READING, WRITING AND REWRITING: DALIT LITERATURE AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

ABSTRACT

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH

BY
MANTRI VENKAT RAGHU RAM
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG 793 014

2002

Thesis 103614

This question, What is literature? must be a central one for any body committed to literary studies. The same question has been asked repeatedly since Plato and Aristotle within the Western tradition of philosophy. To define something is to limit its scope and functionality. Literature in this sense cannot be defined, for it is the most articulated expression of human experience that encompasses the whole domain of our existence. Young says, "Literature: a licentious and vagrant category, unsusceptible of limitations, and impatient of restraint: a mélange of poetry, novels, plays, sermons, political tracts, diaries, letters, books of philosophy and science once thought to be true but now read as fiction"[1]. I can't but agree with Young's notion of literature for it is hard to defend literature as a stable category: its sameness is made up entirely of difference. What is wrong with it is also what is apparently right with it: literature is flagrantly hybrid. Literature takes the reader beyond itself: discussion of books about the world quickly turns into deliberations about the world, which the reader represents. Critics perpetually find themselves looking through and beyond their windows of understanding of this world. We need not be surprised as Jacques Derrida finds this question from Derek Attridge haunting him[2]. As a product of a given place and time, literature as a body of knowledge entails the conflicts, patterns of convention, codes and modes of thinking. It thus makes sense when Terry Eagleton[3] says, that it is more useful to see literature as a name which people give from time to time for different reasons for certain kinds of writing within a whole field of what Michel Foucault called "discursive practices" and that if anything is to be an object of study, it is this whole field of practices rather than just those sometimes obscurely labeled as "literature". By invoking the ontological

significance of literature, Eagleton has proposed a reading strategy that would study the whole field of discursive practices where a literary text does not stand independently, but acquires significance only in relation to socio-cultural practices.

In the act of reading, a reader can assume different positions including the author determined position. Thus, the reader leaves the passive state of silence and enters into a kind of dialogue with the text. In the entry into discourse, the reader is entering society, for he or she breaks the monologic authorial voice and collaborates with the text to produce meaning. Such communal creations become analogous to the creation of any linguistic artifact, if we subscribe to the notion that the linguistic artifact is made up of some kind of original discourse resultant from the multifarious play of many fragmented discourses. And it is here, in the language, which is central to the civilization and society that men and women exist. The idea is that a personal self is created in the articulation or reading of a text, its phenomenological existence. This self is rather a surface with no depth; it is that which is constituted in a language.

The argument I offer here is that any knowledge formation need to look at seriously the nature of the text, the conditions in which it is produced and in what manner it should be read or evaluated. We need to consider the rewriting of certain texts, for they may not be in exacting sense but carrying out traces of an earlier text. The practice of literary knowledge, therefore, needs to be conscious of the complexity of the social conditions and relations under which it is produced and read admitting conflicts/plurality of interpretations. As resistance literature, 'Dalit Literature' in India certainly invokes for

reconsidering our understanding of reading, writing and rewriting. These three concepts need to be placed in the larger context of discourse formations.

In the context of modernity, there is the suggestion that individuals have within themselves an authentic capacity for self-definition and the subjective organization of meanings. In each person there is the struggle to negotiate the opportunities and dangers of modernity in terms of ongoing, enduring sense of self: to respond to the continuities and discontinuities of contemporary social processes in terms of one's own distinctive subjectivity, for example, Dalit identity and articulation where the excess of overloading of cultural meanings impacts upon the psychic space of the subject as disorientation, discontinuity and fragmentation. The dalit life is increasingly bound up with dislocation and dispersal of postmodern social space. We can appropriate Jameson's concept of mapping of social space between self and other to the dalit subject which "has lost its capacity actively to extend its pretensions and re-tensions across the temporal manifold and to organize its past and future into coherent experience. It becomes difficult enough to see how the cultural production of such a subject could result in anything but 'heaps of fragments' and in practice of the randomly heterogeneous and fragmentary and the aleatory."[4]

'Castism' that is peculiar to India has allowed for consolidation several marginalized heterogeneous individuals to forge a homogenous alliance in search of their identity. The marginalization here is an ideology of social, political and economic domination based on beliefs that a(some) designated caste(s) is(are) either biologically,

culturally, intellectually, professionally, etc. inferior. And this belief is used almost in all aspects of everyday life to justify, rationalize or prescribe the marginalized caste(s) in the society as well as to explain its social position and accomplishment. Here one is tempted to compare or liken castism in India to racism in most of the Western world. They are not one and the same, but there is a striking similarity. Both caste and race are natal concepts—one is born into a caste just as someone is born into a race. The relation between the two also exists as that of a macrocosm to a microcosm. That is to say castism is a macro sphere which includes racism as one of the several essential micro spheres. Castism also encloses within it concepts of class, once again, not as the West views it, but with unique Indian-ness attributed to it. It may be presumed that cast had its origins prior to the time when class might have originated. In short, we can amuse that castism in India is like English language which has borrowed and continues to borrow extensively various concepts to grow into a mighty language without disturbing the basic syntax typical to the language.

For a Dalit deprived of linguistic expression—the written word– what is problematic is the question of the writing self. That is to say, how does a Dalit represent the interchange of expansion and contraction, externalization and internalization of dalit experience? How precisely does the written word discharge the tensions of the subject? Schelling's hypothesis[5] might help us to understand this problematic. The self remains muted till it finds the required strategy – writing – to be able to express. Deprived of the written word, it waits for its formation; once it is formed, it expresses through the dialectical process that consciousness executes on itself. That is, in his/her search for an

alternative identity, the dalit writer makes effective use of what Foucault calls history of counter-memories, as a necessary opposition to traditional history.

Most of the earlier Dalit Writings came to the public through Journals like *Bharati, Raaga Maalika, Satihita Bodhini, Andhra Jyoti,* etc. The majority of the writers associated with these journals either knew English or were exposed to the English language, and this conditioned their world-view and literary style to a great extent. Most of them did not write with literary pretensions; but all of them consciously or unconsciously took part in an experiment, which brought about a real break through in Indian literature. The awareness of the social problems, a rational view of existence as opposed to a theocentric world-view structured in privileging caste hierarchies are explored mostly in prose narratives. The developmental phase of Dalit literature conveys immediate sorrow, shock and anger through autobiographical narratives written mostly from the victim's perspective. The next phase of Dalit literature achieves a different perspective relying on multilayered narrative and a multi plot structure in order to create a response not of the visceral engagement encouraged by the earlier works, but of interrogation, treating the readers not as passive or empathetic consumers but as active, questioning participants making them regard the Dalit writings with critical eyes. Readers of these narratives are made to realize that history is a collection of subjective experiences that can be rewritten and reinterpreted from a distant spatio-temporal dimensions; from the contexts of other kinds of narrative, such as folkloric archetypes; or from many different subjective sites. Through out this sequence of changing perspectives, several kinds of thematic continuity are evident. Apart from the obvious

theme of caste discrimination and exploitation (commenting on death, destruction, terror, loss, etc.), in particular, Dalit literature manifests a skepticism and distrust of authority. Collective memory of a torturous past is narrated through retrospectively in linear, direct and limited ways. Most of the Dalit writers did not resort to special literary devices to convey the intensity of the suffering or the grotesque condition of Dalits and their ruined selves. Instead the direct portrayal of the Dalit subject in the narratives may result in emotionally shaking the reader.

