', 'Mahankalamma', Poleramma etc. But surprisingly the Harijans of Khammam town are not allowed into temples of these goddesses in which they have firm belief. Though these temples are not structurally built up like the temples that we see all over India. The Harijans of Khammam town seems to be having total faith in witch craft, ghosts and all kinds of spirits. Though such belief is existing among caste Hindus, it appears that this is more predominant among Harijans.

The dressing pattern of the Scheduled Caste community is different from the dressing pattern of general caste Hindus.

Batakamma Pandaga is a festival celebrated for nine days in Telangana region during Dasara. In this festival only women participate. The general practice is beautiful flower beds are prepared and everyday these flower beds are taken to river side and they sing songs make merry and finally leave the flower beds in the water.

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Most of the Scheduled Caste woman lead a life of half-nakedness. Nevertheless, the Scheduled Caste woman, because of the nature of work they do have a different method of tying sarries. Generally, it would be above the knees and close to the thighs. One also finds slight difference of dressing among woman between Mala and Madiga. The Mala woman put their kongu on the right shoulder. This is generally called 'kudipaite' where as the Madigas like other caste Hindus put their kongu on the left shoulder. This is called Yedamapaite. In so far as ornamental pattern goes one would notice by the first look itself that Harijans hardly have any ornaments. Whatever ornaments are found on their bodies they are made out of silver in a rough manner. It has been told by many Harijan women that Mala woman keep 'Niluvu Bottu' and the Madiga woman put "Chukka Bottu". This in a way indicates the religious difference of Malas and Madigas. As it is well known those who believe in Sree Mahavishnu keep 'Niluvu Bottu' where as those who believe in Shiva keep Adda Bottu or Chukka Bottu. Thus, one can say that Malas are Vishnavite and Madigas are Shivite.

Thus, the social conditions of Harijans of Andhra Pradesh in general, Khammam town in particular differ from the social conditions of the caste Hindus in many respects. And it is a common phenomenon that the Harijans lead a socially degraded life exposing themselves to various religious exploitations.

For the purpose of the study and to know the exact socio-economic conditions and the level of political consciousness of the Scheduled Caste people of Khammam town, a survey has been conducted. To make the study scientific the present investigator has undertaken a survey among randomly selected 50 Harijans of Khammam town.

The Sample :

Economic Conditions:

The social conditions of any given community either directly or indirectly would depend on the economic conditions of the given community, so also, political participation. Thus, to understand the socio-political conditions of any given community one has to understand the economic conditions of that particular community applying proper methodological tools.

The Khammam ayacut provides for considerably good agricultural land and with some irrigational facilities like tanks and a canal coming from the Nagajuna Sagar project. Apart from these irrigational facilities there are number of wells and tube wells which provide water for irrigation with the help of electric motors and oil engines etc. Tables presenting the holding pattern, age and educational back ground of the 50 respondents interviewed for this purpose are as follows :

TABLE 1

AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
21-30	16	32.0
31-40	13	26.0
41-50	9	18.0
50 and above	12	24.0
	<u>50</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE 2

EDUCATION

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Illiterates	26	52.0
Primary	13	26.0
Secondary	6	12.0
Higher	3	6.0
Degree & above	2	4.0
	<u>50</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 1 indicate^s that out of 50 respondents, 32 percent belong to the adolescent age group. Nearly 44 percent respondents belong to middle age and 24 percent respondents belong to the old generation. A point to be noted here is that all the respondents have attained their voting age that is 21 years where

by everybody would be in need of a settled family life with proper educational and income resources. Table 2, on education indicates that 52 percent respondents are illiterates. Further, 26 percent of the total respondents have primary education. So far as the Indian educational standards are concerned primary education means nothing but illiteracy. These respondents when talked to them indicated that they can neither read nor write. According to them, it was true that they were put in schools upto primary standard. That is to say a total of 78 percent can be considered to be illiterates. The respondents who have secondary and higher education put together constitute 18 percent. They are either unemployed or semi-employed. There are only two degree holders constituting 4 percent of the total respondents. Thus, the educational background of Scheduled Caste people of Khammam town presents a poor picture.

One of the important variables to indicate that low or high economic conditions of a particular family or a person the ownership of property in land in a given agrarian sector.

TABLE 3

Acres	Number of respondents	Percentage
0.5 -1.00	2	4.00
1.5 -2.00	1	2.00
2.5 -2.00	-	-
3.5 -4.00	2	4.00
4.5 -5.00	1	2.00
5.5 -6.00	-	-
6.5-7.00	-	-
7.5 -8.00	-	-
8.5 -9.00	1	2.00
8.5 -9.00	1	2.00
9.5 -10.00	1	2.00
NIL	42	84.00
	50	100.00

As table 3 indicates out of the total 50 respondents only 8 respondents expressed that they own some lands. Ownership pattern varies from 0.5 to 10.00 acres. If 2.0 acres is taken as a marginal ownership in a given agrarian sector, there are 3 people owning this marginal acres of land. 2 persons own 3.5 to 4.0 acres and one person owns 4.5 to 5.0 and there are two more persons whose ownership varies from 8.0 to 10.00 acres. The remaining 42 respondents said that they do not own any land. That is 84.00 percent of the total respondents either landless labourers people living on some occupation other than agriculture. Table showing the occupational positions of these 50 respondents is in order.

TABLE 4
OCCUPATION

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Municipal workers	20	40.0
Leather workers	6	12.0
Unskilled labour	24	48.0
Total	<u>50</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 4 indicates that out of 50 respondents interviewed 48 percent were unskilled labourers and 40 percent were employed in the town municipality. Mostly as fourth

class employees like peons, road sweepers and scavengers. Only 12 percent have been doing the traditional leather work like Shoe-making, bag making etc.

A comparative examination of these tables 3 and 4 to to indicate that majority of the Scheduled Caste people of Khammam town are below the poverty line. The fact that 84 percent are landless and 6 percent are near-landless and nearly 88 percent are either municipal workers or labourers, goes to show that though most of Scheduled Castes of Khammam left the traditional occupation viz., Shoe-making, their lot has not been improved.

TABLE 5
FAMILY INCOME PER ANNUM

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
500 - 1000	10	-
1100 - 2000	10	20.0
2100 - 3000	8	16.0
3100 - 4000	21	42.0
4100 - 5000	6	12.0
5100 - 6000	2	4.0
6100 - 7000	-	-
7100 - 8000	1	2.0
8100 - 9000	1	2.0
9100 -10000	1	2.0
10000 and above	-	-
Total	50	100.0

Table 5 shows that out of 50 respondents interviewed 20 percent families had Rs. 1,100/- to 2,000/- income per annum. A bulk of them constituting 42 percent families have had Rs. 3,100/- to 4,000/- income per annum. 3 families constituting 6 percent of the total sample respondent families have had income varying between 7100/- to Rs. 10,000/- per annum. No family has more than Rs. 10,000/- income.

