

HARIJAN—NON-HARIJAN CONFLICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH

*A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

by

D. VENKATESWARLU

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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DECLARATION

**Certified that the material in this dissertation
has not been previously submitted for any other degree of
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The conditions of the Harijans have vastly changed since independence. From one of gloom and dejection, the picture of their living has changed to that of hope and aspiration. Sincere efforts by dedicated social workers even from pre-independence days and certain legal measures by the government of independent India have helped the Harijans to break the clutches of exploitation since centuries by the upper caste Hindus. The present period of time may be viewed as a phase of transformation in the process of establishing complete equality by the Harijans. History of certain societies enlightens us with the fact that no lower or middle class could achieve equality with the upper classes without resistance from the latter. The same phenomenon seems to be evident in India too with regards to social change among the Harijans.

To probe into depths of such social change among the Harijans and the resultant conflict between them and the upper caste Hindus was the ambition of the researcher of this study. But his ambition has not been fully realized in this study as the research tools in his hand at this stage are only of the secondary type. He reserves that for further research into the problem. For now, he is content to discuss and analyse the nature and form of conflict between the Harijans and the upper caste Hindus. The same handicap does not enable one to analyse those involved in

the conflict in terms of class structure.

The concepts like "upper caste Hindus," "non-Harijans," "non-Harijan Hindus" are inter-changeably used to convey the same meaning of the term - 'upper caste Hindus'.

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Prof. Yogendra Singh, my Supervisor and Chairman of the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, who has given inspirational guidance and constant encouragement to me all through my research work;

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

This study is a preparatory exercise which seeks to study the form and nature of conflict relationship between the Harijans and the other caste Hindus as it is existing in Andhra Pradesh. A number of studies have been done on the culture and social structure of the Indian Harijans on the one hand, and inter-caste relationships between the 'polluting' untouchable castes and the 'clean' castes, and social-mobility among the untouchable castes on the other hand. The latter has been studied from different viewpoints -- administrative, journalistic, humanitarian, political, and sociological and anthropological. However, we may refer to the studies of anthropological and sociological viewpoints, and then state the objective and focus of the problem of this study clearly and sharply.

II

It will be useful if we may discuss for convenience sake different studies done on Harijans under three broad categories - (1) 'Harijan culture and social structure' referring to the studies concerned with only culture and social structure of Harijans; (2) 'Harijan social mobility' under which studies dealing with social mobility of untouchable castes may be discussed; and (3) 'caste conflict

studies' which refer to the studies on inter-caste conflicts.

1 Harijan Culture and Social Structure

Perhaps the earliest work on any Harijan caste people was by Briggs. He explained in detail the social and economic life and various customs of Chamars, the leather-workers in the then United Provinces.¹ Another early work that followed Briggs' was by Hunt. Writing his book with a missionary zeal, he gave a vivid account of the life of India's untouchables as they were in the early twenties. Their conversion to Christianity and their firm belief and determination to continue to be Christians were elaborately described. Incidentally, many of the illustrative cases he described were from Darnakal region of Andhra Pradesh State. His material was drawn mostly from information given by Christian missionaries, besides his personal observations.²

Some have worked particularly on Andhra Harijans. T.R. Singh has done a detailed monograph on the social structure of the Madiga caste - its various aspects like structural units, kinship, family and authority, and the changes taking place due to land reforms, democracy, legal ban on untouchability, urbanization and so forth.³ Subbhe Reddy has made a comparison of two important Harijan castes,

1. Geo W. Briggs, The Chamars, 1920.

2. W.S. Hunt, India's Outcasts: A New Era, 1924.

3. T.R. Singh, The Madiga: A Study in Social Structure and Change, 1969.

the Mala and the Madiga, and dealt with inter-group conflict between them.⁴

Stephen Fuch's work on Nimar Balahis in Madhya Pradesh seeks to fill a gap in anthropological literature on Indian low castes. He believes that for a sound understanding and true interpretation of Indian religion, culture and history, a detailed study of Indian, non-Aryan low castes is essential because it is from these pre-Aryan races that the Hindu castes in the course of centuries must have assimilated many customs and usages which are today regarded as genuine Hindu traditions. As a contribution to fill this gap, this book describes elaborately social structure and culture of the Nimar Balahis.⁵

I.P. Dasai prepared a report on the water facilities available to the untouchables in rural Gujarat. It is a study of 69 villages. He classifies all the villages into three categories depending on the pattern of the availability of the water source to the untouchables: firstly, the caste Hindus themselves providing water to the untouchables from the common well; secondly, presence of water sources exclusively to the untouchables; and thirdly, no observance of untouchability with regard to water.⁶

A comparatively recent study of Harijans is by Harish Doshi. This is a study on the practice of untouch-

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4. N. Subbha Reddy, "Community Conflict among the Depressed Castes of Andhra," Man in India, Vol. XXX, No. 4, pp. 1-12.
 5. Stephen Fuchs, The Children of Hari: A Study of Nimar Balahis in Madhya Pradesh, India, 1951.
 6. I.P. Dasai, Water Facilities for the Untouchables in Rural Gujarat, ICSSR Report, 1973. A detailed report on the Gujarat Harijans is awaited.

ability in Surat town, an urban area. The Surat Bhangis were previously subjected to civic as well as religious disabilities. But due to rapid urbanization process, they pass off at public places without any fear of contempt and hatred. They enter Hindu temples and dharmashalas under urban anonymity although in fear of personal insult.⁷

2 Harijan Social Mobility

Several Harijan castes around the country have made attempts to rise up in the social hierarchy, the stimulus mainly emanating due to education and politicization of the Harijans, and change in the political form of government. Under this heading we will discuss studies which describe such social mobility attempts of the Harijans. Srinivas thinks that Sanskritization process is never applicable to Harijans in the sense that they can never rise up as a group. However, there have been attempts which have been successful in one sense (e.g. to obtain education) and failures in the other (e.g. to gain higher caste status).

Cohn observes in a U.P. village that formerly, the relations of economic dependence between Camars and Thakurs made the village a well-integrated local structure. Outside employment and recourse to British courts have influenced Camars' behaviour towards Thakurs which was one of the meek submission to and acceptance of the latter's authority. Thus an atmosphere of open conflict was created, though the Camars failed to free themselves totally from the Thakurs'

7. Harish Doshi, "Use of Public-Places and Facilities by Bhangis in Surat," Journal of Social and Economic Studies, Vol.2, No.1, 1974, pp. 25-41.

power. On the other hand, when the Thakurs, affected by western models of conduct, become more individuated and secular, and relax traditional caste rules, the Camars seek to improve their status by tightening the traditional rules of commensality, by giving up despised occupations, and by adopting Sanskritic elements of custom.⁸

T.S. Epstein, who has studied two villages in Mysore, shows how economic change in one village is followed by political change, whereas persistence of traditional economic structure in another village is responsible for the persistence of its political structure. In the latter village, privileges for untouchables like reserved seats on the village panchayat have no meaning. In the former villages, the untouchables have various economic avenues and this threatens their ritual relationships with their higher caste masters.⁹

Isaacs in an account of India's Harijans, whom he calls 'ex-Untouchables', describes his feelings from talking to ex-Untouchables from different walks of life - students, teachers, civil servants, professionals and politicians. He is trying to learn what he calls 'interaction between political change and group identity'. Though the rendering is commendable, it does not offer any sociological insight into Harijan problems.¹⁰ Andre Beteille describes the Sanskriti-

8. Bernard S. Cohn, "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste," McKim Marriott (ed.), Village India: Studies in Little Community, 1955.

9. T.S. Epstein, Economic Development and Social Change in South India, 1962.

10. Harold Isaacs, India's Ex-Untouchables, 1965.

zation attempts of the low castes. Many of the Scheduled Castes people are adopting caste Hindu names, and degrading occupations like distilling liquor, or tanning are given up. This extends to food items also. Beef and beverages like alcohol are stopped from being taken. Dowry has replaced bride-price, and widow-remarriage is abandoned. He comments that they are adopting models which the traditional elite have left behind.¹¹

Harper in an interesting article tries to analyse the futility of a social mobility movement by an untouchable caste in Karnataka. He describes in detail the indentureship of the Holerus, the untouchable caste people, to the Haviks, a Brahman's caste people. The Holerus' subsistence, marriage ceremonies and such other rituals entirely depend upon the benevolent financial support from the Havik Brahmins. The shifting of power locus from the Brahmins to the governmental machineries after independence did not help the Holerus to attempt mobility movements, since getting away from the indentureship means insecurity of subsistence and 'prestigeless' marriage ceremonies. That is why they did not even migrate to other places.¹² K.C. Alexander reports on the changes which occurred among the Pulaya Harijans of Kerala. Formerly at the bottom of the hierarchy, they have gained greater economic independence through education and laws in their favour prohibiting discrimination against them and thus

11. Andre Beteille, "The Future of the Backward Classes: The Competing Demands of Status and Power," Philip Mason (ed.), India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity, 1967.

12. Edward Harper, "Social Consequences of an 'Unsuccessful' Low Caste Movement," James Silverberg (ed.), Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, 1968, pp. 36-65.

paved the way for a higher status in society. This is manifest in the changes in behaviour patterns, modes of dress, common eating and drinking. The Pulaya example shows that a former untouchable caste, by its efforts, can make it possible to improve its position and get accepted as equals by the higher castes.¹³

Lynch, who studied the Agra Jatavs, describes the process of Sanskritization that is taking place among them, applying the "reference-group theory" of Merton and examining the model of "Sanskritization" as given by Srinivas. The influence of market-economy, education of Dr. Ambedkar's exhortations to untouchables to convert to Buddhism on the Jatav movement have been elaborately dealt with.¹⁴ Saberwal studied two Scheduled Caste groups and a backward community in a small town in Punjab. In recent times, economic and political systems have increased their autonomy in relation to the caste structure. Adult franchise, reservation of seats and posts for Scheduled Castes, abolition of untouchability and the other constitutional safeguards provided, undermine the legitimacy of traditional status distinctions and the promise the lower castes a status equal to that of the traditionally higher castes.¹⁵

Eleanor Zelliot observes that the Mahars have the capacity to perceive the potency of politics to escape the conditions of degradation.¹⁶ A commendable work which is a

13. K.C. Alexander, "Changing Status of Pulaya Harijans of Kerala," Economic & Political Weekly, July 1968, Special Number, pp. 1071-1075.

14. Owen M. Lynch, The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India, 1969.

15. S. Saberwal, Status, Network and Mobility in a Punjab Industrial Town, 1970.

valuable addition to the literature on the Harijans is a volume edited by Michael Mahar, containing a variety of articles by a distinguished group of authors. The articles spread over such areas as the untouchable's role in village communities, reform movements among the untouchables, government's efforts to abolish untouchability, the untouchable's response to change of status after independence, etc.¹⁷

Patwardhan attempts to understand and determine the nature of change that has taken place among the Harijans of Maharashtra in regard to their family, kinship, marriage patterns and religious beliefs as a result of migration, industrialization and urbanization, and the extent to which social mobility in matters of economic status and education has been possible for the "polluting" castes in a system which has emerged after independence, with constitutional and legislative privileges and safeguards.¹⁸ An article by Punalekar describes the Harijans' status, conditions of living and hardships they face in times of drought, famine, etc. To add to these woes, indebtedness has spread its fangs among them. Having become helpless in such critical situations, the Harijans once protested and went on a strike against the rich farmers demanding higher wages, only

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16. Eleanor Zelliot, "Learning the Use of Political Means: The Mahars of Maharashtra," R. Kothari (ed.), Caste in Indian Politics, 1970.
 17. J. Michael Mahar (ed.), The Untouchables in Contemporary India, 1972.
 18. Sunanda Patwardhan, Change Among India's Harijans. Maharashtra - A Case Study, 1973.

to be subdued due to the same kind of situations. However, the author observes that if radical measures are not taken to mitigate the social and natural sufferings of the Harijans, the conflict between the Harijans and landlords may be intensifying.¹⁹

3 Caste Conflict Studies

There have been sizeable number of studies which focussed on the conflicts between different castes, not necessarily between untouchable and clean castes. The general nature of such conflict is due to factionalism, challenges from other castes to the authority of the dominant caste, the traditional superiority of the higher castes and values attached to caste hierarchy being impaired by modern values, resulting from the forces of education, democratic form of government, urbanization, and other such factors. We will refer to some such studies in this section.