To reproduce in challenging discourse the fetishizing of the dominant language which actually takes place in society, the Dalit writer, in the initial stages, should borrow the writing instruments from the already established discourse. The acquired language is thus constituted as the absolute norm of all linguistic practices, which then can only be conceived in terms of the logic of deprivation. The combined effect of low cultural capital and the associated low propensity to increase it through educational investment condemns the least favoured castes like the Dalits to the negative sanctions of the scholastic market. That is, the Dalits are subjected to exclusion or early self-exclusion induced by lack of success and competence in the educational market. The general assumption was that upper castes needed the Dalits for their survival while the Dalit is denied of his immediate survival by these upper castes. The same sentiment is echoed on the religious domain too. This bred parallel contempt towards Hinduism, the main proponent of caste system. Ambedkar who openly denounced the Hindu religion by burning a copy of *Manusmriti* and embracing Buddhism vehemently propagated this idea. The newly found religious identity helped the Dalits to break away from the dominant

religion but paved the way for new frames of confrontation triggered on religious grounds.

Applying Gramsci to Indian Nationalist Movement, Partha Chatterjee identifies three phases of development – 'moments of departure', 'moments of manoeuvre', and 'moments of arrival'[6]. We can extend these concepts to include Dalit situation. The moment of departure here could be treated as the awareness of the essential differences between the Dalits and the upper castes. The second phase of Chatterjee's analysis is the 'moment of manoevre' which is war on two fronts – 'war of movement' and 'war of position.'[7] Applying this to the Dalit situation, we might observe that moment of departure's 'surrender yourself' attitude was soon replaced by confrontation. The third phase according to Chatterjee is the 'moment of arrival.'[8] It was this stage at which the Dalit movement attained a complete profile as we see it. Several fragmented ideas were amalgamated and a unified Dalit discourse was constructed

The concept of freedom and facility of constitutional security made it possible for Dalits to actively participate in political democratic processes. Dalit literature describes the political formation of Dalit subject in a very comprehensive way. It portrays the unassuming Dalit subject to be appropriated by the political will of the dominant castes during the early years of independent India. Recognition of political exploitation of the Dalits made it possible for them to learn the intricacies of growing democratic political process. This results in the fight for fundamental rights of the Dalits on the political front. Lack of congenial atmosphere to put up these fights from the existing political

formations, the Dalit groups formed their own political parties or joined the political parties that are organized exclusively for Dalit purposes.

In the formation, reformation and deformation of Dalit identity as an articulated position in Dalit writing, one notices that in spite of the historical disruptions, some stability has been accomplished. The 'mute' Dalit has finally been 'voiced'. This voice is no more mimetic, it is self-reflexive that actualizes the selfhood at various levels of socio-political matrix. The Dalit writing of today asserts a position in which the Dalit is no more an object – (s)he is a fully developed subject. The subject continues to confront but the voice will never die. This voice will continue to reinforce the process of reading, writing and rewriting.

Endnotes

1 Young, Robert J. C. 1996. *Torn Halves: Political conflict in literary and cultural theory.* Manchester UP: Manchester & New York; pg. 10.

2 Attridge Derek. 1992. Ed. *Jacques Derrida: Acts of Literature.* Routledge: New York & London; pp. 1-75.

3 Eagleton, Terry. 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction.* Basil Blackwell: Oxford; pg. 203.

4 Fredric Jameson. 1991. *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Durham: Duke UP, p.25. He argues that the social and economic world in which the postmodern subject is constituted is the world of late, multinational capitalism. The immense communicational potentialities of late capitalism, with its plurality of surplus-generating forms, derail the symbolic

framing of reality, the grasping of psychic experience, the mapping of social space between self and other. In this view, post modernity is defined entirely by absences, the dissolution of inner experience and received social meanings. It is possible to make sense out of this apparent disorientation, however, provided that we grasp the irreducibility of the plurality of human worlds.

[5] Quoted in "Selfhood as such is spirit: F. W. J. Schelling on the origins of evil" by Slavoj Zezek in *Radical Evil*, edited by Joan Copjecc; London: Vesro; 1996, p. 3.

[6] Partha Chatterjee. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World.* Delhi: OUP.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

READING, WRITING AND REWRITING: DALIT LITERATURE AND DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH

BY
MANTRI VENKAT RAGHU RAM
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

TO

NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG 793 014

2002

Thesis
KENT LIBRARY
103614
13-8-07

NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
MAYURBHANJ COMPLEX, SHILLONG – 793 014

DECLARATION

I, **Mantri Venkat Raghu Ram**, hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis entitled "**Reading, Writing and Rewriting: Dalit Literature and Discursive Practices**" is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis of award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to any body else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institution.

This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in English**.

M.V. R

(M. V. Raghu Ram)
Candidate

17/6/12

(Prof. R. P. Sharma)
Professor & Head
Department of English
NEHU, Shillong

K C Baral

(Prof. K. C. Baral)
Supervisor
Director
CIEFL Northeast Campus
Shillong

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my heartiest gratitude to my Supervisor, Prof. K. C. Baral, Department of English, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong (now on lien as Director, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Northeast Campus, Shillong) for his valuable guidance and encouragement at every stage of my work.

I am grateful to Prof. R P. Sharma, Head, Department of English, NEHU, Shillong for his encouragement.

I thank Dr. R. C. Pandey, Dy. Librarian, CIEFL NE Campus, Shillong for his help and co-operation.

I thank my beloved parents for their unflinching support in my life.

I thank my wife for her emotional support.

Finally, I thank all my colleagues and friends, especially Ajeet Kumar, for their good company.

(M. V. Raghu Ram)

CONTENTS

Dedicated to my darling son Krishna Ipsit

Chapter 1

Introduction

We would argue ... that critical theories are just beginning to recognize and reckon with the kinds of complexity inherent in the culturally constructed nature of ethnic identities, and the implications this has for the analysis of representational practices.