Yet another important point to be noticed in this context is that the size of respondent families generally are moderately big. Most of the families are joint families in which there would be more than 10 members living. When the given income pattern is seen as against the family size even the high earning family where the income is Rs. 10,000/- per annum cannot keep the family feeding every member at subsistence level. In such a situation one need not speak of the condition of the families which earn less than that. In such family structure and income structure education to children would be a day dream. When a question is asked as to how much money they needed to meet their family expenditure, more than 20 percent of the respondents could not give an estimated figure of the needed amount. This indicates the height of ignorance in which the Scheduled Caste community is living even after thirty years of our democratic rule.

A table showing either increase or decrease in the economic conditions of the given respondents in the past few years has an interesting point to make.

TABLE 6**ECONOMIC FLUCTUATION IN LAST DECADE**

Economic condition	Number of respondents	Percentage
Better	27	54.0
Same	11	22.0
Worse	12	24.0
Total	50	100.0

As table 6 indicates 54 percent respondents expressed the opinion that their economic conditions when compared to past became better. Out of the remaining 46 percent, 22 percent expressed that their economic conditions remained the same. 24 percent said that their economic conditions became worse. Though the face value of the table indicates that majority of the families have improved their financial position in reality it appears that their economic conditions have not better than before. The respondents do earn more money than they did in the past. Hence they say that their position monetarily has become better. But in fact if we observe deeply this is no substantive improvement of their living conditions. One thing can be considered that they perceive marginal changes for the better in terms of certain things in life. This may be manifested in their slightly better huts, clothing etc. It must be emphasized^d that this improvement is in no way very substantial. On observation we find that they are still living under the poverty line. This is also clear

from the tables analysed on their landed property and income structure.

Thus, the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Caste people of Andhra Pradesh in general, and Khammam in particular, though there are certain changes, seem to be unchanged. Socially speaking child marriages, unshakable faith in superstitions, wretchedness in the living conditions etc., seems to persist. Such being the socio-economic conditions of Scheduled castes of Khammam a systematic analysis of political consciousness of Scheduled Castes of Khammam is a necessary corollary. Hence in chapter III an attempt will be made to analyse the level of political consciousness of Scheduled Castes of Khammam.

CHAPTER III

ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR OF SCHEDULED CASTES

The political behaviour of a given community decides what kind of life the community should have. For any major change in the life of individual first and community next occurs through the active participation of the individual and the community in the political affairs of a nation. Such participation in turn decides the character of the political system in which that individual or community lives. Nevertheless, the extent of political participation of such individual or community directly depends on the level of political consciousness of that particular individual or community. Such being the importance of level of political consciousness in a given system in this chapter the level of political consciousness of Schedule Caste peoples of Khammam town is proposed to be analysed.

The level of political consciousness of a given society depends on the effective political communication network structured for this purpose. The communication channels in this country could be broadly five: (1) News Papers; (2) Radio; (3) Television; (4) Party; (5) Opinion Leadership and other important channels.

News papers are one of the important communicative network structures to mould the public opinion. When the question "do you read News paper daily"? was asked, the answers of the 50 Scheduled Caste respondents were as follows:

TABLE 1NEWS PAPER READING HABIT

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	12	24.0
NO	38 ^o	76.0
Total	50	100.0

^oThis naturally includes the illeterates.

Out of the total respondents interviewed 24 percent said that they read news papers every day. For another question, "did you come to know about election campaign through news papers"? the answers of 50 respondents are as follows :

TABLE 2KNOWLEDGE THROUGH NEWS PAPER

Responses	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	19 ^o	38.0
NO	31	62.0
Total	50	100.0

^oThe difference in table 1 and table 2 has to be explained. In Table 2, the 19 include the people who do not read the news papers habitually but come to know through the source of news papers indirectly.

Table 2 indicates that only 38 percent of the respondents expressed that they came to know about the election through news papers either directly or indirectly. A bulk of the respondents constituting 62 percent said that they did not come to know about elections through news papers. Maybe true that out of these 38 percent, some of them came to know about it through other means of communication, radio, etc. It also may be true that some of them did not know about election till the voting day or even later on.

Another important communication channel is radio. It is generally acknowledged to be a very effective medium in rural areas. Even government publications have been saying that radio has been carrying news to each and every person in rural and urban India. But a table showing the utility of radio, particularly during election is in order.

TABLE 3

RADIO

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	32	64.0
NO	18	36.0
Total	50	100.0

It is to be mentioned that there are about 10 small public parks where radios are installed in the town of Khammam. As table 3 shows out of 50 respondents 32 respondents constituting 64 percent said that they have been listening to All-India Radio off and on. Whereas 18 respondents constituting 36 percent said they did not listen to All India Radio. This 36 percent ^{pc} people who did not listen to All-India Radio could be understood against the character of the Khammam town. Khammam is as semi-urban town exposed to all kinds of modern facilities like trains, buses, etc. When compared to rural areas in Khammam, the town is obviously better supplied with modern facilities. It has been found out that non of the respondent have a set of his ~~own~~ radio. It is unlikely that people who have to struggle for their existence could spare some time to go to public radio and listen to the news. They may do so only when some event of importance were to occur. Elections being such an event at least on some days, some people might be curiously listen to the news. When we say the respondents listen to the radio, we mean in that sense. Because there are no public Televisions in Khammam town at all, no question regarding television was ~~not~~ asked.

Another important communication channel is inter-personal communication or communication through opinion leaders. It appears that in Khammam town more than any other communicative

technique, the opinion leaders have played a vital role in carrying the news to the general public. When asked a question whether any political party members and candidates come to the respondents' house to meet and tell them about the election, the answers of 50 respondents are as follows:

TABLE 4
OPINION LEADERSHIP

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	40	80.0
NO	10	20.0
Total	50	100.0

Table 4 indicates that out of 50 respondents 40 respondents constituting 80 percent said that party members and candidates came to their house and explained about elections. Only 10 respondents constituting 20 percent said that nobody came to them to explain about the elections. But even this is a reflection on party members not on the general public.

Another question to ascertain the approximate number of opinion leaders was "did you help in arranging election meetings"? The answers are as indicated in the table.