D. Silvertsen analyses inter-caste relations in a multi-caste Tanjore village. He has observed a radical change in the status of untouchable castes in that village. This is mainly due to political influence. Of course, the nature of the relationship between untouchable castes and others has not changed radically. The higher castes still avoid Scheduled Castes' residential areas. The latter are barred from the wells frequented by other castes and the Brahman streets. They are not served by the village washerman,

19. S.P. Punaleker, "Harijans of Eastern U.P. Region: A Profile on Marginality," The North-Eastern Research Bulletin, Vol.VI, Summer 1975, pp. 30-40.

carpenter and barber. The untouchables and clean castes come together for specific purposes only.²⁰ Henry Orenstein is concerned with cohesion and conflict in a Maharashtra village. He highlights hostility between the Scheduled Castes and the higher castes. The concept of pollution has thus been weakened. The scavengers have been affected by new egalitarian values, but their position in the Balute (jajmani) system has changed very little. The leather-workers have withdrawn themselves from the Balute system and are moving upon both the ritual and secular ladders.²¹

Aiyappan presents an interesting picture of Irava, an untouchable caste in Kerala, based on a study of a Kerala village. The Iravas have almost achieved equal social status through consistent and determinant struggle against the upper castes. They had agitated against distance pollution even as far back as 1911 and later, for temple entry. The situation, therefore, stands changed today. All taboos against the untouchables have disappeared.²²

Alan Beale and Bernard Siegel, offer a new approach to the study of intra-group conflict based upon research in a Mysoreen village, and a new Mexican village. Their central concern is with 'divisiveness' a natural tendency to varieties of conflict regarded by the members of an organization as detrimental to the organization, and hence requiring remedial action. Examining some of the leading studies of con-

20. D. Silvertsen, When Caste Barriers Fall: A Study of Social and Economic Change in a South Indian Village, 1963.

21. Henry Orenstein, Goat Conflict and Cohesion in an Indian Village, 1965.

22. A. Aiyappan, Social Revolution in a Kerala Village, 1966.

flict, they lay special emphasis in their argument on the role played by "environmental stress and social strain" in the emergence of conflict. Though they do not claim that they are presenting a formal theory of conflict, their intention is to offer guidelines for future investigations of social conflict and supply some new concepts for the analysis of conflict situations.²³

K.K. Singh has done a socio-psychological study of social tension and conflict in two U.P. villages. He questions the myth that inter-caste conflicts primarily stem from discriminatory caste values and beliefs. He investigates the problems as processes in an organic system instead of confining his observations to pre-labelled categories. The study examines how tension and conflict manifest themselves.²⁴

Parvathamma gives negative picture of the changes taking place among the Scheduled Castes. She believes that the legal ban on untouchability has not served its purpose, as the practice is still common in villages. The welfare programmes to raise the lot of Scheduled Castes are not properly implemented. Inter-personal relationships between the Scheduled Castes and the caste Hindus have deteriorated. Newspapers are replete with cases of loot, arson, destruction of crops, beating and murder. The conflict is intensifying according to Parvathamma.²⁵

23. Alan R. Beals and Bernard J. Siegel, Divisiveness and Social Conflict - An Anthropological Approach, 1967.

24. K.K. Singh, Patterns of Caste Tension - A Study of Inter-Caste Tension and Conflict, 1967.

25. C. Parvathamma, "The Case for the Indian Untouchable," United Asia, Sept-Oct 1968, 20, 5, pp. 279-286.

One of the important works on social tensions in India was by G.S. Ghurye. It is written on the assumption that the concept of conflict is inseparably connected with tensions, and the integration concept is an inevitable accompaniment to both. The book reviews broadly the communal and the linguistic tensions that have made their presence felt in India in both the manifest and non-manifest forms.²⁶ Vidyarthi edited a book which is a collection of seminar papers by different scholars. The main theme is that technological progress has resulted in tension and conflict with the environment, adversely affecting the tribal and the rural societies.²⁷

Sushila Mehta has dealt with the role of traditional mechanisms for resolving group-conflicts in a village community and the role of dominant caste and village leadership. She argues that the built-in mechanism fails for various socio-economic factors. With the operation of new economic forces and introduction of the modern form of political democracy, the traditional social institutions of the village, like the joint-family, the village panchayat and the caste-system have become dysfunctional. They are assuming new forms. Their underlying value system is operating in contradiction to the new values introduced by political democracy. The result is widespread group conflicts and the struggle for power.²⁸

26. G.S. Ghurye, Social Tensions in India, 1968.

27. L.P. Vidyarthi, Conflict Tension and Cultural Trend in India, 1969.

28. Sushila Mehta, Social Conflicts in a Village Community, 1971.

One book of historical significance is by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, an eminent leader of Harijans who led the neo-Buddhist movement among the Harijans. His book is strongly critical of Hinduism which nourished the evil of untouchability and the parallel of which is not seen in any other society. He answers certain questions in this book - Why do the Untouchables live outside the village? Why did beef-eating give rise to Untouchability? Did the Hindus never eat beef? Why did non-Brahmans give up beef-eating? What made the Brahmins become vegetarians? etc. Dr. Ambedkar's thesis on the origin of untouchability is founded on propositions like that no racial difference exists between the Hindus and Untouchables, that Untouchables were only broken men from alien tribes, that there is also no occupational basis for untouchability, that untouchability has sprung from hatred of the broken men and their continuation of beef-eating, that the impurity of the untouchables was attributed only by orthodox Hindu writers, and that the untouchables came into being much later than 400 A.D., whereas the impure as a class was existing even earlier.²⁹

A general picture is obtained now after reviewing the literature on Harijans and caste-conflicts. In other words, subjects like customs and culture of Harijans, their deprivities in the social system, the influence of new privileges and rights on their culture and social behaviour and

29. B. R. Ambedkar, The Untouchables: Who were they and How they became Untouchables, 1948.

and their place in the modern system are touched. The conflict studies point out the manifestation of conflict, whereas social mobility studies describe Sanskritization and upward mobility attempts. This provides the background for understanding the problem of this study.

When the problem of this study is concerned with conflict between the Harijans and the non-Harijans, it may be relevant to discuss briefly the conflict theories as propounded by various theorists. Therefore the next section makes an attempt to dig deep into the conflict theories.

III

Conflict is an important element of social interaction. In the nineteenth-century and the beginning of twentieth-century, conflict had been a key variable in the Marxian and Darwinian thought. It had been viewed as a fundamental and constructive part of social organization. But it seemed neglected till fifties of this century. A reverse trend has appeared since then, partly under the influence of Simmel and Marx, and partly due to the growing national and international tensions. The works of Jessie Bernard (1957), Lewis Coser (1956), Ralf Dahrendorf (1957) and Max Gluckman (1956) illustrate this approach.

Conflict Theories:-

Karl Marx³⁰ could be acclaimed as the classical theorist of social conflict. Marx's focus on the indivi-

30. Karl Marx, Poverty of Philosophy, 1884; Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, 1906; Class Struggles in France 1848-1850, 1952; and Economy, Class and Social Revolution, 1971.

dual's differential access to scarce resources and scarce power, carries with it an emphasis on clash and conflict as constitutive elements of any differentiated society. The potential for social conflict is inherent in every differentiated society since it systematically generates conflict of interests between persons and groups which are differently located within the social structures. Social equilibrium was a special case of disequilibrium to Karl Marx.

Simmel sees³¹ conflict as a part of the dynamic by which some men are drawn together into 'groups'. This inter-weaving of social circles is viewed as part of the dynamic both of groups and of the individual personalities who comprise them. Simmel tends to see change not as a disturbance of a naturally stable thing called society, but stability itself as some temporary balance among forces in interaction. These forces are by definition to be described only in terms of change.

Coser defines social conflict as "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals."³² His concern is mainly with the functions, rather than dysfunctions of social conflict. For example, conflict may contribute to the maintenance of group boundaries and prevent the withdrawal of members from a group.

31. Georg Simmel, Conflict

32. Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, 1954, p. 8. Also Continuities in the Study of Conflict, 1967.

One of Dahrendorf's important contributions to the theory of social conflict is an important distinction between intensity and violence, the two dimensions of conflict. Intensity refers to the 'degree of involvement of conflicting parties' and violence to 'its manifestation than to its causes'.³³ The two may vary independently and are therefore distinct aspects of any conflict situation.

Gluckman's main thesis, derived from working with anthropological materials from Africa, was an account of "how men quarrel in terms of certain of their customary allegiance, but are restrained from violence through other conflicting allegiances which are also enjoined on them by custom. The result is that conflicts in one set of relationships lead to re-establishment of social cohesion."³⁴ His further elaborated approach in a subsequent work³⁵ refuses to consider the terms, 'societal change' and 'societal equilibrium' as polar opposites and argues that as equilibrium is observed in social systems, disturbance and change are also observed.³⁶

Rex maintains that conflict is disruptive but criticizes the earlier conflict theorists for neglecting 'large-scale' disturbances in the society. His stand is that intensification of conflict might not lead to complete revolution, but to compromise and reform, which again might be disturbed by any imbalance in the existing forces.³⁷

33. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, 1959, pp. 211-212.

34. Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa, 1956, p.2.

35. M. Gluckman, Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society, 1965.

36. Ibid, p.280.

37. John Rex, Key Problems of Sociological Theory, 1961.

A more recent conflict theorist W.F. Wertheim assumes that human society is in a constant flux so that sudden changes involving a total transformation within human societies is possible. Wertheim calls such a sudden change as 'revolutionary change', in contrast to 'gradual or evolutionary change'. Such revolutionary changes are, say in peasant societies, preceded by a long period of gradual impoverishment.³⁸

IV THE PROBLEM

It may be said that all the literature dealing with the Harijans concentrates upon either their culture and social structure or social change among them due to the influence of various social, political and economic factors. There is surprisingly little emphasis on the nature of conflict relationship between the Harijans and the caste Hindus. What was dealt with by the sociologists and anthropologists was on their relationship by virtue of their structural positions, like interaction based on jmani system and ritual notions of purity and pollution.

A detailed study involving an observation of new dimensions of the nature of relationship between the Harijans and the caste Hindus may bring into light an emerging new form of relationship. This relationship might have been a result of the influence of all the political, economic and social changes that have taken place in our country since independence. This study is a step in that direction. But

38. W.F. Wertheim, Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation, 1974.

this study is limited in its scope. It only seeks to study Harijan -- Non-Harijan relationship through such secondary sources of information like newspaper reports and official records as related to conflict relationship and hence is very limited in scope. Bearing in mind its limitations, this study can be conveniently called an 'exploratory study'.

It may be assumed that in the present social context a crucial dimension of relationship between the Harijans and the caste Hindus is conflictive. One may ask: What is the basis for this assumption?

It can be derived from various conflict theories that there is antagonism, clash of interests and a desire to equal or subjugate on the part of different 'classes' or 'groups' with different social statuses and authority. Chapter-II highlights a picture of educational, occupational and economic differences between the Harijan and the caste Hindus in Andhra. Traditionally, the Harijans not only were degraded in social status but in the economic sphere also they were down-trodden. Not going into the question of the origin of such inequalities, it may be observed that the position of the Harijans was not satisfactory economically and socially till independence.