Isaac Julien and Kobena Mercer

This question, What is literature? must be a central one for any body committed to literary studies. The same question has been asked repeatedly since Plato and Aristotle within the Western tradition of philosophy. To define something is to limit its scope and functionality. Literature in this sense cannot be defined, for it is the most articulated expression of human experience that encompasses the whole domain of our existence. Young says, "Literature: a licentious and vagrant category, unsusceptible of limitations, and impatient of restraint: a melange of poetry, novels, plays, sermons, political tracts, diaries, letters, books of philosophy and science once thought to be true but now read as fiction"[1]. I can't but agree with Young's notion of literature for it is hard to defend literature as a stable category: its sameness is made up entirely of difference. What is wrong with it is also what is apparently right with it: literature is flagrantly hybrid. Literature takes the reader beyond itself: discussion of books about the world quickly turns into deliberations about the world, which the reader represents. Critics perpetually

find themselves looking through and beyond their windows of understanding of this world. We need not be surprised as Jacques Derrida finds this question from Derek Attridge haunting him[2]. As a product of a given place and time, literature as a body of knowledge entails the conflicts, patterns of convention, codes and modes of thinking. It thus makes sense when Terry Eagleton[3] says, that it is more useful to see literature as a name which people give from time to time for different reasons for certain kinds of writing within a whole field of what Michel Foucault called "discursive practices" and that if anything is to be an object of study, it is this whole field of practices rather than just those sometimes obscurely labeled as "literature". By invoking the ontological significance of literature, Eagleton has proposed a reading strategy that would study the whole field of discursive practices where a literary text does not stand independently, but acquires significance only in relation to socio-cultural practices.

If we assume that the reader is the sole producer of meaning, we cease to be surprised by the fact of disagreement and/or by the plurality of interpretations. The immediate question that strikes us about 'reading' is Does the text or the reader determine the process of interpretation? New critics have attempted to preserve the distinction between 'original meaning' and the 'anachronistic meaning' by advocating the use of biographical or historical information for restricting textual meaning to original historical or biographical circumstances. Hans Robert Jauss has argued that literary work exists as the collective interpretation of successive generations of readers.

Every audience or readership responds to a literary work through the lenses of a particular 'horizon of expectations'[4] (set of conventions or rules). According to Marxist tradition, our reading is based on prejudices, which are linked to our position in the power relations of a society, a position that is partially known to us.[5] If we take the notion of Iser that the relation between a text and its reader(s) as a kind of self-regulatory system, we can define the text itself as an array of sign impulses (signifiers) which are received by the reader[6]. Therefore, the reading process becomes a constant 'feedback' of 'information' already received where the reader inserts his own ideas into the process of communication. On the other hand, Holland and Bleich feel that reading is processing the text in terms of 'identity theme' where we 'use the literary work to symbolize and finally replicate ourselves.'[7] These points suggest to us that reading of a text take into account the reader's contribution to it.

We write because others read them. To Derrida, writing is a dangerous activity. According to deconstructive theory everything is 'always already written'[8]. The idea of a writer living on the edge of the society and writing for himself is now a myth because reading or evaluation of a literary work binds the author, the text and the society. Critical reading is no more an innocent activity as it never was. Certainly any critical reading cannot escape the questions of – under what conditions, and for what ends.

While talking about literary theories that help us comprehend a literary text it is encouraging to keep in mind the theory of 'Mimetic adequacy.' This

theory premises itself on the notion that 'life' or 'reality' exists anterior to any language which purports to describe or define 'life' or 'reality'.[9] In other words, fiction, which is mimetically adequate to reality, merely echoes, repeats or represents that reality in some way. Reality itself is not thought of as language, and language constitutes a separate category from the anterior real world, which at best, it hopes to 'capture' in a different (linguistic) form. New writers took this to mean that writing is always derivative of something else, the reality that always precedes it. Further this reality is thought of as having full ontological presence; it is self-sufficient and therefore, language or writing is totally unnecessary to it. We need not write about a character that is really present to us in his or her complete being. To describe such a character is to duplicate mimetically the character, but in an inferior manner, as a 'reflection' or image of the real character. The writing is a poor substitute of the character's real presence. A written character then is mimetically adequate or 'life like' not when it totally replaces a real person, but rather when it works like a real reflection, to imply the presence of a real person somewhere else. In other words, it is mimetically adequate to reality to point out from itself to an implied reality. And finally, integral to such a theory is the notion that fiction constitutes no part of reality, analogous to it, but not part of it. This theory however is criticized for the fact that uniqueness or singularity of the character will condition our understanding of the fiction in which he or she appears. As a result, individuality is valorized. As a consequence we try to understand characters in terms of their unity, and completeness or self-

sufficiency. This results in sedentary meaning of characters in the world of fiction.

However, this kind of reading is appropriate in allegory, in which, for instance, what Obstinate means as character in Bunyan's *Piligrim's Progress*. But if we apply the same theory in reading *Madam Bovary* of Flaubert, we will be led to accept that she 'means' or 'represents' some unitary essence or value, however complex that essence may be. But, perhaps, she is many things, and perhaps some of them lead to an understanding of her character being incoherent, lacking in unity and so on.

What is, then, necessary in reading a text is not one particular theory but an amalgamation of different theories, which will not translate characters into their singular unproblematic essences. Further, since a 'meaningful' character is the focus of critical attention in this mode of reading, we are guaranteed of a fixed or essential meaning of the fiction as a whole, which we comprehend through the characters and their relations to the fictive environment. In this approach to reading, we make a leap from understanding of the meanings of a singular character to the truth of the message being expressed by the author. With this leap, the activity of the reader is actually erased, in a sense; for once the text is read and the authorial message understood, then the actual process of reading the text, of discovering that meaning can be legitimately forgotten. In other words, the reader's activity of creating the character and meaning is elided and with that elision goes any

notion of real interaction in a dialogic form or common production of meaning by the writer and reader working together.

In 1960s Roland Barthes, Jean Ricardou, Phillippe Sollers and the *Tel Quel* group all in one way or the other attacked readability in favour of what Barthes called the 'writerly text.' *Finnigan's Wake*, for example, was read again, paradoxically for the reason that the French theorists pronounced it *illisible*. These critics felt the need for a different approach to autoreferential and self-conscious compositions, which will take into account the linguistic interplay between the writer and the reader that goes on in the production of the text as it is read. It is in the interaction of the writer's language with the positions it affords to the readers that an element of the text which we call 'character' is produced. By concentrating on the process of characterization in the activity of reading and writing, rather than on the established product of character, the theory will allow for the possibility of change or mobility in the meaning of character (and equally the writer and the reader) as the text is reproduced in the reading. This process, we may call as re-reading. It is necessary to read the text again, but that re-reading is not a simple repetition of an anterior reading. To read again, we have to realize that every reading is a first reading, that any meaning we construct for a text on a primary reading is incomplete and inexhaustive awaiting a subsequent reading for its completion. This subsequent reading will again be a first reading and so on. Postmodern characterization on the theory of reading grants the reader the

possibility of escape from fixed selfhood into an existence as a series of subjectivities, always in first-personal experience of the environment.