TABLE 5ARRANGING ELECTION MEETINGS

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	6	12.0
NO	44	88.0
Total	50	100.0

As table 5 shows out of 50 respondents interviewed, only 6 constituting 12 percent said that they helped in arranging election meetings. This happened because those 12 percent are either wage labourers or Rickshaw pullers. These people were paid money in advance to bring the voters to the polling booth on a contract. But, it is not because of their actual involvement. A majority of the respondents constituting 88 percent said that they did not help anybody in arranging election meetings. Though helping in arranging election meetings might not be considered to constitute the character of opinion leadership, indirectly such persons play the surrogate role of opinion leaders. However, it appears from the table that the number of opinion leaders is considerably less.

Another question to make out the strength of opinion leadership was asked on distributing the polling cards along with party candidates. The responses are in the following manner:

TABLE 7
DISTRIBUTING POLLING CARDS

Varibale	Number of respondents	Percentages
YES	12	24.0
NO	38	76.0
Total	50	100.0

As table 7 indicates out of 50 respondents interviewed 12 respondents constituting 24 percent said that they distributed polling cards along with party candidates. A bulk of respondents constituting 76 percent expressed the opinion that they did not distribute polling cards.

When asked "did you help the voters to go the polling station?" the response of the 50 respondents is as shown in the table below:

TABLE 8
HELPING THE VOTER TO GO TO THE POLLING STATION

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	16	32.0
NO	34	68.0
Total	50	100.0

Table 8 shows the total respondents interviewed 32 percent said that they helped the voters to go to polling station. 68 percent of the total respondents said that they did not help the voters to go to polling station.

Thus, an examination of the impact of communicative agents like news papers, radio, party meetings and opinion leadership goes to indicate that most of the respondents came to know about election through inter personal communication (through opinion leaders) than news papers, radio and political meetings.

The reasons for this may be broadly two:

- 1) Lack of literacy among majority of the voting population.
- 2) Ineffective communication, through certain mass media like news papers and radio.

(However, it is important to note that the communicative network built up in this Country over a period of time has failed to raise the level of concrete political consciousness among Scheduled Caste.) It is obvious that as long as people are not literate they cannot read news papers. But it is customary among the villagers in Andhra and working class areas for some one to read a paper under a tree before the people go out for work or after they return in the evening. This is not an institutionalised practice, but is generally found in almost all the places.

The second aspect that indicates the level of political consciousness of both the "Vote-taker" and the Vote giver' could be examined through the techniques adopted for election campaigning. When a question was asked "how much interest did you show during the last election campaign, the responses are as under.

TABLE 9
INTENSITY OF INTEREST IN ELECTION

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Great deal	14	28.0
Some what	8	16.0
Not at all	28	56.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of the 50 respondents interviewed 14 respondents constituting 28 percent said that they took a great deal of interest in campaigning in the last election. Only 16 percent said that they were some what interested in campaigning activities in the last election. A bulk of the respondents constituting 56 percent said that they were not at all interested in campaigning activities during the past election. When asked another question regarding the attendance of election meeting, the responses are tabulated under:

TABLE 10ATTENDANCE OF ELECTION MEETINGS

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Many	3	6.0
Some	21	42.0
None	26	52.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of the 50 respondents only 3 constituting 6 percent said that they have attended election meetings many times. 21 respondents constituting 42 percent expressed that they have attended some election meetings. To the tune of 52 percent said that they did not attend a single election meeting.

Another way of campaigning both in urban and rural areas is participating in processions either in the town or outside, when asked "whether they have shown interest in participating in political processions", the responses of the 50 respondents are as follows:

TABLE 11PROCESSIONS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Number of respondents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
YES	16	32.0
NO	34	68.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the total 50 respondents 16 constituting 32 percent expressed the fact that they have participated in political processions. Majority of them, constituting 68 percent said that they never participated in political processions either in the town or outside. Those who have attended the procession have done so because of certain inducements given by the candidates. This response is difficult to be tabulated since this is only by means of informal probe that we get these answers.

When asked "have you participated in door to door campaign for a particular party?" the response was as follows:

TABLE 12
DOOR TO DOOR CAMPAIGN

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	14	28.0
NO	36	72.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the 50 respondents 14 accepted that they have participated in door to door campaign for a party in which they believed. 72 percent respondents said that they did not participate in door to door campaign for any political party. This door to door campaigns by the respondents was also because of the monetary inducement given by the candidate as in processions.

There is a similarity between table 9 and table 12. The persons who were interested in election campaigning during the elections were also active in the door to door campaign. To our surprise the percentage of the respondents in both the activities are nearly the same. By this we can say that only few are active in politics among the Scheduled Castes of Khammam town.

Thus, various questions on political campaign made it clear that in almost all the questions, the number of people who are not active in campaigning is more.

Another important variable that needs a close examination in Indian socio-political system is the caste factor. Though social scientists have neglected this factor for several years now there is a realisation on their part that caste is also playing an important role; mostly negatively. Therefore, to test this hypothesis whether caste is playing a negative role or positive role in raising the level of political consciousness of the people of Andhra Pradesh of the Scheduled Caste people in particular, a number of questions on caste have been incorporated in the questionnaire. Further, an analysis of the responses of the 50 respondents interviewed for this purpose are in order.

A question asked to test this hypothesis was "did your caste leader support any party or the candidate"? the responses are as follows:

TABLE 13CASTE LEADER'S SUPPORT TO CANDIDATES

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	13	26.0
NO	37	74.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents 13 respondents constituting 26 percent accepted the fact that their caste leader was supporting a party/candidate. The remaining 74 percent said that their caste leader is not supporting any party or candidate. When another question was asked to find out the relationship between voting pattern and caste, the responses were as follows: "On the whole did your caste people vote for only one party or different parties"?

TABLE 14VOTING PATTERN

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Different parties	29	58.0
One party	14	28.0
D.K.	7	14.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents 29 constituting 58 percent said that they voted for different political parties. 28 percent respondents said that they voted for one party and 14 percent when asked this question remained silent.

Most of these people do not know the other parties even. More than 50 percent are not aware of the name of Mr. Jagjivan Ram. Majority of respondents agreed that they voted for Congress (I).

To a question "like your caste people do you also think that voting is important or not?" the responses were as following:

TABLE 15
IMPORTANCE OF VOTING

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Important	48	96.0
Not important	2	4.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the total respondents a bulk of them constituting 96 percent said that voting is an important factor. On the contrary only 2 respondents constituting 4 percent said that they need not think that voting is important as their caste people think.

In so far as the question asked no caste and vote pattern relationships and the response given by the respondents, indicate that caste factor is not overtly influencing the voting behaviour of the Scheduled Caste of Khammam. That does not mean that caste has no role to play in moulding the political behaviour of masses. In such a large and complex political system like India an institution like caste has unconscious control over the behavioural mechanisms of individuals and the community at large.