Prior to independence the British Government had 'scheduled' the untouchable castes along with the tribals due to their economic and social backwardness. The British Government had made no discrimination of categories of people like belonging to high or low castes in regard to imparting education, providing jobs and other benefits. Actually their

missionaries worked for uplift of the untouchables by means of proselytization. Their children were imparted education and they were given financial support to purchase land and improve their economic position. But this kind of reform touched only a smaller percentage of untouchables in the country, yet the Indian society itself stood as a great obstacle in the way of this small degree of reform and transformation with its age-old values of absolute hierarchy and norms to sustain that hierarchy. Perhaps the Britishers did not have a deeper understanding of that kind of value system prevailing in the country. Their approach was only one of reforming the basic inequalities in the Indian society and not an effort to effect structural changes towards equitable attitudes.

Consistent humanitarian efforts by dedicated social workers like Jyotirao Phule, Mahatma Gandhi and others brought to people's realization the social problems of the Harijans which had till then been probably taken for granted by all the Hindus. All this constituted only a little improvement of the Harijans in regard to education, economic position and social status.

The dawn of independence in India perhaps brought a new kind of hope to the Harijans. The new government of the now independent country sought to change the lot of the Harijans by bringing about some structural changes in the Indian society by legal measures. Such measures were supposed to make the Harijans stand on equal par with the rest of the Indian society. Constitutional abolition of untouchability,

declaration of Harijan castes as "Scheduled Castes" entitling them to certain privileges in the matters of education, governmental jobs, legislative seats proved to be of much help to the Harijans. Gradually they have become conscious of their rights and their new legal status which they had coveted so far. This stage of transformation has given rise to a new set of problems. Gandhiji had all along maintained that without a basic value-change in the minds of the Indian Hindus, it was not possible to change the status of the Harijans even by legal measures. Precisely this reluctance of the people to change their opinions and attitudes towards the Harijans gave rise to conflict between the Harijans and the caste Hindus.

Let us say it more clearly and sharply:

(1) The Harijans were gradually becoming aware of the concessions and rights granted to them in the democracy-ruled country.

(2) Having become aware of such concessions and rights, they learnt to demand more and more of opportunities for their uplift and welfare which the conservative and dominant castes refuse to heed.

(3) All the legal measures banning untouchability and granting the Harijans rights and privileges have not changed their problems to a satisfactory level. They have remained low in economic position and social status though they gained in their access to political power and education. This hindered them to organize on a large scale.

(4) The political leadership and ruling leadership having remained in the hands of the upper caste Hindus, the laws abolishing untouchability and giving the Harijans some privileges have not been strictly implemented.

(5) Consequently, the Harijans have protested and agitated against this (for example, the Dalit Panther movement). But this was only in certain Harijan concentrated parts of the country. Nevertheless, the Harijans in all parts seem to assert their rights in isolated moves.

(6) The upper castes are resisting to grant socially these rights in actual terms. Precisely, this results in conflict between the Harijans and the upper castes.

Thus the gist of the argument in this section is that conflict exists in political, economic and social spheres between the Harijans and the non-Harijan Hindus. But because of this study's limitation, i.e. basing the arguments on the information derived from only the newspaper reports and the official records, it is not possible to test all the hypotheses stated above. This study can only analyse and find out the nature of the conflict between the Harijans and the non-Harijan Hindus, rather than focussing on and highlighting the basis or root of the conflict. Thus, the problem is limited in scope at this level of research. It confines to the State of Andhra Pradesh.

V Methodology



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The data for this study were collected from the newspapers and the official records. The data were mainly obtained from two largest circulated Telugu dailies in the State,

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in the
/ form of reports of clashes, quarrels, or incidents which reveal degradation and exploitation of the Harijans. Issues of two dailies, i.e. Andhra Prabha and Andhra Patrika from January 1, 1971 to December 31, 1975 were referred. There has been an attempt to check the manner of reportage in these two dailies with some other dailies and weeklies. Randomly checked, it has appeared that there has been no false or wrong reportage. Nevertheless, some reports have been officially denied. Some of these official denials have also been reported in the very same newspapers. Besides collecting newspaper reports, efforts have also been made to obtain information from the governmental records, interviewing State government officials in certain departments like the Home and the Welfare. Some Harijan people and non-Harijan Hindus from different walks of life, have also been interviewed to obtain a 'mass' view of the nature of the present relationship between the Harijans and the non-Harijans. After obtaining a general picture of the situation of the conflict in the State, it has been decided to go to a district and talk to officials there also. It has been done and in this regard, Anantapur district has been visited.

It should be made clear at the outset that this study is only an 'exploratory' exercise before a full-time field-work is undertaken for collection of primary data. As such the scope of this problem, dealt with in this study, depends upon the extent of information obtained from the newspaper reports and official record cases. This has obvious limitations in the sense that not all the incidents

of exploitation or harassment of the Harijans do come to the notice of the press and are reported. Further, the mass media have a tendency to highlight only sensational and heinous incidents in their columns. In the case of the official record cases too, not all incidents are brought to the official notice. Even a few that are, not all are genuine, as some of the officials of the Directorate of Harijan Welfare confess. Some complaints by the Harijans against the caste Hindus are totally false and sometimes contemptuous as a result of political enmity between the Harijans and the caste Hindus. Given these limitations, however, one is bound to be struck by the few reports collected for the purpose of this study which, to repeat again, is an 'exploratory' study to be followed by a detailed one at a later stage which will employ all necessary research techniques and tap all the possible and available sources.

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE HARIJANS IN A.P.

The State of Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest State in India in size (2,75,209 sq.kms.) and also fifth in respect of population according to 1971 Census (43,502,708). The State lies in the northernmost part of South India, bounded by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh States on the northern side, Maharashtra and Karnataka States on the West, Tamil Nadu State on the South and the Bay of Bengal on the East. The enlarged State of Andhra Pradesh with twenty districts came into being in 1956. Subsequently one more district has been formed bringing the total number of districts to 21.

The population of Andhra Pradesh at the 1971 Census was 43,502,708 -- males 22,008,663 and females 21,494,045. The sex ratio for the State is 977 females for every 1,000 males. The density of the population is 157 per square kilometre. The State ranks sixteenth in literacy among the States of the Indian Union. The percentage of literates in the total population in the State is 24.57 as against the all-India figure of 29.45. The female literate population has increased from 8.45% in 1961 to 15.75% in 1971. Though the overall literate population has increased from 21.2 in 1961 to 24.57 in 1971, the State has fallen to sixteenth position in literacy from tenth position in 1961.

Telugu is the predominant and official language in the State. Urdu is largely used in the Telangana region that formerly constituted part of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. History divides the State into three regions -- Rayalaseema comprising four districts, Circars comprising

eight districts and Telangana comprising nine districts. The former two are together known as Andhra region.

2

Social Structure

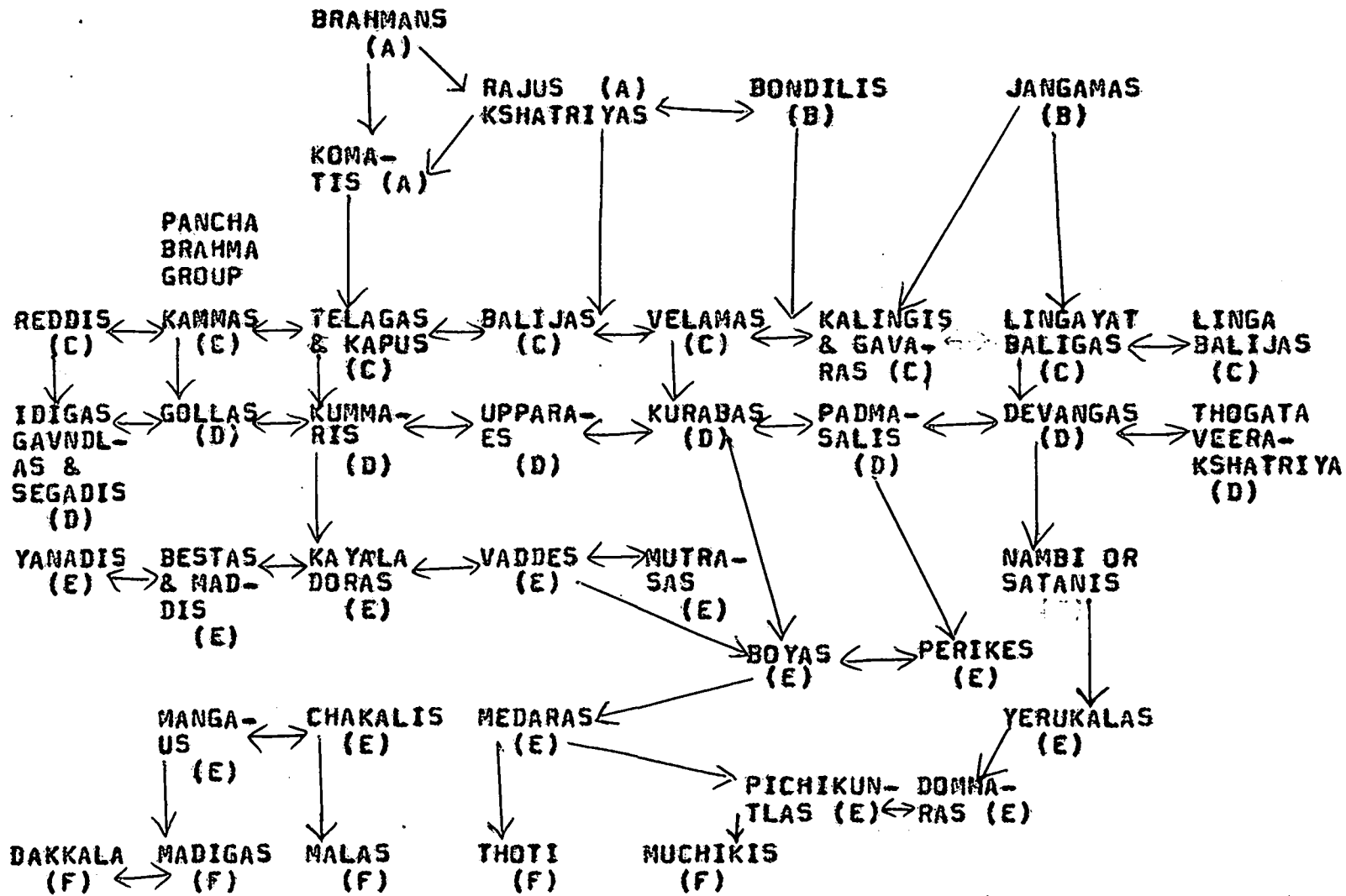
It is not easy to arrive at a uniform pattern of hierarchy of all castes from all over the State. Yet there is little difficulty in granting the three Dvija (twice-born) castes higher status as is ordained elsewhere in India.

Lakshmana gives a sociogram indicating the relative position of each caste in Andhra in the hierarchical scale as also the communal patterns.¹ Brahmans are placed at the top in the hierarchy. Jangamas almost equal them in status in Rayalaseema. They are the Saiva temple priests. However, they do not occupy the same position in coastal Andhra (Circars). Though Lakshmana places Gollas, Kummuris, Padmasalis, etc. on equal footing, and lower to Reddis, Kammes, Talagas, etc.,² this does not seem to be true at least in Rayalaseema where Gollas (cattle-herders) are treated equal in status as are Reddis and Kammes and they enjoy a higher status than Kummuris (potters).

1. C. Lakshmana, Caste Dynamics in Village India, 1973, p. 32.

2. Ibid, p.31 & 32.

Caste Status Structure in Andhra Pradesh - Lakshmana's Socioexam



The Harijans

According to 1971 Census, there are 60 Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. A list of the Scheduled Castes according to 1971 Census in the State is given in one of the following pages. An Advisory Committee appointed in June 1965 to revise the lists of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes recommended only 39 castes out of 60 to be truly considered as Scheduled Castes.³ However, no change was effected during 1971 Census and the number remained the same, i.e. 60.