According to established criticism, character in a fiction comes to exist at the level of character's property or properties. Such a character comes to live as split being between a private realm of self and an outer or 'uttered' realm. The novelistic dilemma is seen as that between a character's being for and from the self and his or her utterance or appearance to and for others. In *Civilizations and Discontents* Hoy argues that "there is a sense in which the whole effort of civilization is an effort at imposing from one unruly matter."[10] (Matter can be anything like fleshly dresses, lusts of humankind or ideological dispositions of human beings, sometimes also the various obsessions, habitual, impulsive or compulsive, etc.) He poses this question and tries to explain it. " How is one to satisfy one's natural instincts and remain within the pale of the society in which one lives? According to him, the answer is 'hypocrisy.' Sartre identifies this as 'inauthenticity.' However, Foucoult's analysis of the discourse formations of society throws a different light to classify this problematic. He explains that if we work on the assumption that life (*vivre*) is formed by the prevalence of certain discourses (*ranconter*), then the possibility of choosing to 'live' is effectively eradicated – all one can do to establish a different discursive formation of life. However, applying Sartrean dialectic to writing enables the reader in pretending to understand the knowledge of the 'lived Self' of a character through the 'Self narrated;' in other words, the reality of the character depends upon the reader disposing of the utterance of the character by displacing it onto a schematic construction of

the 'inner Self' (or meaning) of the character. Thus we have the position demonstrated by Sartrean existentialism, in which a human is constituted by what he or she does and no more – where the mind is seen through its manifestations as body.

In the prevalent anthropocentric criticism of the first half of the 20th century, the character in literature, then, is seen as embodying a dialectic of 'inner' and 'outer,' or in larger terms, the relation which obtains between Self and Other. Culler has outlined one effect of this organization for description:

> Whenever the time of the story is momentarily arrested and the narration lingers over a given scene, character or event, the reader is allowed an elementary presumption: that these details are in some way necessary and that he or she must do something with them. And to do something with them is to give them a meaning in terms of their functions in the text... If, for example, a character's appearance is described, we may give meaning to these details either by calling on the social theories of personality, which, in their cliched way, tell us that if some one is elegantly dressed it is <u>because</u> he is dandy or that if she is beautiful she will, as a result, be admired and pursued; or we may in the absence of casual connections, establish a sign relation between the details and the meanings our symbolic codes permit us to give them: we would be unwilling to assume a casual connection between perfect or blemished complexions and perfect or blemished moral character, but the symbolic codes permit such associative operations. To process description is to collect details and perform such semantic transformations on them.[11]

Taking cue from this argument, Docharty says, "description, then is a primary vehicle of meaning and one way or another casual links between the outer and what it means, the inner, are established. Therefore, description as an epistemological carrier of information serves to inform the reader emotively."[12] That is, rather than an examination of descriptions of supposed reality beyond the words on the page which leads the critics to pronounce on mimetic adequacy or to speak impressionistically of a character, we can turn to description as a reading process of characterization. Further details and elaboration of description will serve to outline the boundaries within which we should consider the possible variables of development. It thus becomes a valid move to think in terms of a phenemenological approach to meaning in charectorological description. In other words, a literary character is never laid open to our dissecting critical sharpness, it is rather the case that descriptions of a character establish certain positions or inter-relations between character and reader. Any meaning thus conferred upon a character is not static. That is, if the character's meaning and being were static, if he or she were immune to change, we would have a 'dead' character or there would be no character at all, and no reader, for such a state of affairs would demand the unchanging reader or reader fixated at one point of text. Obviously, if the text is to be read at all, then this is impossible. Meaning is a dynamic process, the configurations produced through the series of positional inter-relations between character and reader.

Kavanagh points out that "description itself when considered in terms of relationship between the text as *signified* and the meaning as *signifie*, is

among the most paradoxical components of literary work." The descriptive passage serves to prepare or reinforce a certain semantic content, but once this meaning has been properly conveyed the description itself loses its reason for being. It no longer has any function. He says, then, "description would no longer have any function. What was conceived as means is abolished in accomplishing its ends."[13] But Booth points to the fact that "description as an operation in the act of characterization, is primarily concerned with *evaluations*, with the value judgements the reader is constantly making under the manipulating hands of the author."[14]

Therefore, in the act of reading, a reader can assume different positions including the author determined position. Thus, the reader leaves the passive state of silence and enters into a kind of dialogue with the text. In the entry into discourse, the reader is entering society, for he or she breaks the monologic authorial voice and collaborates with the text to produce meaning. Such communal creations become analogous to the creation of any linguistic artifact, if we subscribe to the notion that the linguistic artifact is made up of some kind of original discourse resultant from the multifarious play of many fragmented discourses. And it is here, in the language, which is central to the civilization and society that men and women exist. The idea is that a personal self is created in the articulation or reading of a text, its phenomenological existence. This self is rather a surface with no depth; it is that which is constituted in a language.

The argument I offer here is that any knowledge formation need to look at seriously the nature of the text, the conditions in which it is produced and in what manner it should be read or evaluated. We need to consider the rewriting of certain texts, for they may not be in exacting sense but carrying out traces of an earlier text. The practice of literary knowledge, therefore, needs to be conscious of the complexity of the social conditions and relations under which it is produced and read admitting conflicts/plurality of interpretations. As resistance literature, 'Dalit Literature' in India certainly invokes for reconsidering our understanding of reading, writing and rewriting. These three concepts need to be placed in the larger context of discourse formations.

The whole system of literary activity is interwoven with and partly dependent on other discourses for example, political, economic, religious, etc. All activities take place in what R. Escarpit[15] called the 'literary mileu' in which certain opinions, values and interests on what the literature is or should be are exchanged in a dynamic discourse. Escarpit studied the influence of different external factors on patterns in the literary system – the effects of important historical events, the effects of economic fluctuations, differences in literary behaviour in the cities and in the country, effects of moral and political constrains, effects of sociological alienation, oppression and subjection, etc. This line of research was continued by Pierre Bourdieu[16].

Cultural constructions of an ideal state of existence of a circumscribed past necessarily praise one group and devalue, denigrate or demonize the others, for instance, the Indian juxtaposition of Brahmanism and 'Dalitism'. When this idealized state is concretized in some realized entity, we are confronted with many conditions of being – the Gramscian arena of struggle over the material conditions of social existence. It is in these struggles that identities arise. Identity arises in the exercise of power. It has no singular construction; there must always be two, usually more, identities to be defined against each other. For example, a group may be identified if there are 'others/outsiders' and if it exists within a wider discursive field (like political, religious, etc.). We may reiterate keeping in view the extensive literature on 'Identity' that identity consciousness is a product of contradictions embodied in relations of structured inequality. This leads us to the claim that 'identification' is the politics of marginality. Indeed, identity appears to come into being most frequently in just such instances when individuals are persuaded of a need to confirm a collective sense in the face of threatening economic, political, and religious or other social forces. Therefore, identity formations are attributes of marginality and relative weakness in which the dominant are able to define the subordinate. But the dialectic nature of identity is also evident, for those who are subordinated are able to adopt the terms of their definition as the basis for mobilization and collective assertion. As Mudimbe has remarked concerning the European invention of Africa, "Identity and alterity are always given to others, assumed by an I-or a We-subject, structured in multiple individual histories."[17] Isn't it true in the