In a political system like India where political norms are fully established much room is left for political manipulation to take the system into the hands of few individuals or few groups. One of the best manipulative mechanisms that was evolved for this purpose was political corruption. It is a common knowledge that bribing the voters during the time of elections and getting the votes, is a universal practise. When the political morality is low, things like corruption control the institutions and also individuals. It has been an accepted fact atleast in the academic circles that vote mobilisation through corruption is a common practice in India. To test this hypothesis whether the Scheduled Caste voting population were pliable for corrupt practices or not, some questions have been incorporated in the questionnaire. Now one of such questions is "Whether money and drinks were supplied freely to voters"? The responses to this question were as follows:

TABLE 16SUPPLY OF MONEY & DRINKS

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	9	18 .0
NO	39	78 .0
D.K.	2	4 .0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50, 9 respondents constituting 18 percent accepted the fact that money and drinks were supplied freely to them. 39 respondents constituting 78 percent said that they did not get money and drinks freely. Only 2 respondents constituting 4 percent expressed their ignorance about the question.

Corruption is some thing which very few givers and takers accept even when given and taken. Though the respondents do not admit that they took money and drinks, it does not need any empirical evidence to prove what is so obviously striking to your eye.

For another question was supply of money and drinks made to all the voters or to very few voters?", the answers of the respondents are given below in the table.

TABLE 17SUPPLY OF MONEY AND DRINK TO PARTICULAR COMMUNITY

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
To particular community	8	16.0
D.K.	42	84.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the 50 respondents 16 percent said that money and drinks were supplied freely only to a particular class and 84 percent remained silent when asked about the existence of this practice. Though minority did accept the reality, political corruption need not and would not percolate to all the levels. It is the opinion/leadership or caste leadership or village influencials that need to be bribed. Hence the opinion of 16 percent carries a lot of weight.

In India more than programmes of a party or its ideological commitments, the personal charisma of a leader becomes the centre of vote mobilizing activity. For example, Mrs. Gandhi became the centre of vote mobilisation activity under playing all other factors that ought to have been important in building up a system. They take up certain activities which attract the people without doing anything concrete to them. Such being the character of the system like India a question was asked to know how the Scheduled Caste community were appreciating particular role of Indira Gandhi.

"Do you generally like the programmes that were implemented under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership"?

TABLE 18
APPLICATION FOR PROGRAMMES

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	45	90.0
DK	5	10.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents interviewed, 45 constituting 90 percent said that they generally liked the programmes that were implemented under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership. Only a minority constituting 10 percent said that they have no idea about the programmes and all.

The above table shows that the Scheduled Caste community is much aware of Mrs. Gandhi's work than any other person in India. Her appeal among economically deprived sections seems to re-inforce certain benefits that acquired to them in implementation of 20 point programme. It is interesting to know that they have not heard to Mahatma Gandhi, but they know Mrs. Gandhi well. Though Charisma is important in building political career it plays complete positive role in Mrs. Gandhi's case.

In a democratic system the role of political parties has been well estimated. Without political parties, it is accepted, the democracy does not exist at all. But the efficacy or otherwise of any democratic system depends on the nature of the political parties. To what extent a political party or parties would mobilise the masses and enroll the membership and make the masses politically active is a proof to the political efficacy of the system. To test this hypothesis number of questions have been incorporated in the questionnaire to estimate the character of consciousness of existence of various political parties among Scheduled Caste people of Khammam town.

One of the question is as follows. "Is there any party that takes interest in your class to uplift your condition"? The responses are rather discouraging.

TABLE 19
INTEREST OF THE PARTY IN UPLIFING CONDITIONS

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	8	16.0
NO	42	84.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents interviewed (42) constituting 84 percent said that there is no party that takes interest

in our class to uplift our condition. Only 8 people constituting 16 percent said that there is a party that takes interest in our class to uplift the condition. A point to be noted here is that as has been analysed in Chapter II, most of the Scheduled Caste people of Khammam town live below poverty line. As above table indicates that 84 percent people expressed the opinion that there is no single party which takes interest in them. Here, we can say that people are not conscious of the fact that it is the party programme and organisation that are responsible for the implementation of schemes but not the personal role of the leaders. It's because of Mrs. Gandhi's direct appeal to the masses overruling other party channels and other institutional arrangements. But in one way that is to say that political parties either left or right are totally unconcerned to the problem of Scheduled Caste people in Andhra Pradesh in general, Khammam town in particular. The seeming contradiction between the table 19 and table 20 are also to be seen in the light of dual perceptions of the Scheduled caste members about their existential condition and future perspectives. They on the one hand, perceive that the 20 point programme do them good and that responses is given in table 19. At the same time as an alienated community they express their sense of frustration in general terms which is in line with their continuing experience. The same type of seeming contradictions persist in further responses which are listed as we proceed.

To another question "Is there any political party that you like"? the responses are as follows:

TABLE 20
LIKING OF A POLITICAL PARTY

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	35	70.0
NO	15	30.0
Total:	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents (35 respondents) constituting 70 percent said that there is a political party which they like. Only 15 respondents constituting 30 percent said that there is no political party which they like. However, quite contradicting opinions have been expressed when we compare the opinions of 50 respondents in table 19 and the opinion of the same respondents in table 20. For examples, when expressing the interest taken by the parties in their class 84 percent said no party was taking interest. When asked whether they like any party 70 percent said they like some party or other. This seeming contradiction can be explained in the following manner. The total rejection of any party has expressed in table 19 seems to be out of disgust towards all parties and in subsequent table they seem to express that while no party does anything to them at least

congress (I) under the compulsion of Mrs. Gandhi's programme seems to touch the problems of the surface.

To an another question "is there any other political party which you never want to vote"? The responses as follows:

TABLE 21
PREJUDICE ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Cannot say	12	24.0
No prejudice against any party	38	76.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the total respondents interviewed 76 percent expressed the opinion that there is no party to which they never would like to vote. Only 24 percent said that they cannot say any thing.

It is in accepted fact by amany social scientists that the only political action that majority of the Indians perform is voting. But this could~~be~~ done either with the political consciousness both in terms of his own life and the political system in which he is living or othe voter can be taken to a polling booth like an unwilling horse to the water. In that case the vote, instead of playing a positive role in building up a system would play a negative role.

destroying the democratic norms from bottom to top. It has been also opined by many that in India right from 1952 down to 1977 in almost all the elections that the voter has been a mere instrument in the hands of political demagogues. The net results of such an activity was that the political system instead of advancing, appear to be deteriorated. Though there are number of studies pointing out this fact both interms of vote pattern and other factors influencing voting behaviour, a study is necessiated to understand this problem more specifically at micro-level. Number of questions have been incorporated to this effect in the questionnaire. The questions and responses of the 50 respondents interviewed for this purpose are in order.