Among the 60 Scheduled Castes in the State, four castes are spread throughout the State. They are Chalavadi, Chamer, Madiga and Mala. Among these four, Madiga and Mala are fairly larger in number and are present almost in every village. They are the typical representatives of the Harijans of Andhra Pradesh. So let us concentrate on these two untouchable castes.

The Harijans come under the fifth group or in the words of Hutton, 'exterior castes'. By virtue of their traditional occupation which includes ritually defiling and polluting tasks like carrying carrion and digging graves, their very touch is considered polluting.

The Malas and the Madigas, though both are considered as untouchables, among themselves there is constant

3. Department of Social Security, Government of India, Report of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1967.

conflict about their relative status. But other Hindu castes seem to grant the Malas higher status than to the Madigas. Reddy has listed certain activities which are exclusively assigned to the Mala and the Madiga. These are: "(1) the office of the village servant and this entails manual assistance to the village officers i.e. the Karnam (accountant) and the Munsif (headman); (2) disposal of the dead village cattle; (3) digging of graves and the two important tasks of capturing sacrificial animal and cutting its neck during the festival of the village goddess. These duties in certain districts fall to the Mala and elsewhere to the Madiga, and there is no fixed rule."⁴

Both the Malas and the Madigas work as agricultural labourers. Malas provide additional hands whenever required for by the non-Brahman higher castes, for example carrying a Reddy's luggage from a nearby fair to the village. Madigas are traditionally leather-workers. They tan the skin and make leather articles, like chappals for villagers, for which they are paid in cash or kind. They are also the carriage disposers and during the festival occasions like marriages and ceremonies in honour of the village deity, they serve as drum-beaters and sacrificers of the sacrificial animals.

The Hindu Gods, Rama, Krishna, Venkateswara, Lakshmi, etc. are also worshipped by the Malas and the Madigas at their homes. They are not allowed to enter village temples, neither

4. N.S. Reddy, "Community Conflict among the depressed castes of Andhra," Man in India, 30, pp. 8-9.

they are allowed to build their own temples in their localities. They can only build temples for their caste deities. The village watchmen are generally the Malas.

The total population of the Scheduled Castes in the State in 1961 was 4,973,616 forming 13.82% of the total population in the State. By 1971, it has increased by nearly 14%. The total population of the Scheduled Castes in 1971 stood at 5,774,546, i.e. 13.27% of the State population (Table-1).

"Special Tables for Scheduled Castes" from 1971 Census are not yet brought out. Therefore, it is not clear how the literacy and various occupations are spread among the Scheduled Castes in 1971. However, according to 1961 Census, 8.47% of the Scheduled Caste people were found to be literates whereas 21.19% of the total general population in the State are literates. Males (13.43% and 30.19% respectively) dominated over females (3.40% and 12.03% respectively) among the Scheduled Castes and general population. Literacy rate was higher in the urban areas than on the rural side, as one would naturally expect. For the Scheduled Castes it is 21.68% whereas for the general population it is 41.78% (Tables V, VI and VII).

The working or non-working pattern shows some interesting features (Tables VIII and IX). The Scheduled Caste workers are more in number (61.57%) than the general population workers (51.9%). In the category of occupations of workers were included such diverse occupations as culti-

vation, agricultural labour, mining and allied activities, household industry, construction, trade and commerce, and transport. Tanning and carrying of hides and skins, and scavenging were not included in the category of working occupations. They were treated as "Special Occupations". Not surprising is the fact that rural workers outnumber urban workers.

As far as concentration of the Scheduled Castes in 1961 was concerned (Table II), it is not surprising that it was more on the rural side (14.88%) than on the urban side (8.80%). Karimnagar district recorded the highest percentage of the Scheduled Castes (19.44) closely followed by Adilabad (18.54) and Mahbubnagar (18.35). Guntur district recorded lowest percentage (5.24). In 1971, it is Nellore which has recorded highest percentage (19.73) while it was ninth highest (16.49%) in 1961. Guntur registered 4.80% in 1971. The increase in the Scheduled Caste percentage in Nellore district could be only described as 'phenomenal' as certain parts of it were integrated into a new district, namely 'Prakasam'. Guntur's decreased percentage also could be attributed to only that. The increase could be due to the birth-rate increase or migration or both. However, it could be only an assumption till we get final statistical data regarding the Scheduled Castes from 1971 Census.

Most of the cultivators among the Scheduled Castes derived their land from the Government. It accounts for about 78% of the Scheduled Caste cultivating households.

Those holding land partly from the Government and partly from private persons number higher than the number of persons holding land from only private persons (Table X).

Lakshmanna has made a survey of high school Scheduled Caste students.⁵ His study, done in some districts of Andhra Pradesh in 1974 deals with such aspects as their economic status, family educational background, their utilization of academic and hostel facilities, political awareness, the nature of relationship between teachers and the Scheduled Caste students and so on. He gives very useful information.

till the time of the study, i.e. 1973-74 it is stated that the State Government spent Rs. 38 crores on the Scheduled Castes since 1956 onwards when the enlarged State was formed. The amount was spent towards providing the students fee concessions, scholarships, hostel facilities, books, etc. and developmental activities like building houses for the Scheduled Castes, training them in various industries, providing drinking water facilities, etc.

The State Government provides 14% reservation for the Scheduled Castes in direct recruitment, which as a whole or a part thereof, if not filled in a particular year, is carried forward to the next year.

Lakshmanna analyses various factors he dealt with. For example, analysing political awareness of the Scheduled Caste students, he finds that about 103 students out of 462 are workers of different political parties like Congress (O)

5. E. Lakshmanna, The Study of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe High School Students in Andhra Pradesh, ICSSR Report, 1974.

and (N), CPI, Socialist, Swatantra, Republican and Jansangh. And to a question whether they are aware of reservation of government posts, 177 out of 462 replied positively indicating that a sizeable number is conscious of their privileges.

List of the Scheduled Castes in A.P. (1971 Census)

<u>Throughout the State</u>	<u>Population</u>
1. Chalevadi	1,541
2. Chamar, Mochi or Muchi	7,304
3. Madiga	2,147,879
4. Mala	1,745,466
<u>Throughout the State except the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.</u>	
1. Adi Andhra	595,008
2. Adi Dravida	37,459
3. Arundhatiya	85,220
4. Bariki	9,905
5. Bavuri	887
6. Chacheti	6,829
7. Chandala	34
8. Dendasi	5,581
9. Dom, Dombara, Paidi or Pano	15,043
10. Ghasi, Heddi or Relli Chachandi	1,725
11. Godagali	1,690
12. Godari	702
13. Gosangi	65
14. Jaggali	2,489
15. Jambuvulu	9,549
16. Madasi Kuruva or Madari Kuruva	416
17. Mala Dasu	26,834
18. Madiga Dasu, Mashteen	4,223
19. Matangi	642
20. Mundala	515
21. Paky or Moti	3,826
22. Pambada or Pambanda	952
23. Pamidi	4,593
24. Panchama or Pariah	17,887
25. Relli	38,845
26. Samban	4
27. Sappu	418
28. Thoti	3,523

In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad,
Nizamabad, Madak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and
Nalgonda

1. Anamuk	3,071
2. Aray (Male)	3,152
3. Azwa (Male)	4,218
4. Beda (Budge) Jangam	1,840
5. Bindle	5,111
6. Byagara	5,903
7. Chambhar	2,833
8. Dakkal (Dakkalwar)	1,109
9. Dhor	1,926
10. Ellamalwar (Yellammelawandi)	599
11. Holeya	371
12. Holeya Desari	154
13. Kolupulvandi	675
14. Mahar	11,741
15. Male Desari	7,493
16. Male Hannei	101
17. Malejengam	5,296
18. Male Masti	565
19. Male Sale (Netkani)	54,290
20. Male Sanyasi	52
21. Mang	11,456
22. Mang Garodi	123
23. Manna	46,344
24. Mashti	824
25. Mehtar	3,126
26. Nitha Ayyalvar	2,542
27. Semagara	779
28. Sindhollu (Chindollu)	2,220
Total	<u>5,774,548</u>

TABLE I

Total, Rural and Urban General Population and Scheduled Caste Population
of Andhra Pradesh in 1961 and 1971*

Year	Total/ Rural/ Urban	GENERAL POPULATION			SCHEDULED CASTE POPULATION		
		PERSONS	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	MALES	FEMALES
1971	T	43,502,708	22,008,663	21,494,045	5,774,548	2,927,416	2,847,132
	R	35,100,181	17,698,247	17,401,934	5,092,130	2,580,275	2,511,855
	U	8,402,527	4,310,416	4,092,111	682,418	347,141	335,277
1961	T	35,983,447	18,161,671	17,821,776	4,973,616	2,512,325	2,461,291
	R	29,708,939	14,945,712	14,763,227	4,421,528	2,233,224	2,188,304
	U	6,274,508	3,215,959	3,058,549	552,088	279,101	272,987

*All statistical information in this table and the following tables is from Census of India, 1961 and 1971, Vols. I & II

TABLE II

Percentages of Scheduled Castes to the total population and also for the rural and urban areas in the State and in each district

State/District	Percentages of Scheduled Castes					
	1961			1971		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Andhra Pradesh	13.82	14.88	8.80	13.27	14.51	8.12
1 Srikakulam	9.43	9.51	8.59	9.21	9.35	8.05
2 Vishakapatnam	8.08	8.10	7.99	7.91	7.76	8.45
3 East Godavari	17.62	18.46	9.54	16.77	18.48	9.60
4 West Godavari	15.40	16.80	7.95	14.33	15.87	7.20
5 Krishna	10.75	12.44	5.25	10.05	11.99	4.89
6 Guntur	5.24	5.76	3.29	4.80	5.24	3.46
7 Nellore	16.49	17.58	7.67	19.73	22.01	7.54
8 Chittoor	17.76	19.16	6.99	17.46	19.14	6.71
9 Cuddapah	11.07	11.95	5.29	10.88	11.93	4.54
10 Anantapur	13.37	14.65	7.30	13.16	14.52	6.83
11 Kurnool	10.27	10.84	7.89	11.24	11.90	8.67
12 Mahbubnagar	18.35	19.34	9.49	16.84	17.73	7.80
13 Hyderabad	15.82	22.06	12.02	14.07	21.49	10.22
14 Medak	17.06	17.69	9.55	15.85	16.54	8.46
15 Nizamebad	15.96	17.07	9.42	15.23	16.53	8.41
16 Adilabad	18.54	19.25	14.66	17.62	18.20	14.55
17 Kerimnagar	19.44	20.15	10.18	18.82	19.76	11.00
18 Warangal	16.86	17.55	12.62	15.87	16.81	9.80
19 Khammam	13.52	13.14	16.28	12.26	12.22	12.50
20 Nalgonda	17.11	17.78	10.60	15.89	16.28	10.52
21 Ongole* (Prakasam)	-	-	-	9.26	9.92	3.98

*Not formed by 1961. Included only in 1971 for the first time.

TABLE III

The following districts show a higher percentage of Scheduled Caste Population than the State average of 13.82% in 1961 and 13.27% in 1971

Sl. No.	Districts	Percentage of S.C. Population to Total Population	
		1961	1971
1	Nellore	16.49	19.73*
2	Kerimnagar	19.44*	18.82
3	Adilabad	18.54	17.62
4	Chittoor	17.76	17.46
5	Mahbubnagar	18.35	16.84
6	East Godavari	17.62	16.77
7	Nalgonda	17.11	15.89
8	Warangal	16.86	15.87
9	Medak	17.06	15.85
10	Nizamabad	15.96	15.23
11	West Godavari	15.40	14.33
12	Hyderabad	15.82	14.07

* Highest in respective years.