context of dalit representation? To Lyotard, "a self does not amount to much, but no self is an island; each exists in a fabric of relations that is now more complex and mobile than ever before. Young and old, man and woman, rich and poor, a person is always located at 'nodal points' of specific communication circuits, however tiny these may be."[18] According to many, from newspaper commentators to academic theorists, our era is one of radical transition. Changes in social organization that have occurred in recent decades are said to be incomprehensible within existing general theories and conceptual frameworks. A dazzling variety of social, political and cultural frameworks are highlighted in this regard. Globalization, transnational communication systems, new information technologies, the industrialization of war, the collapse of soviet style socialism, universal consumerism, breaking old loyalties, forging new alliances: these are the core dimensions of modern institutions and social affairs. Yet what are the connections between changes at the levels of social institutions and those in everyday life, the margins and the core, the individual and the collective? How do contemporary social processes affect the personal and cultural domains? There are two different ways of thinking about the relations between contemporary institutional transformations on the one hand and personal and cultural experience on the other. Elliott says that ideas of modernity and post modernity offer us powerful and compelling frameworks for social and cultural analysis and diagnosis of the contemporary epoch.[19] The modernist argument is that personal and cultural experience in the contemporary world involves various tensions and ambiguities, the distinctive characteristics of which involve

contradiction, fluidity and fragmentation. These instabilities are directly connected to process of modernization. To him modernity is a 'post-traditional social order,' involving the continual overturning of previous collective assumptions, traditions and customs. Postmodernism, on the other hand, recognizes something different in contemporary cultural experience. It reacts against the tiredness of the modernist negotiation of risk and uncertainty by attempting to dissolve the problem altogether. According to him, postmodernism suggests that "cultural ambivalence cannot be overcome, that ambiguity and discontinuity cannot be straightened out, that social and cultural organization cannot be rationally ordered and controlled." Postmodernism denies that there is any repressed truth to the paths of modernity, and as such recasts history as 'decentered; there are only 'images of the past framed from different points of view'. From this perspective, the multidimensional, chaotic world of global communications ushers in a plurality of local rationalities and identities – ethnic, religious, sexual, cultural and aesthetic. Elliott feels that a postmodern frame helps us to identify the proliferation of discourses by opening individuals and collectivities to other possibilities and ways of experiencing the world.

Social theorists, in general, view contemporary cultural and personal life as increasingly marked by dislocation, dispersal and fragmentation. Thus current social theories raise important discursive issues about the nature of personal and social experience, issues that are usually neglected, sidestepped or displaced in traditional literary discourse. It is important to understand the

experience of 'identity', which people recognize as something central to the *texture of their day-to-day lives, in the context of fragmentation and* dislocation of subjectivity. It can be said that the social structures in which the contemporary selves are constituted are profoundly different to cultural forms of the pre-modern world. In traditional type of social organization, tradition and custom and status held a legitimizing force while in modernity a rejection of certainties of tradition and custom are involved. Economic capitalism, industrialization, urbanization, parliamentary democratic creation, mass movements, etc. have widened the human experience by blurring the fixed traditional boundaries. Despite this, Habermas says that modern social life has become increasingly subject to administrative and bureaucratic control, and this has led to a crushing of individual creativity and autonomy.[20] Modernity, according to Berman, is a double edged phenomenon. He says, instead of assigning persons to preordained social roles, as in pre-modern cultures, modernity succeeds in leading human subjects into a creative and dynamic making of self-identity and the fashioning of life styles according to personal preferences.[21] In the context of modernity, there is the suggestion that individuals have within themselves an authentic capacity for self-definition and the subjective organization of meanings. In each person there is the struggle to negotiate the opportunities and dangers of modernity in terms of ongoing, enduring sense of self: to respond to the continuities and discontinuities of contemporary social processes in terms of one's own distinctive subjectivity, for example, Dalit identity and articulation where the excess of overloading of cultural meanings impacts upon the psychic space of

the subject as disorientation, discontinuity and fragmentation. The dalit life is increasingly bound up with dislocation and dispersal of postmodern social space. We can appropriate Jameson's concept of mapping of social space between self and other to the dalit subject which "has lost its capacity actively to extend its pretensions and re-tensions across the temporal manifold and to organize its past and future into coherent experience. It becomes difficult enough to see how the cultural production of such a subject could result in anything but 'heaps of fragments' and in practice of the ra ndomly heterogeneous and fragmentary and the aleatory."[22] Lacanian concept of 'mirror stage,' with its claim that the ego is a 'fiction' because it is frozen as an image of something, which does not exist, is seen as producing a fragmentation of the individual self[23]. The secret of selfhood is commonly seen to lie in authenticity and individuality, and its history is present as a biography of progress towards that goal, overcoming great obstacles in the process. Achieving autonomy implies inner-character building, typically through emancipation from external constraints like religious and political persecution, social ostracisation, or the fetters of hidebound or by-birth convention.

The introduction of democracy made the individual as the autonomous bearer of rights as (s)he became the basic building bloc in political liberalism that rebutted old Divine Right and absolutist theories with the declaration that the individual was prior to the state. Society was began to be regarded as the product of free individuals contracting together in the state of nature to set up

a political society to protect fundamental rights to life, liberty and property. But continuing inequality and deprivation of fundamental rights to certain groups within the society paved way to social-neurosis. What truly counted for the deprived was the status of their existence and identity. About 'the self', Clifford Geertz has claimed that "the Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment and action, organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively against other such wholes and against social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures."[24] And Michel Foucault, in his 'archaeology' of human sciences, concluded that 'man', as a subject and object of knowledge, 'is an invention of recent date' dependent upon a particular modern configuration of thought: if that were to crumble 'then one can certainly wager that man would be erases, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea.'[25] Of course, there are myriad interpretations of 'self'. It is convenient for us to assume that we are 'assembled' selves, in which all the 'private' effects of psychological interiority are constituted by our linkage into 'public' languages, practices, techniques and artifacts.

'Castism' that is peculiar to India has allowed for consolidation several marginalized heterogeneous individuals to forge a homogenous alliance in search of their identity. The marginalization here is an ideology of social, political and economic domination based on beliefs that a(some) designated

caste(s) is(are) either biologically, culturally, intellectually, professionally, etc. inferior. And this belief is used almost in all aspects of everyday life to justify, rationalize or prescribe the marginalized caste(s) in the society as well as to explain its social position and accomplishment. Here one is tempted to compare or liken castism in India to racism in most of the Western world. They are not one and the same, but there is a striking similarity. Both caste and race are natal concepts—one is born into a caste just as someone is born into a race. The relation between the two also exists as that of a macrocosm to a microcosm. That is to say castism is a macro sphere which includes racism as one of the several essential micro spheres. Racism, many argue that, has its foundations in the Enlightenment and religious revival of the eighteenth century West. Castism also encloses within it concepts of class, once again, not as the West views it, but with unique Indian-ness attributed to it. It may be presumed that cast had its origins prior to the time when class might have originated. In short, we can amuse that castism in India is like English language which has borrowed and continues to borrow extensively various concepts to grow into a mighty language without disturbing the basic syntax typical to the language. We shall return to a detailed discussion of caste in later chapters.