1. "Like others in your ward do you think that voting is important or not"?

The responses are in the following manner.

TABLE 15

IMPORTANCE OF VOTING

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Important	48	96.0
Not important	2	4.0
Total	50	100.0

(This table 15 is repeated for the sake of sequence).

Out of 50 respondents interviewed (48) constituting 96 percent expressed the opinion that voting is important. Only 2 respondents constituting 4 percent said that they do not think like others in their ward that voting is important. However, a point to be noted is that majority of the voters are aware of the fact that voting is important.

2. "Whom did you vote in the last Assembly elections?"

If possible name of the candidate/party/symbol". The responses are given below:

TABLE 22
RECOLLECTION OF PAST VOTING

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
Party, candidate, Symbol	21	42.0
Party and candidate	2	2.0
Party and symbol	10	20.0
Candidate and symbol	2	4.0
Only party	5	10.0
Only candidate	-	-
D.K.	10	20.0
TOTAL	50	100.00

Of the 50 respondents 21 constituting 42 percent could name the party, candidate and symbol to which they voted. 4 percent respondents could name the party and candidate but not the symbol. 20 percent respondents could name the party and symbol but not the candidate. 4 percent respondents could name the candidate and symbol but not the party and 10 percent respondents could name the party alone. Above all there are 20 percent respondents who could not name the party, candidate and symbol.

3. "Whom did you decide the party which you wanted to vote to?"

The responses for this question are in the following Manner:

TABLE 23

TIME OF DECISION OF VOTE

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
On the polling day	10	20.0
During the campaign	5	10.0
Before the campaign started	35	70.0
Total	50	100.0

Of the total respondents interviewed 20 percent accepted the fact that they had decided the party to which they wanted

to vote only on the polling day. 10 percent respondents decided the party which they want to vote during the campaign. 70 percent respondents decided their party before the campaign started. This table surprisingly presents a picture which contradicts the general understanding about Indian voters. As the table shows, 70 percent of people said that they have decided before the campaign started. All these respondents interestingly enough for voting for Mrs. Gandhi's candidates. The fact that they have decided before the campaign shows the utter irrelevance of the various candidates who stood on the cong.(I) ticket. They voted for "Indiramma". This is possible logically speaking only when the voters are committed to a particular party.

4. "Have you gone to the polling station on your own or some body else taken you there"? The responses to this question are as follows:

TABLE 24

ATTENDANCE TO POLLING STATION

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
On my own	46	92.0
persuaded to go	4	8.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of the total respondents interviewed 92 percent said they went to the polling station on their own. Only 8 percent accepted the fact that they have been persuaded to go to the polling station by some body else. All these people are conventionally or emotionally committed to vote for Mrs. Gandhi's party. There does not seem to be any discrepant in their choice.

5. "Did you vote during 1978 Assembly election?"

The responses are as follows:

TABLE 25
VOTING IN PREVIOUS ASSEMBLY ELECTION

Variable	Name of respondents	Percentage
YES	44	88.0
NO	6	12.0
Total	50	100.0

Out of 50 respondents interviewed 44 respondents constituting 88 percent said that they had voted during 1978 Assembly election. Only 6 respondents constituting 12 percent said that they did not vote during 1978 Assembly election. A point to be noted here is that whatever the campaign techniques, the corrupt practices, the personality influences etc., might be there, the available evidence shows that the percentage of the people who participated in voting is considerable.

Nevertheless, the political consciousness of Scheduled Caste people in Andhra Pradesh in general and scheduled caste of Khammam proved to have been neither too high nor too low. It is quite moderate. But, certain factors like campaigning techniques and communication net work, have not played an effective role in politicizing the masses more so of Scheduled Castes. Some other factors like political corruption, personality of leaders like Mrs. Gandhi and the role of caste leaders appear to have had influence on political consciousness among the masses. If it were to be a concrete political consciousness the economic conditions of the people would not have been as they are today. Hence, one can conclude by saying that though questions to examine vote pattern got a very positive response presenting a rosy picture of percentages of voters turned out to the polling booths, the real political consciousness which is a primary condition for transformation of our socio-economic system towards a better system is yet to be attained.

CHAPTER IVPOLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The modern political systems are results of tremendous upheavels that took place from time to time. Man has experienced variety of systems and in the process he also learnt to accelerate the process of social change through political means. Historically speaking from primitive conditions to the present modern systems, all are the outcomes of the active participation of man in politics. Between these extreme developments viz., namely primitive stage to modern system, there are number of systems which have come into existence and got uprooted. Examples like kingship, monarchy, aristocracy, nation state may be cited. Further the changes are the result of a long standing struggle by under dogs against the privileged; in other words the changes are the net out come of the struggles by the ruled against the rulers. A point to be noted here is that the struggle to change the socio-polotical system of a nation could be taken up only in political arena. Hence, an active mass participation in day-today political affairs of the Country is a must to achieve the desired social change.

Participation by the people in various political activities is generally considered to be an important aspect of a political system. Infact the inputs into the political system as described by David Easton and others are on the

assumption of the participation by the people. Interest articulation and aggregation are the functions of political participation. Sometimes, as we have noted earlier there may be participation at mass level that had great deal of "demonstration effect" or a passive type of participation depending upon the legitimacy of the political system. These types can be discerned in the people accepting the rules of the game and doing their part does giving support to the governmental policies. As is well known in a democratic polity participation of the people in election of representatives is an essential pre-condition. Apart from the general elections where the secular and modernizing leadership are elected, there may also exist various other traditional institutions which have been responsible for the maintenance of the social system. We are not here going into the desirability or undesirability of these institutions nor into the question of their being statusquo oriented. These traditional institutions will also be used in the politicization process since politics will enter into every channel that is available for use.

Caste organisations that have been functioning informally for a long time, though play an important role in the political processes, especially in the rural and semi-rural areas and even there, more so among the alienated and backward sections of the community. The control of the caste leadership over its

members seems much stronger in communities like the Scheduled Castes, tribes and other backward castes.

Taking this into consideration we shall try to examine to what extent in our study there caste leaderships have played their part in mobilizing the people and articulation their special demands. It is observed that in Khammam town the Scheduled Castes are generally mobilised under their caste Panchayat like the various caste Panchayat of the deprived sections of the community. This Panchayat also strives to do its bit for the redressal of the grievances of the members of the community.

The caste panchayat consists of four members (1) President, (2) Vice-President, (3) General Secretary, (4) Messenger.