TABLE IV

Percentage distribution of members of S. Co
in Rural and Urban areas to the total popu-
lation in 1961 & 1971 in the State

Total/ Rural/ Urban	1961			1971		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
T	13.82	13.83	13.81	13.27	13.30	13.25
R	14.88	14.94	14.82	14.51	14.58	14.43
U	8.80	8.68	8.93	8.12	8.05	8.19

TABLE V

Percentage of Literates and Illiterates among Total, Rural and Urban General Population and Scheduled Caste Population of A.P. in 1961

Total/ Rural/ Urban	General Population						Scheduled Caste Population					
	Literates			Illiterates			Literates			Illiterates		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
T	21.19	30.19	12.03	78.81	69.81	87.97	8.47	13.43	3.40	91.53	86.57	96.60
R	16.85	25.14	8.45	93.15	74.86	91.55	6.82	11.05	2.50	93.18	88.95	97.50
U	41.78	53.62	29.33	58.22	46.38	70.67	21.68	32.53	10.59	78.32	67.47	89.41

Table VI

Percentage of Literacy for General, Scheduled Castes Population in Rural Areas only
Districtwise, A.P., 1961.

State and District	G.P./S.C.	Total Population		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Andhra Pradesh	G.P.	100	100	74.86	91.55	16.33	5.86	7.71	2.52	1.10	0.07
	S.C.	100	100	88.95	97.50	7.77	1.75	3.03	0.73	0.25	0.02
1. Srikakulam	G.P.	100	100	77.44	94.32	16.00	4.62	5.70	1.03	0.86	0.03
	S.C.	100	100	87.84	98.25	9.57	1.41	2.46	0.24	0.11	N
2. Vishakapatnam	G.P.	100	100	81.64	95.18	12.42	3.68	5.11	1.10	0.83	0.04
	S.C.	100	100	89.90	98.32	7.50	1.42	2.48	0.26	0.12	N
3. East Godavari	G.P.	100	100	70.38	84.26	18.07	11.21	9.98	4.43	1.57	0.10
	S.C.	100	100	82.31	93.19	10.66	4.54	6.36	2.21	0.67	0.06
4. West Godavari	G.P.	100	100	65.27	79.25	17.72	12.32	15.26	8.32	1.75	0.11
	S.C.	100	100	81.62	92.02	11.37	4.98	6.50	2.96	0.51	0.04
5. Krishna	G.P.	100	100	66.69	81.02	16.88	9.96	14.34	8.83	2.09	0.19
	S.C.	100	100	80.98	92.75	11.42	4.54	6.95	2.60	0.65	0.11
6. Guntur	G.P.	100	100	66.87	85.54	20.21	10.34	11.15	3.99	1.77	0.13
	S.C.	100	100	74.98	94.13	16.09	4.24	7.23	1.58	0.90	0.05
7. Nellore	G.P.	100	100	73.43	90.57	18.42	7.15	6.96	2.18	1.29	0.10
	S.C.	100	100	85.30	96.65	11.31	2.68	3.09	0.64	0.30	0.03
8. Chittoor	G.P.	100	100	71.94	92.92	18.31	4.83	8.55	2.15	1.20	0.10
	S.C.	100	100	89.14	98.56	7.54	1.00	3.17	0.43	0.15	0.01
9. Cuddapah	G.P.	100	100	69.29	93.00	22.56	5.42	7.01	1.53	1.14	0.05
	S.C.	100	100	85.47	98.56	11.37	1.18	2.95	0.25	0.21	0.01
10. Anantapur	G.P.	100	100	73.14	94.55	19.96	4.37	5.80	1.04	1.10	0.04
	S.C.	100	100	90.22	98.70	7.64	1.06	1.97	0.22	0.17	0.02
11. Kurnool	G.P.	100	100	70.79	93.27	19.78	5.21	8.14	1.47	1.29	0.03
	S.C.	100	100	86.09	98.36	10.66	1.32	2.64	0.30	0.61	0.02
12. Mahbubnagar	G.P.	100	100	81.42	96.03	14.91	3.52	3.06	0.43	0.61	0.02
	S.C.	100	100	95.44	99.72	3.98	0.24	0.56	0.04	0.02	N
13. Hyderabad	G.P.	100	100	76.56	94.73	19.39	4.65	3.17	0.56	0.88	0.06
	S.C.	100	100	91.26	98.82	7.28	0.93	1.36	0.24	0.10	0.01
14. Medak	G.P.	100	100	79.00	96.40	17.57	3.28	2.94	0.30	0.49	0.02
	S.C.	100	100	94.97	99.37	4.61	0.60	0.40	0.03	0.02	N
15. Nizamabad	G.P.	100	100	80.92	96.27	9.98	1.67	8.39	2.02	0.71	0.04
	S.C.	100	100	95.00	99.70	2.63	0.10	2.33	0.20	0.04	..
16. Adilabad	G.P.	100	100	85.90	97.61	7.40	1.15	6.21	1.22	0.49	0.02
	S.C.	100	100	94.87	99.69	3.32	0.19	1.78	0.12	0.03	..
17. Karimnagar	G.P.	100	100	81.14	96.56	9.74	1.72	8.49	1.70	0.63	0.02
	S.C.	100	100	95.29	99.76	3.06	0.12	1.64	0.12	0.01	N
18. Warangal	G.P.	100	100	80.80	95.75	10.78	2.20	7.92	2.01	0.50	0.04
	S.C.	100	100	94.98	99.59	3.07	0.24	1.93	0.17	0.02	N
19. Khammam	G.P.	100	100	81.87	93.93	13.40	5.09	3.97	0.93	0.76	0.05
	S.C.	100	100	92.73	98.66	6.09	1.15	1.10	0.17	0.08	0.02
20. Nalgonda	G.P.	100	100	80.94	95.62	14.76	3.93	3.70	0.43	0.60	0.02
	S.C.	100	100	93.61	99.62	5.65	0.33	0.72	0.05	0.02	..

G.P. : General Population

S.C. : Scheduled Caste

N : Negligible.

TABLE VIII

Percentage distribution of workers and non-workers among General Population and Scheduled Castes of A.P. in 1961.

Total/ Rural/ Urban/	General Population						Scheduled Caste Population					
	Workers			Non-Workers			Workers			Non-Workers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
T	51.9	62.2	41.3	48.1	37.8	58.7	61.57	66.54	56.49	38.43	33.46	43.51
R	55.2	64.3	46.0	44.8	35.7	54.0	63.54	67.86	59.13	36.46	32.14	40.87
U	36.0	52.4	18.7	64.0	47.6	81.3	45.74	55.93	35.33	54.26	44.07	64.67

TABLE IX

Distribution of 1,000 persons each from General Population and Scheduled Caste Population in Andhra Pradesh by each Industrial Category of Workers and Non-Workers (1961)

Sl No.	Industry	General Popun.			S.C. Popn.		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
	Population	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	Total Workers	519	552	360	616	635	457
I	As Cultivators	208	246	29	142	156	27
II	As Agricultural Labourers	148	173	31	353	383	116
III	In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting & Plantations, Orchards and allied activities.	16	17	10	16	15	22
IV	At Household Industry	51	52	43	40	42	21
V	In manufacturing other than Household Industry	13	7	45	8	3	46
VI	In Construction	6	4	14	5	3	23
VII	In Trade & Commerce	22	15	53	6	3	27
VIII	In Transport, storage and communications	7	2	28	6	2	36
IX	In other services	48	36	107	40	28	139
	Non-Workers	481	448	640	384	365	543

TABLE X

Sample Households engaged in Cultivation Classified by interest in land and size of land cultivated in rural areas only for members of Scheduled Castes in A.P. in 1961

Sl. No.	Interest in land cultivated	No. of cultivating Households	Households engaged in cultivation by size of land in acres										
			Less than 1	1.0- 2.4	2.5- 4.9	5.0- 7.4	7.5- 9.9	10.0- 12.4	12.5- 14.9	15.0- 29.9	30.0- 49.9	50.0+	Unspecified
	Total	89,462	21,551	30,479	17,680	9,115	3,269	3,303	902	2,564	438	125	36
1.	Owned or held from government	69,530	19,055	24,064	12,836	6,577	2,196	2,304	527	1,576	282	82	31
2.	Held from private persons in money, kind or share	8,048	1,523	3,346	1,480	712	272	336	48	193	27	7	4
3.	Partly held from government and partly from private persons for payment in money, kind or share	11,884	873	3,069	3,364	1,826	801	663	327	795	129	36	1

CHAPTER III
THE INCIDENTS

The Incidents

As already stated in Chapter I, the incidents were collected from two largest circulated Telugu daily newspapers - Andhra Prabha and Andhra Patrika. A number of incidents were reported in both the newspapers in a similar way. However, a few incidents are reported in one and not in another. Therefore, in the following are stated first incidents reported in Andhra Prabha and then those which were not reported in Andhra Prabha, but reported in Andhra Patrika. The incidents are exact English translations of the Telugu versions.

Incident-1

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : March 20, 1971

District: Nalgonda
Taluk : Huzurnagar
Place : Brindavanapuram

"It has come into light that some caste Hindu people bound a Harijan youth to a tree, tortured and killed him on 17th in a village in Huzurnagar Taluk of Nalgonda district.

It is alleged that the Harijan youth, Kambampati Gavayya, stole some wooden door planks from the house of a caste Hindu, Mr. Bellamkonde Nagayya. The village elders, hearing this case, fined the Harijan youth rupees thirty.

But the revengeful relatives of the caste Hindu bound Gavayya to a tree near an engine-shed outside the village, and beat him unto death on 17th morning.

Munagala police have arrested some people in this connection and are investigating."

Incident-2

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : August 9, 1971

District: Krishna
Taluk : Divi
Place : Ghantasala

"In connection with a Harijan's death on July 26 in Ghantasala village, police have arrested yesterday 17 persons.

It is alleged that these persons beat and tortured Musalaysa, aged forty-five, on the night of July 25. He succumbed to the injuries the next day."

Incident-3

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : August 23, 1971

District: Nizamabad
Taluk : Armur
Place : Timmapur

"The Home Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao, assured the members in the Assembly that stern action would be taken against persons harassing the Harijans.

Answering the Republican Party Member, Srimati Eswari Bai's question regarding atrocities on the Harijans in Timmapur of Armur Taluk of Nizamabad district, the Minister announced that appropriate action was taken on the offenders, and that two cases were registered in this connection involving an arrest of 27 and 55 members in the two cases respectively. Legal action had already begun, he said.

The Minister informed the House that he directed the concerned District Collector and Police Superintendent to provide adequate protection, and in this regard one police division is stationed there.

After July 25, when the caste Hindus raided the Harijans, no further incident has been reported, the Minister said."

Incident-4

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : August 29, 1971

District: Krishna
Place : Vanukur

"The State Home Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao, made it clear in the Assembly today that the Government would not hesitate to take action on persons harassing the Harijans. He was replying to Srimati J. Eswari Bai and others. He told that there was some immoral relationship between a Harijan woman of Vanukur village of Krishna district and a person of Kamme caste. She had left her husband some years back and was living with the Kamme caste person. Some Harijans raided the house of the Kamme person. In the court, however, the Harijans were found not guilty and let off. The Minister said that it was not true that the Kammas harassed the Harijans."

Incident-5

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : September 20, 1971

District: West Godavari
Taluk : Eluru
Place : Gundu Golenu

"Assistant Sessions Judge, Shri K.V. Raghav Rao, gave orders releasing the prosecuted, Reddy Satyam, Arnipalli

Venkateswara Rao, Mukku Venkanna, Battina Tatayya and Panamata Satyam who had been arrested in connection with an incident involving torture of a Harijan, Shri Battina Venkateswara Rao of Gundu Golenu, who had been alleged to have stolen a gold chain."