The theories of discourse that help us comprehend and analyse Dalit Literature are discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 attempts to trace the Dalit Ideology and the development of Dalit Consciousness. Dalit Literature in the form of Telugu short stories are analyzed in Chapter 4 with the help of insights

from Chapters 2 and 3. A brief summary of the research is presented in Chapter 5 as possible conclusions.

Endnotes

1 Young, Robert J. C. 1996. *Torn Halves: Political conflict in literary and cultural theory.* Manchester UP: Manchester & New York; pg. 10.

2 Attridge Derek. 1992. Ed. *Jacques Derrida: Acts of Literature.* Routledge: New York & London; pp. 1-75.

3 Eagleton, Terry. 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction.* Basil Blackwell: Oxford; pg. 203.

4 Jauss Robert Hans. 1982. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.* Trans. Timothy Bahti. Harvester Press: Brighton:; pp. 20-36. A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period of time. It is not a monument that monologically reveals in timeless essence. It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonance among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the word and brings it to a contemporary existence. This dialogical character of the literary work also establishes why philological understanding can exist only in perpetual confrontation with the text, and cannot be allowed to be reduced to a knowledge of facts.

5 Habermas stresses for a necessary dialogue between hermeneutics and the theory of ideology.

6 Iser Wolfgang. 1976. *The Act of Reading.* Routledge & Keagan Paul: London & Henley; pg. 67. Iser is the most eclectic of the 'reception' theorists, borrowing concepts not only from phenomenology, but also from formalism, semiotics, and gestalt psychology, and so on. He concentrates rigorously on the act of reading itself – on the gradually unfolding process by which a reader assimilates and incorporates the various facets and levels of a text.

[7] Holland Norman. 1975. *5 Readers Reading.* Yale UP: New Haven & London; pg. 57and Bleich David. 1978. *Subjective Criticism.* Johns Hopkins UP: Baltimore& London; pp. 65-6. Holland and Bleich use psychology as their starting point. Bleich believes that all knowledge is made by people and not found', because the objects of our knowledge serves the needs of the community. Faced with creative works, he says that we should ask, 'What are the individual and communal occasions for these symbolic rendering of experience?' Subjective criticism assumes that our main motivation in reading is to understand ourselves.

[8] Derrida Jacques. 1967. *Of Grammatology.* Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Johns Hopkins UP: Baltimore; pg. 44. According to Derrida, all 'signs', including those usually thought of as 'phonic' (that is, spoken), are literally 'unthinkable' outside the institutionalization of writing. Writing is not to be perceived as a belated or parasitic supplement to speech. The 'proto-writing' that underlies both speech and writing always precedes any specific act of writing, and thus interrogates the *agency* of the individual author, since all texts refer back to an infinite play of precursor texts that are 'always already written.' "If 'writing' signifies inscription and especially the durable institution of a sign (and that is the only irreducible kernel of the concept of writing), writing in general covers the entire field of linguistic signs. In that field of a certain sort of instituted signifiers may then appear, 'graphic' in the narrow and derivative sense of the word, ordered by a certain relationship with other instituted—hence 'written', even if they are 'phonic'—signifiers. The very idea of institution—hence of the arbitrariness of the sign—is unthinkable before the possibility of writing and outside of its horizon." Barthes uses a similar concept to describe writing. In *S/Z* pg. 21, he says,

"[E]ach code is one of the forces that can take over the text (of which the text is the network), one of the voices out of which the text is woven. Alongside each utterance, one might say that off-stage voices can be heard: they are the codes: in their interweaving, these voices (whose origin is 'lost' in the vast perspective of the already-written) degenerate the utterance; the convergence of the voices (of the codes) becomes writing."

[9] Tomas Docherty. 1983. *Reading (Absent) Character.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; p.xi.

[10] Cyrus Hoy. 1930. *Civilization and its Discontents.* Chatto and Windus. Pp. 147, 148 & 174. He says, comedy at its most satiric, as in Jonson or Moliere, Wycherely or Etherege, points viciously, drolly, wittily, to a set of more or less sleazy makeshifts calculated to assist the Volpones, the Subtles and the Faces, the Tartuffes and the Don Juans, the Dorimants and the Hirners in getting along in the world, or in getting ahead in it. Their sundry efforts can all be subsumed under one word, hypocrisy.

[11] Jonathan Culler. 1974. *Flaubert: The Uses of Uncertainity.* Paul Elek, pg. 87.

[12] Thomas Docherty. 1983. *Reading (Absent) Character: Towards a theory of characterization in Fiction.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Pg. 7.

[13] Thomas M. Kavanagh. 1973. "The Vacant Mirror: A Study of Mimesis through Diderot's *Jacques le fataliste*" in *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century.* Ed. Theo Besterman, Vol. CIV. The Voltaire Foundation: Banbury; pg. 93.

[14] Wyne C Booth. 1961. *The Rhetoric of Fiction.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; pg. 184.

[15] Escarpit, R. 1971. *Sociology of Literature*. 2nd edition. Cassel: London. Literature is embedded in the whole system of activities, performed by people in different roles: the author creating the texts, the publisher producing and multiplying the texts materially, distributors, booksellers, libraries distributing them, reviewers reviewing them readers reading, teachers teaching, critics analyzing, etc. Most of these roles are organized in rather fixed patterns within an institutional setting, publishing houses, literary criticism at universities, libraries, literary education at schools, colleges and in the family, reviews and interviews in the media, etc.

[16] Bourdieu Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Crtique of the Judgement of Taste*. Routledge & Keagan Paul: London. Who studies the whole broad domain of culture and art, literature being only a minor part of it.

[17] Quoted in "Ethnogenesis and ethnic mobilization: A comparative perspective on a South African dilemma" John Sharp in *The Politics of Difference*. Ed. Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister. Chicago: U of Chicago P; 1996, pp. 5 & 85.

[18] Jean Farancois Lyotard, 1988. *Perigrinations*, New York : Columbia UP; pp. 31-6 quoted in "Postmodern Contexts and Plural Worlds" by Anthony Elliott in his book *Subject to Ourselves*, Cambridge: Polity Press; 1996, p. 95.

[19] Anthony Elliott. 1996. *Subject to Ourselves*. Cambridge: Polity Press; p.6.

[20] Habermas' thesis of an 'inner colonization of the life-world' as explained in his *The Theory of Communicative Action* , Cambridge: Polity; 1987, mentioned in Cambridge Companion to Habermas.

[21] Cited from Elliott's *Subject to Ourselves*, p. 11. Berman theorizes the ambivalence of modernity as: 'To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish.' According to him modernity is the abandonement of any fixed social status and rigid hierarchy of power relations. This process accelerates the multiplication of possibilities the self on one hand, and self-dislocation by global social processes on the other. Construction and deconstruction, assembly and disassembly: these processes interweave in contemporary societies in a manner that has become self-propelling.