These offices, interestingly enough, are held by election. The election procedure is very simple and direct. As it used to happen in Greek City States all the adults of the community including female adults on one day sit together and elect the body. This election, as it has been informed by the Scheduled Caste people of Khammam is so simple that it is by raising of hands. Aged, wise and respectable persons would be elected as President, 'caste elder' (Kula Pedda). Though in theory anybody can contest for the Kulapedda post but they generally do not. This is the accepted norm of the community. Here traditional leader is given a legitimate right, who ever is nominated by the Kulapedda would generally be elected as

Vice-President, General Secretary, who is known as 'Salvari' and Messenger. These people in a way practise 'recall' method to replace the elected body in case the presently elected body is not working properly.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CASTE PANCHAYAT:

The powers of caste panchayat are quite significant. It is almost a supreme body in so far as the caste issues are concerned. It takes the decisions when ever a man should be out-casted and it also takes the decision when ever a man or woman should be taken into their caste.⁶ It frames certain rules and regulations pertaining to the entire caste community. Once the rules are framed by the caste panchayat they should be obeyed by each and every man in the community. The caste panchayat also enjoys certain judicial powers. Any judgement given by the caste Panchayat is binding on the entire caste community. However, a point to be noted is that caste panchayats do not have much financial powers because it would not have much funds available with it.

The functions of caste panchayat are numerous and varied. The functions are generally social, political and at times economic also.

⁶This, however is a rare occurrence. This generally happens when there is an inter-caste marriage and one of the spouses has to be admitted into their caste.

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS :

In deciding the political matters the caste panchayat, it appears, plays a very important role. The caste panchayat appears to be a vote pocket. The president of the caste panchayat would be having a good number of followers within the caste community. As a President he interacts with many other communities and public officers. Therefore, he should be considered and respected as a 'Pauravikar'. In fact, he is a lower level middle man. His work would be carrying some weight even outside his caste because of the fact that he has followers within his caste. During election times, as has been revealed in informal discussions, the President of caste panchayat assumes lot of importance. He would be acting as a mediator between the party leaders and the people. He would be the person who will get the major share of the money distributed during elections. In turn the caste leader or the President of the caste panchayat would distribute this money to his own caste people. But generally such money would be spent on festival occasions for the purpose of drinking and merry making. On such occasions the families of members of caste panchayat enjoy certain privileges over the other caste people. The caste leader is also generally approached for the mobilising of the members of the caste for meetings, demonstrations and processions by the leaders of political parties and district level leader. Needless to say in all these situations he renders the services for a consideration.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS :

The social functions of caste panchayat assume more importance than the political functions. The scheduled castes community appears to be a mini world full of complex problems. It is caste panchayat which tries to solve all such problems but nonetheless caste panchayat works within the frame work of caste-culture. One of the major social problems that number of people mentioned among the scheduled castes of Khammam town was the marriages and divorces. Most of the panchayati meetings were held in order to solve these disputes. During such meetings, it is the President of the panchayat who will be chairing the meetings. His decision is supposed to be final and binding. But generally the decisions are not unilateral. Such decisions would be taken in consultation with the other prominent members of the caste community. The people of Harijanawadas of Khammam town say "we see verything in Peddamanishi". He has to share all our problems and pleasures. Otherwise, we do not call him Peddamanishi". According to some people he should be an elderly person, experienced and honest and respectable. The matters regarding inter-caste marriages and divorces would be settled by the caste panchayat. For example, if a Scheduled Caste boy marries a girl belonging to a lower Scheduled Caste or any other higher caste, the

^o He is variously termed as Kulapedda - or peddamanishi, Panchayat President.

caste panchayat has to decide whether the girl should be accepted or not. It is generally observed that girls from higher caste would be accepted after performing some customary rites. But the girls belonging to a lower caste would not be allowed to enter into the house of the higher scheduled caste man.

Apart from this there are other issues which the caste panchayat would take up. Examples like land disputes, and other disputes pertaining to their occupations may be cited.

Moreover, on all marriage occasions the head of the caste panchayat has got to be present. Secondly, during the times of death the head of the caste (Kulapedda) acts as the guardian or guide of the family. The customs and conventions that are observed go in the name of the caste head. The entire family members take orders from the caste head and carry them out duly on all the occasions when parties are arranged be it a marriage or funeral or any other. He has to inaugurate it by taking food first. Any delay in the arrival of the Head of the caste would keep the rest waiting for him.

The funds for caste panchayat would be collected generally from the caste people. Further, the caste panchayat while resolving the disputes may ask the parties to deposit some money and it would see to it that who ever is proved to

have been guilty his deposit would be taken to the caste panchayat. Out of that money some money might be used for drinking and merry making by the people who sat to resolve the dispute.

Thus, the caste panchayat plays an important role in the scheduled caste community. But when the question of social change comes, though the caste panchayat plays a vital role, the role is not towards social development but it is towards maintaining statusquo. It is very important to note here that in the large constitutional and legal political setup there are number of non-constitutional and non-legal institutions and organisations that are playing a very vital role in maintaining the statusquo in the system. Unless one recognises the importance and the role that these institutions are playing, it is not possible to bring about progressive social change.

However, at empirical level it needs to be tested as to what kind of political participation is taking place and what kind of social change that participation leads to. *
To this effect some questions have been canvassed. As it has been said earlier the political parties in this country are controlled by the upper class and highly educated people. Hence, the lower classes more so the Scheduled Castes have been neglected. As a result the socio-economic conditions

of the lower classes in general, Scheduled castes in particular are very bad. A part from various other institutions and methods by which the socio-economic level of the people can be raised, the functioning of the political parties assumes a significant role. Though then the process of socialization of the masses and mobilizing them for united action can be achieved, Political parties in India canvass not only on the basis of their ideology, Party programme and policies but also by recruitment into ranks leaders from various sections of the people, prominent people from certain classes and castes etc. It is well known that while for secular facade parties may not talk about castes, in actual operation, they do exploit them. But in case of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities secular politics does not preclude their being canvassed on their caste basis. Since scheduled castes are quite a big of the population and almost all of them are deprived sections of the community and have been denied the ordinary previlages of normal civilized life for ages. All political parties do make direct and sectional appeal to them without any fear of being dubbed as communal. Infact every political party, viz., with the other in making special appeals to them, though the actual implementation processes may at with avariance with the programme declarations. *

It is thought relevant to see that to what extent the members of the Scheduled Castes themselves perceive the role that political parties playing towards their betterment.

To ascertain this, the following question was asked: "Is there any party that takes interest in uplifting the conditions of your class"? The responses are as follows:

TABLE 19

INTEREST OF THE POLITICAL PARTY IN UPLIFTING THE
CONDITIONS OF CLASSES

Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage
YES	8	16.0
NO	42	84.0
Total	50	100.0

This table 19 has been taken from the 3rd Chapter for the sake of argument.