Incident-6

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : April 9, 1972

District: Hyderabad
Place : Hyderabad

"The Home Minister, Shri V. Krishna Murthy, confirmed today in the Legislative Council that a Harijan boy, Krishna of Hyderabad was insulted, and that six persons were arrested in this connection. The Minister said that police investigation had revealed that Krishna was going back to his home after seeing a movie on April 2. One of his friend's brother, Ramdas, stopped him on the way and questioned him whether he had stolen his purse the previous night. When Krishna expressed ignorance, Ramdas and four others beat him, and later took him to a barber's shop, shaved his head, forced him to wear dirty clothes and took him round the school campus. They released him only on the intervention of some elders, the Minister informed the House."

Incident-7

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : July 1, 1972

District: West Godavari
Taluk : Eluru
Place : Ankanna Gudem

"The Chief Minister assured the opposition members in the Assembly that he would direct the D.I.G. of Police to

personally enquire and submit a report within three or four days.

He was replying to Messrs. Venka Satyanarayana, H. Nagi Reddy, V. Sri Krishna that two Harijans were murdered and so many injured in Ankanna Gudem of Eluru Taluk of West Godavari district.

A case was registered in Eluru taluka police station. In all 52 offenders were caught till now. A charge-sheet was filed over 22 persons.

The incident happened when one of the successful candidates in the Panchayat election was kidnapped by the defeated party. The Chief Minister said that there was no question of protecting anyone in this case if found guilty.

Sri Venka Satyanarayana complained that the frightened Harijans of the village petitioned to the police that they feared terror from landlords who possessed guns. He alleged that the police recovered only one gun, and that a police officer, who was sympathetic towards Harijans, was transferred on the landlords' requests."

Incident-8

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : July 12, 1972

District: Vishakapatnam
Place : Vishekepatnam

"Deputy Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Shri A.K.Nag of Government of India arrived in Vishakapatnam to investigate personally Hindu atrocities reported on the Harijans of Municipality Workers' Colony, near town police station.

Local Harijan leader and the Scheduled Castes Welfare Association President, Shri C. Pavanamurthy told that on June 11, some Harijans were injured and some Harijan women were stripped half-naked and their blouses torn off.

Shri Pavanamurthy met Shri Nag and acquainted him with the details of the incident."

Incident-9

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : November 16, 1972

District: Krishna
Taluk : Vijayawada
Place : Killeswarapuram

"Kondapalli police station received a complaint that some caste Hindu insulted Manda Ruthamma (35), her brother and sister in Japudi (Killeswarapuram).

Ruthamma complained that Japudi Sarpanch Shri G. Venkateswara Rao abused her by holding her hair and beat her. He was reported to have told her: "you voted against me in 1967 Panchayat election. I cannot forget you. Now I have become President. I will keep you under my feet. No one can protect you."

Earlier, when Ruthamma, along with her brother, Wilson, and sister, Pushpamma, were going to the bus-stop, Ali Baba (Venkateswara Rao's brother) came in their way, and with the excuse that Wilson's shirt touched him, he (Ali) beat Wilson and he was joined by a near relative, Nageswara Rao.

On hearing this incident, Andhra Pradesh Harijan Service Society's Secretary, Shri Vutukuri Narasimha Rao

visited the place. He has made a press announcement today that "it is very unusual and deploring that a responsible Sarpanch should have grabbed a helpless poor Harijan woman's hair in a public place."

Incident-10

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : May 10, 1973

District: Anantapur
Place : Vepacharla

"Panchayat Samithi President, Shri T. Rama Chandra Reddy, in a complaint to the Police, reported that Shri Mariyappa, a Harijan, was beaten to death with stones by two 'wealthy' men on May 1, in Vepacharla village of Anantapur district. He did not specify the reason for the occurrence of this tragedy.

He also reported that after the murder, the men threatened the victim's relations and buried the victim.

Immediately on receipt of this complaint, the police dug out Shri Mariyappa's body and sent it to government hospital for post-mortem. The doctors' report was still awaited, said the Police Superintendent, Major Viswanath.

He also said that the Police were investigating the case."

Incident-11

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : July 15, 1973

District: Vishakapatnam
Place : Munagapaka

"A repatriate from Burma and rickshaw-puller in Anakapalli, Sri Tambarapu Subramanya Mani (26), who is a Harijan, was beaten severely and pushed into a fire, accord-

ing to information reaching Hyderabad. Shri Mani lives near Munagapaka village.

Police have registered a case under 304 I.P.C. Section and are investigating the case under the supervision of the Inspector, Shri M.V. Ranga Rao.

According to police source, a respectable person of Munagapaka village gave some money to Shri Mani to get some 'crude oil' from Anakapalli. Since the oil was out of stock, the rickshaw-puller paid some advance to the crude-oil dealer and told him that he would collect the oil the next day. The rickshaw-puller returned to his village and told the 'respectable' person the same. Disbelieving him, the person beat him with a stick. When the rickshaw-puller cried for help, another person who obviously came to rescue him, also beat the poor fellow after hearing the matter. Thereafter, the rickshaw-puller fell unconscious and he was pushed into a nearby fire.

The rickshaw-driver's legs suffered some injuries. He later complained to the police. He was admitted in Anakapalli hospital for treatment. Later on, he was brought to King George's Hospital, Vizag. He is still undergoing treatment.

Shri C. Pavanamurthy, local Harijan leader was reported to have commented that this is one typical example of the harassment of the Harijans by the caste Hindus. He regretted that no action had yet been taken on the offender."

Incident-12

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : August 9, 1973

District: Cuddapah
Place : Gondipalli

"On August 6, the caste Hindus in Gondipalli village of Cuddapah district burned 47 Harijan houses for the reason that a Harijan's buffalo was grazing on a caste Hindu's farm land.

Informing this, the acting District Collector and District Revenue Officer, Captain T.T. Solomon told that the police had registered a case of house-burning against the caste Hindus and were investigating.

The Tahsildar and his deputy visited the place to render aid to the victims. They gave orders for payment of Rs.100/- to each victim's family."

Incident-13

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : September 5, 1973

District: East Godavari

"Rajya Sabha member, Shri Sitaram Singh, appealed that the Central Government should order thorough investigations over atrocities on Harijans in different States.

Shri Kumbhare drew the attention of the House to an incident in a village in East Godavari district, where there had been a fight between the landlords and agricultural labourers, in which a Harijan was killed. He alleged that the police were responsible for the happening of this incident."

Incident-14

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : September 14, 1973

District: Hyderabad
Place : Relapalle

"A Parliament member, Shri M.Rama Gopala Reddy, sent a telegram to the Union Home Minister, Shri U.S.Dikshit, that a landlord of Relapalle village allowed his sheep to graze in a farm land belonging to a Harijan, and that the loss to the Harijan amounted to sixty thousand rupees.

Shri Reddy complained that his complaints to the district authorities were of no use and hoped that the Home Minister would sympathetically consider the Harijan's case, and would take prompt action."

Incident-15

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : January 29, 1974 ✓

District: Mahboobnagar
Taluk : Kodangal
Place : Husnabad

"The Chief Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao, gave Shri M. Venkatayya the following answer: 'When a case was filed against some caste Hindus on the ground that they shaved half the hair on the head of a Harijan in Husnabad village, the Court dismissed the case.'"

Incident-16

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date: February 15, 1974 ✓

District: Srikakulam
Place : Bhogapuram

"A Harijan was tortured in Bhogapuram village of Mandasa on the ground that he stole some grain.

It is alleged that on January 21, some grain from Sri Kamsala Kama Raju's house was stolen. Suspecting a Harijan, Kondala Venamali to have done this, on January 25,

Sri Kama Raju and five others bound him to a bullock-cart and beat him. He was fined Rs.20/- and some grain. Realising that the injuries to the Harijan were severe, they took him to a local doctor for treatment, and later to a doctor in Sompeta and at last took him to a government hospital. After Vanamali's brother filed a case in Mandasa Police Station, the police have registered a case of illegal kidnapping, attempt to murder, and a case relating to violence."

Incident-17

Daily: Andhra Prabha

District: Srikakulam

Date : April 23, 1974 /

Place : Gopannavalasa

"The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Sri Gopala Krishna Raju, today informed that in Gopannavalasa village, Shri Behre Suryanarayana and nine others harassed the Harijans of that village who were cultivating land granted to them by the government."

Incident-18

Daily: Andhra Prabha

District: Cuddapah

Date : July 6, 1974 /

Place : Ramannapalle

"The Chief Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao assured the members in the Council that the Government had taken serious view of the burning of the Harijan houses by the caste Hindus in Ramannapalle village of Cuddapah district. He said that this was a very serious incident and an incident of this magnitude had not happened in the State earlier, while answering a question from Shri K. Subha Rao. The landlords' action

was a united action against agricultural labourers who demanded higher wages. They burned over 100 Harijan huts. About Rs.1.5 lakhs worth of property was lost in the fire. The Chief Minister said that the Harijans had wanted only higher wages and the landlords cruelly beat them."

Incident-19

Daily: Andhra Prabha

District: West Godavari

Date : July 12, 1974 ✓

Place : Chidipi

"The Chief Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao, assured in the Assembly that the Government would give complete protection to the Harijans in Chidipi village of West Godavari district.

The Chief Minister informed the House that police had already been stationed in the village to provide proper protection to the Harijans from the caste Hindu landlords. The landlords let loose their cattle to graze on the Harijan farm lands, and when the Harijans went to drive away the cattle after sending a complaint to the police on July 18, the landlords armed with sharp weapons and sticks, raided them. In the resultant fight some persons of both the parties were injured, the Chief Minister said."

Incident-20

Daily: Andhra Prabha

District: Guntur

Date : July 29, 1974/

Place : Peravelipalem

"Some caste Hindu men bound a Harijan youth to a tree and subjected him to gruesome beating some days back in Peravelipalem village of Guntur district. After they beat him for the second time, when the police arrived and were

taking him to the police station, he died on the way.

It was reported that a golden chain from a woman in the house of Balakrishna Murthy was stolen. Suspecting a Harijan youth Kotesu to have done this, Balakrishna Murthy and relatives beat him severely after tying him to a tree. They brought two more youth and they were also beaten. After learning this incident Kolluru police immediately visited the place to investigate and were taking Kotesu to the police station for recording his statement when he died. The police have arrested Balakrishna Murthy."

Incident-21

Daily: Andhra Prabha

Date : September 22, 1974 /

District: Vishakepatnam

Taluk : Sringaverapukota

Place : Vijinigiri

"Assistant Sessions Judge, Shri D. Ramalinga Swamy, gave judgment releasing four prosecuted in the rape case of one Harijan woman of the village of Vijinigiri in the taluk of Sringavarapukota. He stated in his judgment that the prosecution could not prove the case.

It is stated by the prosecution that one Mr. Bangaru Naidu and three others of the village of Vijinigiri kidnapped a Harijan woman, Smt. Battina Lakshmi and raped her in the riverbed of Jami River, and left her there."

Incident-22

Daily: Andhra Prabha

Date : September 23, 1974 /

District: Prakasam

Place : Keelurpadu

"According to official information received at the Police headquarters in Hyderabad, a Harijan marriage procession

was stoned, in the village of Keelurpedu of Prakasam district, by the village Munsif and 27 others, and consequently the bride and the bridegroom received injuries along with many others.

The offenders have escaped, it is said. The information also makes known that when the procession started from the Harijan colony, the Munsif and some others asked them to stop the procession, and when the Harijane refused, they stoned the newly wed couple who were in an open car.

Besides Munsif, there were Yadave, Kammas and Rajus, all caste Hindus, in the group which stoned the procession."

Incident-23

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : September 28, 1974✓

District: Srikakulam
Place : Toodi Panchayat

"It is alleged that a Harijan member of Toodi Panchayat of Srikakulam district was murdered about ten days back and so far none has been arrested.

The wife of the victim, Smt. Sangamma, writing this matter to the Prime Minister and many other leaders, requested that justice be done to her.