[22] Fredric Jameson. 1991. *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism.* Durham: Duke UP, p.25. He argues that the social and economic world in which the postmodern subject is constituted is the world of late, multinational capitalism. The immense communicational potentialities of late capitalism, with its plurality of surplus-generating forms, derail the symbolic framing of reality, the grasping of psychic experience, the mapping of social space between self and other. In this view, post modernity is defined entirely by absences, the dissolution of inner experience and received social

meanings. It is possible to make sense out of this apparent disorientation, however, provided that we grasp the irreducibility of the plurality of human worlds.

[23] Cited from Elliott, *Subject to Ourselves*, p. 16
For Lacan, the ego represents an imaginary world of wholeness and plentitude; it is a psychic defence aimed at masking the painful contradictions of desire itself. Significantly, Lacan's theory provides an account of how something outside and other – a mirror image – is taken inside subjectivity. Lacan elucidates the self as a copied distortion, a filter which is played off against disfiguring perspectives of reality. Reality in Lacanian perspective is that which derails the self in imaginary and symbolic terms, generating in turn further distortion and misrecognition.

[24] Quoted in "Assembling the Self" by Nikolas Rose in *Rewriting the Self*, Ed. Roy Porter; London: Routledge; 1997, pp.225-6. (cf. Geert, 1979, p.222, quoted in Sampson, 1989, p.1; cf. Mauss, 1979)

[25] Michael Foucault. 1970. *Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Tavistock; p. 387.

Chapter 2

Theories of Discourse

> *The focus on language can make us conscious of the endless ambiguities involved in communication and remind us that most meanings are not reducible to any binary scheme, even though they may be shaped in part by structures of power. The problem is that, once inside the labyrinth of intertextuality, the historian often seems unable to hear the human voices outside. And that is our part of task as well, to listen to those voices (however dissonant and confused) and try to reconstruct the human experience of history.*
>
> *T. J. Jackson Lears*[1]

Jackson Lears' observation is an attempt to underline/centralise Gramsci in the context of focalizing the voices silenced in/by history. According to him Gramsci's greatest strength is his openness to the variety and contrariety of experience. Despite his rationalism and concern to locate overreaching patterns of culture, Gramsci recognized that the ground of all culture is the spontaneous philosophy and shaped by each individual. This is not far from what William James called "our more or less dumb sense of what life honestly and deeply means." He says that Gramsci's feel for the concrete details of social life prevented him from falling prey to bloated abstractions... "It would be a supreme irony if this great thinker and linguist, who did so much to free the Marxist tradition from iron necessities and hypnotic formulae, were to be reincarnated at last in the prison house of language. But somehow, I think the wily Sardinian would slip away."[2]

In an appropriate sense Gramsci's thought provides the rational for our understanding of Dalit movement and its social formation and dalit literary and cultural articulation. The language of dalit discourse needs to be understood in the context of particular histories and processes of domination. This makes it possible for us to examine the discursive frameworks through which particular kinds of class, caste, religious or regional associations are formed in the context of unequal and power-laden social fields. Joan Scott observes that "attention to language has become the order of the day. Words like 'discourse' and 'rhetoric' appear with increasing frequency in journals and books and analyses of ideology have acquired renewed prominence."[3] On one hand, while many of these analyses offer vehement critique of materialist approaches to class, culture and politics, in their understanding of discursive frameworks within hegemonic processes, on the other hand, they stand in an uneasy relationship to poststructuralist approaches to language and discourse.

Let us first briefly look into the notion of 'discourse.' The term, discourse refers to a form of language use in everyday communication, public speeches or more generally meaning ways of speaking. In the field of sociology, discourse refers not merely to the language use, but also to the ideas or concepts associated with it. For example, 'the discourse of neo-liberalism' encompasses the language use of the neo-liberal thinkers or politicians as well as the ideas and philosophies propagated by them. At an abstract level, discourse also refers to specific types or social domains of language use like 'medical discourse' or political discourse'. In linguistics,

discourse refers to the verbal structure of the language namely auditory sounds and visual marks. Further removed from the traditional notions, discourse refers to the action and interaction within a society. That is discourses do not only consist of (structures of) sound or graphics, and of abstract sentence forms (syntax) or complex structures of global or local meaning and schematic forms. Discourses may be described in terms of social actions accomplished by language users in social situations and within society. Therefore, at all levels of discourse, we thus find traces of a context in which the social positions of the participants play a fundamental role, such as their gender, class, caste, ethnicity, age, origin, position or other forms of group membership. This does not mean that such social contexts are always given or static and that language users and their discourses passively obey the constraints of their group, society or culture. On the contrary, discourse and its users have a dialectic relation with their context, as they contribute to, construct and change the context. Flexible negotiation may be engaged in as a function of the demands of the present contexts and more general constraints of culture and society. Group power may be obeyed in discourse, but also challenged. Social norms or rules may be creatively changed or broken and such violations may give rise to new social arrangements.

The last decades of the 20th century were marked by a fundamental transformation of the structure and the content of human sciences and the methods of their study. The phenomenon of communication is clearly assigned an ontological meaning, and culture in general is viewed as a hyper-

communicative historical process. The questions of communicative strategies, of functioning of the human mind and spheres, of spiritual culture of humankind are given the leading roles. Russian thinker Michail Bakhtin, whose heritage had a visible impact on the modern way of thinking, had initiated the trend in dialogical thinking (along with the Western philosopher-dialogists M. Buber, F. Rosenzweig, O. Rosenshtok-Hussi and others). Bakhtin's meta-linguistic theory of expression as a communicative act (discourse) was developed in the theory and practice of discourse analysis, wide spread in humanities studies of the European countries, as well as in the new tendencies of regeneration and transformation of rhetoric (general rhetoric, new rhetoric, live rhetoric). Theory of discourse and general communicative strategies, the differences of which are making up the diversity of the human culture, becomes a common denominator of the above events. In general, the theory of communicative events (communicative culturology) is acquiring a methodological importance to the modern researchers in humanities.

Discourse can thus be understood as a domain of language use, structured as a unit by common assumptions. Continental discourse theorists such as Foucault, Lyotord, Donzelot, tried to use the term 'discourse' to refer to relatively well-bounded areas of social knowledge. So, at any given historical conjecture, it is only possible to write, speak or think about a given social object in specific ways and not others. A 'discourse' would then be what ever constrains – but also enables – writing, speaking and thinking within such specific historical limits. It is believed that what an individual, a

group or a society as a whole can imagine (let alone put it into practice) is both permitted and constrained by the discursive possibilities at its disposal. As Wittgenstein[4] put it, 'to imagine a language means to imagine a form of life.' Thus the world and our consciousness of it are discursive products, but at the same time discourse is a material condition that enables and constrains the socially productive imagination. These conditions can therefore be referred to as 'discourses' or 'discursive conditions of possibility.'