As it is said in this table the negative reply is so over^awhelming^x that it does not need any further explanation about the way the Scheduled Castes perceive the political parties.

The institutions like Caste Panchayats and political parties seem to have played a negative role, thus, maintaining the statusquo. Hence, the socio-economic change never took place. And political consciousness has also been poor. At

It may be broadly said there is a great deal of apathy and indifference among the people. This may be because their abject poverty engages them in earning their livelihood rather than playing any role in the community or political activity. Even such activities during elections as well noted earlier are strictly speaking in pursuance of winning their daily bread rather than any positive political participation.

A minimum level of economic conditions have to prevail in order to generate political awareness and thus mobilize participation in democratic institutions. In a way it can be said that Scheduled Castes in this town live rather under subhuman condition as the socio-economic status tables have very clearly demonstrated. Therefore, there will be no meaningful participation from these people. On the contrary the conditions at sub-human level continues for a long time, it is unlikely that these people would remain in the same passive manner for too long. Lack of proper channalisation of these people into constructive political activity might even lead to "anti-social", protest movements. They cannot be insulated from the surrounding austentatious life style of the other communities. When they demand social justice, it may not be in a peaceful and legal manner.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In a democracy political participation of the masses at the grass root is one of the most necessary ingredients of the system. Participation can be on different issues with different degrees of intensity among different sections of the people. Not all issues have uniformed amount of importance to all sections of the people and depending upon the salience of certain issues to certain people the intensity of the participation would vary. Apart from that, participation is a dependent variable influenced by other independent variables like socio-economic status, level of education, age, level of political consciousness, process of socialization. Participation may be negative or positive depending upon the point of view of the observer. A protest movement or a support to governmental policy or manifestation of participation, as also varies, other actions like a binding by the general instructions, taking part in constructive activities like planed pprogrammes etc. we would consider that even strict obedience to civic laws as part of participation.

Generally the deprived and alienated section of people may demonstrate certain amount of apathy and indifference or during certain extreme situations resort to uncommon actions not excluding violent outburst. The various tribal struggles are a demonstration of this factor. For long periods they

remained totally apathetic, but given a leadership that could articulate their griveinces and aggregate them, they rose in revolt in utter defiance of the legal authority and chohesive apparatus of the state. The Scheduled Castes have also been for a long time a pdeprived and weaker-section of the community. Their miserable condition is a result of age old exploitation which had a traditional sanctity. We now come to a stage when it is generally accepted that this condition should change. Like tribal uplising, the trouble has been simmering even among the Scheduled Castes and we have witnessed a number of outbursts in which the traditional authority has been launched outright attacks against their protest. We need hardly mentioned the "Dalith Panthars" movements and on the otherside the attacks on Harijans by upper caste Hindus in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and in Andhra Pradesh.

The aim of this study is not to take up this vast area of discontent but aonly to see a small facit of it. The limitations are many. The individual nature of the researcher and the limited nature of the resources do impose certain difficulties. The generalisations and conclusions are applicable only to the small universe under investigation, but we are sure that to a large extent they are generally valied for the whole country.

We tried to examine the caste and class congruence against the situation in the field namely Khammam town was placed. A description of the socio-economic conditions in Khammam of the members of Scheduled Caste has been attempted in brief. Though the constitution of India thus guarantee certain rights to Scheduled Castes and has abolished untouchability and proclaimed its practice unlawful, in actual practice the evil is far from being eradicated. It is both social and economical. It may be argued that raising the economic level automatically raise their social level.

The general conditions of the Scheduled Castes in Andhra is more or less the same as in other states, though their institutions, their rituals, ceremonies, customs and practices may differ. Infact, we have shown these differences from district to district. Our observations are confined to the Khammam urban area. This is also mentioned that there is a difference between the urban and rural social practices. The conclusions have been drawn both on the basis of non-participant observation, study of literature and method of interview.

The term scheduled caste also includes a large number of sub-castes among them with a number of taboos. For our study we have taken only Malas and Madigas who between them

are mutually explosive. Since they do scavenging traditionally and deal with dead animals, they take leather work and beating of drums 'called 'Doppus' which are made of leather. This is one of the reason for their untouchable status since the higher castes feel that leather, skill and scavenging cause pollution.

It is also observed that a part from general suffering of the untouchability, their own inter sub-caste differences tend to increase the suffering.

Our study has clearly shown the total lack of literacy among them. As a concomitant factor of this they are subjected to a number of devitalising superstitions and general level of ignorance. Only one among the respondents was in the higher income (10,000 per annum) he being an ex-M.L .A. This was a gift to him because of the reserved constituency. There seems to be a slight measure of improvement in their financial conditions over the years which is a result of the spill-over of the general prosperity of the Khammam town. Over the years Khammam town witnessed greater business activity and agriculture prosperity following the 'Nagarjung Sagar Project' did have its effects on Khammam town. New buildings and new roads, lights and transportation have afforded a few more rupees into the hands of those who pulled the rickshaws and made shoes for the privileged community.

This has been shown in their answers acknowledging some improvement in their living conditions.

The influence of communication media has also been examined. It is very difficult to ascertain the influence of news paper on a community which is in poverty and total illiteracy. A few people might pass pieces of information in informal gatherings of the people outside their normal working hours. None of them owns either a radio set or a transistor and it is unlikely that they go to any municipal park where a public radio is installed. Their time is taken up in toiling for their bread and taking rest after hard days labour. Such of the information that they have a very rudimentary piece like Mrs. Gandhi being their leader, is derived from a few opinion leaders.

The participation in actual voting in election seems to have been almost total. Since 90 percent of them said that they exercised their vote in the previous election. This may not mean that they went to the booth voluntarily and with degree of commitment of the political processes. The answers that they gave to the subsequent questions are a clear indication of the passive nature of the participation. To a question as to how interested or enthusiastic they were in exercising their vote, the responses were noted to be that majority of them were not interested in voting. They

do affirm that the process of voting is important. Many of them did not attend the election campaign meetings. But, they were employed for conducting the voters to the booths or for distributing polling cards or such odd jobs. These were more in the nature of wage earning rather than positive evidence of political consciousness.

To what extent the caste affiliations played any role is difficult to ascertain since to them caste factor is immaterial. They did not perceive that caste plays an important role in the elections. With regard to election malpractices also the picture does not emerge very clearly. Only a small percentage (18) directly acknowledge that money was given to them for voting. The same group of respondents also testify to the fact of liquor being offered to them. But a general observation made by knowledgeable people in the town does confirm that money and liquor were offered especially in Harijan Busties. The responses might be due to either fear or sense of guilt or it may very well be that some leaders took all the money and drank all the liquor without other getting any share.