She stated in her letter that her husband, Sri Appayya was cultivating a piece of land, which an influential landlord opposed, and that her husband was last seen travelling in a bus in which the landlord also travelled.

After a few days passed after this bus journey, the dead body of Appayya was found and identified by her, she informed in the letter."

Incident-24

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : October 29, 1974✓

District: Srikakulam
Taluk : Patapatnam
Place : Chinakollivalasa

"According to Police information in Hyderabad, on October 26, five persons were cruelly murdered within a span of four hours, in Chinakollivalasa village of Srikakulam district.

It is stated that there is a long time enmity between the Harijans and other castes. That morning at about 7'0 clock in the morning, a Harijan leader, Sri Talemani Bundi Tammayya, who was returning from his field, was murdered.

On learning this, the Munsif, Shri T. Ranganayakulu, who is a brother-in-law of the State Panchayat Raj Minister and was preparing a report to send to the authorities, was murdered at 9'0 clock.

Meanwhile, there was another raid with sticks and axes on two Harijan families, who were returning home from a nearby forest after collecting some wood for fuel. Among them four were injured. When they were taken to the Niramandalam hospital, the doctor was not there. One woman among the injured succumbed to her injuries. Police are being stationed in the village."

Incident-25

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : November 1, 1974!

District: East Godavari
Taluk : Prathipadu
Place : Murriveedu

"The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Welfare Asso-

ciation announced to the press an incident involving a rape of a Harijan woman in Marriveedu village of Prathipadu taluk of East Godavari district.

It is stated that on October 2, 1974, two young men of landlord families tried to molest a Harijan woman outside the village. When another woman who was with her, ran to the village and brought the villagers, the men had already fled.

The lady doctor at Prathipadu Government Hospital refused to treat the raped woman unless she was paid Rs.200/-. Later some landlords of the village deliberated with her, it is known."

Incident-26

Daily: Andhra Prabha

District: Hyderabad

Date : November 15, 1974 ✓

Place : Gangeram

"A horrible incident involving cruel beating of a Harijan, Shri Rame Krishna, bound to an electric pole is known from Gangeram village of Hyderabad district. He is an employee in Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited. Those who beat him belonged to upper castes. The incident happened on November 8.

Shri Ramakrishna's sister was assaulted near a well by caste Hindus, and her pot was broken. On learning this insult to his sister, Shri Ramakrishna could not bear this, and went to his house-owner, Mallayya. But Mallayya quarrelled with him and asked him to vacate the house. When Ramakrishna went to other landlords, he was surrounded by about 8 persons, bound to a pole, and beaten thoroughly till he fell unconscious. Next day, injured Ramakrishna informed the police."

Incident-27

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : January 4, 1975 ✓

District: Hyderabad
Place : Hyderabad

"The Scheduled Castes Employees' Association Secretary, Shri N.V. Subbayya yesterday condemned an incident in a city hostel where the Harijan students were insulted by the caste Hindu students.

He deplored that as separate hostels for the Harijan students are closed, they are subjected to various insults and difficulties by the upper caste students."

Incident-28

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : April 9, 1975 ✓

District: Nellore
Taluk : Kovvuru
Place : Pallematla

"In the village of Pallematla, about 26 kilometres from Nellore, on last Friday a Harijan girl was raped and subsequently there was a quarrel between the Harijans and other castes' people. Three persons were injured and admitted in Government hospital here. They are recovering.

The Police are investigating the case."

Incident-29

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date : September 9, 1975 ✓

District: East Godavari
Taluk : Kakinada
Place : Eleswaram

"Peddepurem Additional First Class Magistrate remanded for court custody five out of twenty-one persons who tried to molest a Harijan, Raja Rao's daughter-in-law. ✓

Prattipadu Sub-Inspector, Shri K. Govinda Rao arrested five persons in this connection. They all belong to the upper

castes."

Incident-30

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date: October 27, 1975/

District: Guntur
Place : Pedaravuru

"The Guntur Additional Sessions Judge, Shri M. Neeledri Rao sentenced three persons to three years' rigorous imprisonment, and three others to six months' rigorous imprisonment in Pedaravuru murder case in which a Harijan, Prabhu Das, was beaten unto death.

The prosecution stated that there is a long time enmity between the caste Hindus and Harijans in Pedaravuru, and it manifested in a festival procession about one and a half years back. In that festival dance, a Harijan boy, Korrapati Eliya, was dancing with a Hindu girl. The caste Hindus objected to this and beat the Harijan boy. Prabhu Das then objected to this beating by the caste Hindus.

Again in this year's festival dance too, the caste Hindus have beaten cruelly the Harijans who were dancing. One of the injured was Prabhu Das. The injured Prabhu Das died in hospital."

Incident-31

Daily: Andhra Prabha
Date: November 24, 1975 /

District: Nalgonda
Place : Srinivasapuram

"In the village of Srinivasapuram of Nalgonda district, ten caste Hindus raided thirteen Harijans who were harvesting in their fields, and took off the harvested crop, according to information received at the police headquarters in Hyderabad.

The Harijans were cultivating five acres of land, which were granted to them. The Police have arrested nine offenders. They have recovered the grain also."

Incident-32

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date : April 25, 1972

District: Nizamebad
Place : Govindapet

"According to official information reaching Hyderabad, a Harijan was killed, after she confessed having done the crime of stealing golden chains from two Yadav caste girls and pushing them into a well. She was beaten unto death by the angry villagers in Govindapet village of Nizamebad district.

It was discovered on 21st of this month that two girls' dead bodies were floating in a well. Some villagers had seen the girls to go with a Harijan women, and thus she was caught. She told the angry villagers the entire crime she had done. The furious mob beat her till she died."

Incident-33

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date : August 18, 1974 ✓

District - Nalgonda

"The Chief Minister, Shri J. Vengal Rao, told the Assembly the case of a Harijan Tahsildar and three others who were also Harijans, who had been insulted by a Police Inspector and Sub-Inspector, and that the two had been suspended.

A C.P.I. Member, Shri B. Rama Sharma, raising this issue, told the House: "S.I., Shri Pulla Reddy had been taking bribe from a group who used to hoard fertilizers in lorries

through Devarakonda in Nalgonda district. Inspector, Shri Khayya Muideen also had been bribed. The Tahsildar, on receiving orders from the District Collector, came to search the house of the S.I. Thereupon, the S.I., Shri Pulla Reddy threatened to shoot the Tahsildar, and beat three more Harijans who were also there."

Incident-34

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date: October 22, 1974/

District: East Godavari
Police Thana: Ambajipete
Place : Manjaveram

"A Harijan was dragged out of his house, tied to a tree, and tortured in the village of Manjaveram in East Godavari district. He was stabbed on the chest on the ground that he had stolen coconuts. Police acted swiftly on receiving this news and saved him. Another Harijan had been brought and tied to the tree but he was let off by the villagers on the assurance of one of his relatives!"

Incident-35

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date : November 9, 1974)

District: Nellore
Taluk : Venkatagiri
Place : Paravolu

"Farmers belonging to Paravolu village of Venkatagiri taluk of Nellore district raided the Harijan huts in Deergampadu village, destroyed 10 of their huts, abused them, dragged them out of their homes and beat them. The frightened Harijans informed Gudur Sub-Collector, Shri B. Danam, who directed the Police to take action.

Some forrest land in this taluk had been given to Deergampadu Harijans for cultivation. The Government had already issued pattas. Some Harijans had built their huts near forrest land. But they have not been given pattas for these house plots."

Incident-36

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date: December 3, 1974,

District: Chittoor
Place : Garnamitta

"It is learnt that some Reddys of Garnamitta vil-
lage of Chittoor district strangled a Harijan boy of 18,
and buried him. But they announced that the boy had died
of electrocution."

Incident-37

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date: February 21, 1975,

District: West Godavari
Taluk : Eluru
Place : Manduru

"In the village of Manduru, there are two parties
under the leadership of the Sarpanch and Munsif respectively,
and the Harijans follow the Sarpanch. Thirty-eight Harijans
occupied illegally twenty acres of land in the bed of Kanne-
samudram lake. The Tahsildar issued directions ordering them
to vacate the fields and for seizure of the crop. But the
Harijans appealed to R.D.O. against these orders and got the
stay order. On January 27, about 100 farmers cut off the
water supply channel to those Harijan fields. Thereupon
when the Harijans opened the channel again, it resulted in
quarrel between the two parties, in which six Harijans and
two caste Hindus were injured. The police who came there

surprisingly registered a case and took the injured to a hospital. Later on, again on January 28, there was a quarrel when the Harijans led by the Sarpanch tried to prevent one farmer, Shri Gangayya from reaching his cattle-hut. The other farmers of his party ran to his help. In that second quarrel, some farmers were injured. On learning this, the Munsif came with his gun and fired at the other party. The Sarpanch and 8 Harijans of his party, and 2 Kamma farmers of the Munsif party were injured."

Incident-38

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date : May 31, 1975,

District: Hyderabad
Place : Suryapet

"A Congress MLA, Shri Edla Gopayya announced that some Hindu persons were harassing the Harijans. He drew attention to an incident on 27th of this month in Suryapet when some caste people raided the Harijans with sharp weapons. He alleged that the local Panchayat Samithi President, a Congress MLA and a former Municipal Chairman had a hand in the matter.

The injured Harijans were being treated at the Hyderabad General Hospital."

Incident-39

Daily: Andhra Patrika
Date : September 25, 1975 /

District: Nizamabad
Place : Aryapalle

"Some rich people of Aryapalle village tortured two Harijans on the ground that their buffaloes had suddenly stopped giving milk."

II

Apart from the reports of the newspapers, efforts were also made to obtain information regarding harassment of the Harijans, atrocities on Harijans, etc. from the Directorate of Harijan Welfare, a separate department in the Ministry of Social Welfare. This department receives complaints from Harijans directly regarding their harassment, etc. Thereupon, the department writes to the district authorities concerned, i.e. Collectorate and Superintendents of Police, and urges them to take appropriate action on the offenders. It keeps the files of those cases action on which is pending. Access to the finished cases, i.e. cases on whom action has been taken was unfortunately prohibited to this researcher. The Directorate of Harijan Welfare could not provide the details of the complaints they received. The office could only provide a summary of each case. So the following are the cases that have been brought to the notice of the Directorate and action regarding which is pending.

Case No. 1:

District: Srikakulam

Representation dated: 9-9-1974

Village : Chinakollivalasa

Shri B. Tammaiah sent a representation complaining about the harassment of the Harijans in his village by the rich landlords of the same village.

Case No. 2:

District: Srikakulam

Taluk : Chupurupalli

Village : S.M. Puram

Representation dated: 17-2-1975

The poor Harijans sent a representation to the Director of Harijan Welfare bringing to his notice harassment by the Reserve Police. It is complained that the Police raided the village to arrest some suspected Naxalites. But, when they did not find any, they beat some Harijans and insulted some Harijan women.

Case No. 3:

District: Vishakapatnam

Place : Vishakapatnam City

Representation not dated

(some time in 1975)

Some Scheduled Caste sanitary workers were insulted by the Selection Grade Sanitary Inspector. The workers have sent a petition urging punishment to the Sanitary Inspector.

Case No. 4:

District: East Godavari

Village : Madukuru

Representation not dated

(some time in 1974)

"It is brought to notice that the landlords of Madukuru village have attempted to burn alive an innocent Scheduled Caste youth on false charges.

Case No. 5:

District: Krishna

Taluk : Nandigama

Village : Chandralapadu

Representation received in 1975

The Kamme landlords of the village are forcing the

Harijans to vacate the Paramboke land which is about 2 acres. They are endangering the lives of the Harijans. The Harijans in their petition are praying for protection.