Though they were not very clearly aware of the difference between parliament elections or state elections we could only deduce from the fact that they could remember the names of the candidate. The municipal elections have been suspended for quite sometime and the municipalities were run only by election.

They were not aware of the political leaders either the national or state level. The only exceptions were Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Vengal Rao who was the then Chief Minister who also from Khammam. They were also aware of the local leaders of Khammam who belong to Cong.(I) party. WE did not record this as a response to a structured question except for ascertaining their knowledge of Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Jagjivan Ram. Interestingly enough ^{only} some of them were aware of the existence of the scheduled caste leader. In general mid term election of 1979 proved the emptiness of Ram's claim as a Scheduled Caste leader.

The political participation of scheduled castes of Khammam has been examined. A study of relationship between political participation, and social change has been made. In this connection the role of caste Panchayat which is right now existing in Khammam town has been studied. This being the immediate Political institute which deals with the day to day affairs of the Scheduled Caste people an enquiry into the election method Panchayats has been conducted. In relation to this the social, economic and political power and functions of caste Panchayat have been studied. The available data established that direct democratic devices are practiced in the election of the caste Panchayat. Further, it has also been proved that the caste head is very powerful in dealing the socio-economic

issues of the community. His presence during marriages and deaths is a must. However, the data proved that though caste Panchayat has been working within a traditional caste framework and the scheduled castes have been participating in elections exercising the franchise, the social change to a considerable extent did not take place. The participation of scheduled castes of Khammam town in the last seven Lok Sabha Elections and six State Assembly Elections, the study established did not change the social economic conditions of these people towards this betterment. Contrary to this the size in the population is tremendous. Against this the welfare measures taken up by the government are negligible.

Conclusions

Such being the results of the study as discussed above, the following conclusions may be drawn.

(1) Political participation through election, though voting activity has been taking place at regular intervals, does not seem to have had much impact on the life patterns of the Scheduled Castes in Khammam in particular and in Andhra Pradesh in general. This is because of broadly two reasons: (a) the political institutions that are adopted in India seem to be irrelevant and (b) though India is a multi-party system, the electoral competition among these parties appears to be unhealthy and counter productive.

It is here question s like how and why the political institutions that India has are irrelevant? and why the electoral competition among various political parties is counter productive? may be asked.

The answer to the first question would be that for two centuries, before independence, India was under the total grip of colonial markets. The social inequalities of the caste system is a part of Indian tradition. In the process of colonising India and exploiting here the Britishers established certain socio-political institutions which suited their administration and these did not serve to break the chains of social exploitation. By the time we achieved political independence, the institutions got well established. The privileged nations were also deeply entrenched.

The second answer would be that in an under developed country like ours multi-party system seems to be playing a counter productive role because, as the present study established, the main aim of the political parties is vote mobilization but not social change. This aspect of the system shouldbe realized sooner. A study of the scheduled castes of Khammam proved that even after thirty years of democratic rule of masses did not register, at least, some degree of political consciousness. Such being the situation the money spent by all these political parties is only making

the leaders and the led, corrupt. The competition is, it appears, in spending money and giving liquor to the people but not in giving them a concrete socio-economic programme in order to raise the standards of the people.

However, such being the situation of research front a lot of work has to be done in order to establish certain facts more clearly than it is done now. For example, a problem like political participation of Scheduled Castes itself need to be studied at micro and macro level in depth. The facts established studying the scheduled caste population living in a town like Khammam may not give an insight into the problems of scheduled castes in entire Andhra Pradesh as well as in entire India. Quite a few village, town and city studies are needed to come to proper conclusions about the magnitude of the problem. Within this area of the politics of preferential treatment need to be studied to establish the co-relationship between political consciousness and proper utilization of policies of preferential treatment. More of these studies are necessary at micro level and at macro level to examine various aspects of the problems of Harijans and girijans at all India level.

Once such factors are established another dimension of political participation viz., participation through mass

struggles in order to achieve the derived social change may studied. A comparative analysis of areas wherever mass struggles were there and where ever mass struggles were not there may be taken up. If mass struggles resulted in better and concrete political consciousness, Participation in such struggles may be encouraged further.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Administered in Telugu)

Background data:

I. Age

II. Caste and sub-caste

III. Occupation:

IV. Education:

V. Property in land:

1. Till now where did you live?

Village/Town

2. In some villages/wards people vote according to some leaders advice. Is there any body like that here?

Yes/No

3. Do you generally consider his advice about the voting or not?

Considers/doesn't consider

4. During the last assembly elections did your whole ward vote for one party &or different parties?

One Party/Different Parties

5. Like others in the ward, is voting important for you or not?

important/not important

6. Some could not vote in the previous elections, Were you able to vote or not?

Voted/did not vote

7. Whom did you vote? Name the candidate/party/symbol.

8. In recent Assembly Elections who won from your constituency?

Name of the candidate

9. What are the reasons for his victory?

Money/party/personal influence

10. Can you name the party/symbol of the contestants in this constituency in the last Assembly election?

Name of the party/symbol

11. When did you decide to which party to vote?

- i) On the polling day;
- ii) During the campaign;
- iii) Before the campaign started.

12. Did you go on your own to the polling station or did some one persuade you to go?

On my own/has persuaded to go.

13. How much interest did you show during the last election campaign?

Great deal/some what/not at all.

14. How many of the election meetings did you attend?

Many/some/None.

✓ 15. Do you read newspaper daily?

Yes/No

15(a) Did you get the news about the election campaign from any news paper?

Yes/No

16. What about radio? Did you listen about the election programmes and elections on the radio?

Yes/No

✓ 17. During election, party members and candidates, contact many people, like that did any body come to your house to ask for your votes?

Yes/No

✓ 18. Did you help in arranging election meetings?

Yes/No.

19. During the campaign did you participate in any processions etc.?

Yes/No

20. Did you canvass (door to door) for any specific party or candidate?

Yes/No

21. Did you help the voters to go to polling station?

YES/NO

22. Did you distribute any polling cards along with any party candidate?

Yes/No

23. Did you help monetarily to any party?

Yes/No

24. Did your caste leader support any party/candidate?

Yes/No

25. Is there any political party that you like?

Yes/No

26. Is there any party which you will never vote for?

Yes/No

27. Do you generally like the programmes that were implemented under Mrs. Gandhi's leadership?

Yes/No

28. In this constituency were money and liquor supplied freely to voters?

Yes/No

29. Was it supplied to all the voters or only for few?

All the voters/only for few

30. During the last few years has your economic position been getting better or not?

Better/same/worse

31. Is there any political party that takes interest in your community to uplift your condition?

Yes/No

32. Is there any community that comes in your way as an obstacle for your development?

Comes in the way/doesn't come in the way

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