Case No.6:

District: Prakasam

Taluk : Addanki

Complaint dated: 20-5-1973

Village : Maddirala

A Caste Hindu murdered a Harijan boy, Samuel, on the charge of theft and Samuel's reluctance to tell where he had hidden the stolen things. Samuel was beaten to death.

Case No.7:

District: Kurnool

Place : Siddapuram

Representation received in 1974

It has been complained that on 1-6-1974 about 50 Police constables came to Siddapuram Harijan settlement in a police van. The police entered twenty houses and took away certain new clothes and sarees etc. After that, they again came and took away with them 16 men and 2 women and kept them in lock-up on baseless suspicions.

Case No.8:

District: Cuddapah

Village : Ambavaram

Petition received in 1975

A Harijan, Shri N.G. Obulesa complained that the District Revenue Officer was pleased to grant him the food-grain licence. A caste Hindu, Shri D. Venkataramana whose attempt to get a licence failed, kidnapped the petitioner and threatened him to kill.

Case No.9:

District: Chittoor
Place : Chittoor

Petition received on 11-3-1975

A P&T Clerk, Shri G. Subbalah complained that a caste Hindu, Shri G.S. Balram Naidu often came to the Harijan locality and harassed them by unreasonable beating and abusing.

Case No.10:

District: Anantapur
Village : Venkarakunte

Complained received in 1973

Some caste Hindu villagers raided the Fair Price Depot belonging to a Harijan, Shri N. Ganganna. They looted grains and cash worth of Rs.700/-. The raid is out of envy of the caste Hindus. The village Munsif threatened the Harijan dealer and took his signature on a blank paper.

Case No.11:

Place: Hyderabad City

Representation received in 1974

Scheduled Caste hostellers in Gandhi Medical College complained of harassment by the caste Hindu hostellers. It is reported that they (the caste Hindu students) often abused them in the dining hall.

Case No.12:

District: Hyderabad
Taluk : Perga
Village : Ippapalli

Representation received in 1975

It is brought to notice that caste Hindus encroached upon the Harijan lands, their compost pits, drinking water wells and thus are subjecting them to many difficulties.

Case No.13:

District: Nalgonda

Petition received in 1972

A Scheduled Caste man, Shri G. Yellaiah, was not allowed when he wanted to enter the Belaji temple. He was beaten and pushed out of the temple. This occurred on 17-10-1972.

Case No.14:

District: Nalgonda

Petition received in 1975

Five families of Scheduled Caste community consisting about 50 persons residing near the Hindu locality are harassed by the caste Hindus. These people often built illegal constructions on Harijan lands, blocked their movements, etc. They have gone to the extent of threatening the lives of the Harijans.

Case No.15:

District: Mahbubnagar

Village : Ramapuram

Petition received in 1974

The Harijans of the village sent a petition that the caste Hindus are practising untouchability towards them. They want that the caste Hindus should be punished for practising untouchability.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

The analysis of incidents may reveal some interesting features.

When we look at the Table 1, we find that Hyderabad district records highest number of conflict incidents, though Scheduled Caste population-wise Karimnagar in 1961 (19.44%) and Nellore (19.73%) stand highest. Karimnagar has not recorded even a single incident. Besides that the districts of Adilabad, Khammam, Medak and Warangal have also not recorded any. Next to Hyderabad district comes Srikakulam district with six incidents. The tyranny of the landlords on the Harijans in Srikakulam district is evident, as the data suggest, by the fact that it stands second in the number of incidents though its percentage of the Scheduled Castes is 9.21 in 1971 in which respect it is very low, eighteenth in the State. Closely, following Hyderabad and Srikakulam are East Godavari and Nalgonda with five incidents each. The percentage of the Scheduled Castes in 1971 in those two districts is 16.77 and 15.89 respectively.

Year-wise number of incidents (Table 2) reveals that the year 1974 stands higher with 21 incidents. We cannot think of any relationship between this and a Scheduled Caste movement in the State or the country in that particular year as there was not any. The Andhra Separation Movement which was the only movement in Andhra in the recent years cooled down by the beginning of 1973 and moreover, it was absolutely political in significance and had nothing to do with a particular caste's backwardness or woes.

The reasons for harassment (Table 3) are not clear in sizeable number of cases. But among the reasons stated, suspected or proved theft of the caste Hindu belongings by the Harijans appears to be the main reason of their being beaten, sometimes even to death. Next comes the land disputes. When the Harijans occupy some waste land or the land granted to them by the Government, the caste Hindus, out of no reason, it could be only described as 'contempt' or 'envy', would forcibly evict the Harijans from those lands or raid the crops and loot the harvest. In many cases the Harijans complained to the police about this and in some, it is brought to notice by some newspaper correspondents. It is reported in some cases that the caste Hindus would let loose their cattle into the Harijan farm lands with crops on. We cannot say that there is any particular reason why they do it like that, except trying to understand their 'exploitative psychology'. Rape or molestation of Harijan women resulted in some incidents. When the Harijans demanded higher wages as in some cases, they were beaten. When they supported a particular caste Hindu candidate in an election, they were beaten by the other Hindu candidates. Some other reasons for their harassment are immoral relationship between a caste Hindu and a Harijan, Harijan marriage processions, retaliation to an earlier incident by the Harijans, illegal activities by the caste Hindus which are opposed to by the Harijans, temple entry demands by the Harijans and so on.

In most cases it was a harassment of individual Harijan or a group of the Harijans by a group of the caste Hindus. In very few cases an individual caste Hindu alone harassed an individual Harijan (Table 4). Incidents of economic nature outnumber others. They are wage disputes, theft, land disputes or disputes over animals, etc. Many incidents are not clearly reported. Incidents of personal nature, i.e. personal quarrels, or rape are lower in number than those of social nature like factionalist disputes, quarrels over Harijan ceremonies, etc. (Table 5).

Regarding the kind of harassment, beating or torturing unto death seem to be most common occurrences according to our data (Table 6). In the Table 6 they are separately tabulated. Raids by caste Hindus, raping of the Harijan women also appear to be common. Some other forms of harassment seem to be personal insults, threats, burning of the Harijan houses and kidnapping Harijans.

The data thus organised, now we will attempt to look at the problems once again and try to prove or disprove the assumptions behind the problem.

Table No.1

District-wise Number of Conflict Incidents

S1. No.	District	No. of news-paper incidents	No. of official record cases	Total
1.	Anantapur	1	1	2
2.	Chittoor	1	1	2
3.	Cuddapah	2	1	3
4.	East Godavari	4	1	5
5.	Guntur	2	-	2
6.	Hyderabad	(5)	(2)	(7)
7.	Krishna	3	1	4
8.	Mahboobnagar	1	1	2
9.	Nalgonda	3	(2)	5
10.	Nellore	2	-	2
11.	Nizamabad	3	-	3
12.	Prakasam	1	1	2
13.	Srikakulam	4	(2)	6
14.	Vishakapatnam	3	1	4
15.	West Godavari	4	-	4
16.	Kurnool	-	1	1
T o t a l		39	15	54

(Figures in parentheses indicate the highest number in the respective types of cases.)

Table No.2

Year-wise Number of Conflict Incidents

S1. No.	Year	Total Number	No. of news-paper incidents	No. of official record cases
1.	1971	5	5	-
2.	1972	6	5	1
3.	1973	7	5	2
4.	1974	21	16	5
5.	1975	15	8	7
T o t a l		54	39	15

Table No.3
Reasons for Harassment, etc.

S1. Reasons No.	No. of news-paper incidents	No. of official record cases	Total
1. Theft	9	1	10
2. Immoral Relationship	1	-	1
3. Political Factionalism	3	-	3
4. Land Disputes	5	1	6
5. Disputes over Animals	4	-	4
6. Economic Reasons	1	1	2
7. Ceremonies	2	-	2
8. Lust	4	-	4
9. Retaliation	1	-	1
10. Illegal Activity	1	1	2
11. Temple Entry Demand	-	1	1
12. Not mentioned	8	10	18
T o t a l	39	15	54

Table No.4
Nature of Conflict

S1. Nature No.	Total	No. of news-paper incidents	No. of official record cases
1. Group Vs. Individual	23	18	9
2. Group Vs. Group	24	16	8
3. Individual Vs. Indl.	6	4	2
4. Not Clear	1	1	-
T o t a l	54	39	15

Table No.5
Sphere in which Conflict exists

S1. Sphere of Conflict No.	Total	No. of news-paper incidents	No. of official record cases
1. Social	9	7	2
2. Personal	9	5	-
3. Economic	22	19	3
4. Not Clear	18	8	10
T o t a l	54	39	15

Table No. 6
Kind of Harassment

Sl. No.	Insult/ Abuse	Beat- ing	Mur- der	Rape/ Mole- sta- tion	Burn- ing	Tor- ture	Raid	Quar- rel	Thr- eat	Encro- achment /tres- passing	Unto- ucha- bili-	Kid- nap- ping	Not cle- ar	To- tal
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1. No. of news- paper incidents	4	5	10	5	2	7	5	1	1	1	-	-	3	44
2. No. of offi- cial record cases	3	4	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	1	17
T o t a l	7	9	11	5	3	7	7	1	2	3	1	1	4	61

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Now a final look at the problem and assessing the scope of future study for Ph.D. The problem of this study, as stated in Chapter I, has been to study the conflict between the Harijans and the caste Hindus which is supposed to be in terms of the caste Hindu aggression on the Harijans.

Chapter II provides a picture of the socio-economic background of the Harijans in relation to that of the other Hindu castes. Though progress is made in the spheres of education, employment and so on, yet the overall picture appears to be grim as compared to progress made by the other communities.

Chapter III and IV highlight the intensity of conflict between the Harijans and the non-Harijan Hindus. The image of the Harijans unveiled by Ambedkar's work (reviewed in Chapter I) years back still seems to be holding true.

As analysed in Chapter IV, conflict seems to be concentrated mostly in economic sphere. Incidents of the type of higher wage demands by the Harijans, the Harijans stealing money or gold from the caste Hindu houses, encroachment of the Harijan lands by the caste Hindus, stealing the harvested crop of the Harijans, etc. fall in this category. The other conflict-concentrated spheres appear to be social and personal, though the number of incidents which cannot be classified due to the inadequacy of the information in the reports. The striking fact this analysis re-

veals is that harassment of economic nature predominates more than the harassment in terms of untouchability and social segregation. Further conflict, as the data suggest, appears to be organised. When the harassment is directed at a group of or individual Harijans, it seems to be always that the harasser in many cases is a group of the caste Hindus. The extent of harassment can be guessed by the fact that gruesome murder incidents outnumber all other kinds of harassment, only to be followed by torture, beating, or rape.

In this thesis, the concept of 'conflict' is used in different ways, i.e. as different attitudes, physical violence, individual or group quarrels, etc. Basically, conflict is understood as 'attitude (inherent) or behaviour (manifest) antagonistic towards each other of two or more parties'. The parties could be individual or groups which may or may not be organised but with a definite motive to oppose the interests of the other party. The group may be organized only to fulfil such a restricted motive. It may always entertain an interest to suppress the opponent group.

This study only reveals the manifested form(s) of conflict. The reasons though mentioned in the newspaper reports and official cases are not reported in detail. Only a primary study involving the techniques of observation, interviews, case studies and so on, may reveal a fuller picture of the form of conflict between the Harijans and the caste Hindus.

The present study is not only limited in its scope but has been handicapped by the limitations in relying upon secondary sources of information, in this case the newspaper reports and the official records. Yet this is an attempt towards understanding the problem which is of importance in the present day India when the Government is sparing no efforts to enforce equality of status and equality of opportunity by legal measures and, yet more amended legal measures to enforce strictly the earlier ones. Though this study provides only a rough picture of the nature of conflict relationship between the Harijans and the caste Hindus, it may be considered a step in that direction. It also highlights the need for a more intensive study of the Harijan-caste Hindu conflict relationship in Andhra Pradesh.

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