For Michel Foucault the 'social' is produced in the network of discourses and discursive practices through which we seem to acquire the knowledge of the world. Broadly, Foucault's argument is that it is the modalities of discourses and discursive practices that actually produce both the knowledge and the social itself, and the modalities function differently in different historical 'epistemes'[5]. The history of epistemes is not a matter of progression or continuity, but of discontinuity. In his earlier work Foucault's[6] attempts have been to uncover the concealed modalities of discourse which govern and produce various 'knowledges'. In *Birth of Clinic* and *The Order of Things* he investigates the 'discursive formations' of medicine and the human sciences, noting how these 'discourses' delimited a field of objects, defined legitimate practices and positions for 'subjects' to adopt, and fixed the norms for producing concepts and theories. Foucault's work has brought to the fore the operation of discursive practices within institutions and the terms of his analysis seem readily applicable to the study of discursive formations of literary studies.

Foucault[7] believes that 'discursive practices' take place according to the 'power relations'. That is, the meaning of 'power', here, should not be limited to its traditional sociopolitical concept. Because, power is not 'owned' by some privileged group and exercised 'simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who "do not have it"'. "Power is every where; not because it embraces every thing, but because it comes from every where." The traditional concept of power projects a paradigm in which the 'centre' always is powerful and the 'margins' or the 'peripheries' are devoid of power by virtue of the social class and caste formations.

Let us now discuss the concept of 'linguistic turn.' Let us begin with a version of a common proposition: if there can be no description or conception of reality outside of language, (understood as not simply words in their literal usage but the creation of meaning through differentiation), then perhaps, there is no preexisting social and material world independent of our conception through language. Language might be seen, then, to constitute the social. The challenge of this understanding to all materialists, including Marxists, is obvious. Gareth Stedman Jones has explored the dilemma for class analysis:

> I became increasingly critical of the prevalent treatment of the 'social' as something outside of, and logically—and often, though not necessarily, chronologically—prior to its articulation through language. The title "Language of Class," stresses this point: firstly, that the term 'class' is a word embedded in language and should thus be analyzed in its linguistic context; and secondly, that because there are different languages of class, one should not proceed upon the assumption that 'class' as an elementary counter of official

> social description, 'class' as an effect of theoretical discourse about distribution or productive relations, 'class' as the summary of a cluster of culturally signifying practices or 'class' as a species of political or ideological self-definition, all share a single reference point in another social reality. [8]

Or Consider Joan Scott's formulation:

> Gender, in these essays, means knowledge about sexual difference. I use knowledge, following Michel Foucault, to mean the understanding produced by cultures and societies of human relationships, in this case of those between men and women. Such knowledge is not absolute or true, but always relative. It is produced in complex ways within large epistemic frames that themselves have an (at least quasi-) autonomous history. Its uses and meanings become contested politically and are the means by which relationships of power—of domination and subordinations—are constructed. Knowledge refers not only to ideas but institutions and structures, everyday practices as well as specialized rituals, all of which constitute social relationships. Knowledge is a way of ordering the worlds; as such it is not prior to social organization, it is inseparable from social organization. It follows then that gender is the social organization of sexual difference. [9]

If we focus on the treatment of 'knowledge' in Joan Scott's discussion, we see a movement from the acceptable and necessary assertion of relationship between 'knowledge' and 'social organization' to a much more problematic and questionable collapsing of social organization into knowledge as part of an indissoluble unity. Here, rejection of class as an 'anterior social reality' outside specific languages of class, or rejection of 'the social' as something outside of, and logically prior to its articulation through language' establishes one's understanding of structuralist and poststructuralist theory.

It is a common place assumption of the contemporary intellectual disciplines that language and social life are inextricably linked.

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language, is merely an incidental means of solving special problems of communication or reflection. *The fact of the matter is that the* 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. *10*

The idea of Sapir as stated above brings into perspective the ways in which linguistic practices and products are caught up in, and moulded by, the forms of power and inequality, which are pervasive features of societies as they actually exist. Classification is the basis of language and thought. Without acts of classification no one could relate concepts or messages, because words and concepts only exist through classification. Since language provides the major access for individuals into the classification system of their society, the analysis of language provides the easiest way into an analysis of that system. Classification imposes order on what is classified. So classification is an instrument of control in two directions: control over the flux of experience of physical and social reality, in a 'science'; and society's control over conceptions of that reality. The basic system of classification is itself abstract, and isn't manifest until it is made actual by human agents engaged in social interaction. This abstract character is both a source of

strength and weakness: strength, in that the system itself is never scrutinized, so it is not usually open to criticism; weakness, because it is constantly being subtly renegotiated by individuals who are responding to forces outside the language system. Classification only exists in discourse. Marx and Engels[11] said, "the ruling ideas in every epoch have always been the ideas of the ruling class." Bernstein[12] argues that "it is not only capital, in the strict economic sense, which is subject to appropriation, manipulation and exploitation, but also cultural capital in the form of symbolic systems through which man may extend and change the boundaries of his experience." One of the merits of the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (of whom we shall discuss later) is that it offers an original sociological perspective on linguistic phenomena which has nothing to do with abstract conceptions of social life. Bourdieu's writings on language offer more than an illuminating critical perspective on the work of Sassure, Chomsky, Austin and others.

Although extreme versions of a linguistic turn have provoked a large response from Marxists, Raymond Williams has provided one of the most thoughtful commentaries. The chapter on "language" in *Marxism and Literature* grants a central, constitutive role to language and rejects mechanical conception of a split between "reality" and "conceptions of reality" or language as a "reflection of reality." Indeed, the chapter is central to William's outline of a cultural materialism (although interestingly it does not discuss at length hegemony and dominant culture). He insists on two points, both of which are necessary for the reassertion of social and material

(although within language). First he rejects a temporal ordering of linguistic or social constitution. "The difficulty arises," he writes,

> as it had also arisen in a different form in previous accounts, when the idea of the constitutive is broken down into elements which are then temporally ordered. Thus there is an obvious danger, in the thinking of Vico and Herder, of making language "primary" and "original," not in the acceptable sense that it is a necessary part of the very act of human self-creation, but in the related and available sense of language as the founding element in humanity: "in the beginning was the Word." It is precisely the sense of language as an indissoluble element of human self-creation that gives any acceptable meaning to its description as "constitutive." To make it precede all other connected activities is to claim something quite different.[13]

Second, he contends that we need to understand language as activity and we need to place that activity in history. Much of his discussion, which draws on and extends the work of Volosinov, elaborates these two dimensions, placing language itself within the social:

> The real communicative "products" which are usable signs are...living evidence of a continuing social process. This is at once their socialization and their individuation: the connected aspects of a single process which the alternative theories of "system" and "expression" had divided and dissociated. We then find not a reified "language" and "society" but an active social language. Nor...is this language a simple "reflection" or "expression" of "material reality." What we have, rather, is a grasping of this reality through language, which is practical consciousness is saturated by and saturates all social activity, including productive activity. And, since this grasping is social and continuous...it occurs within an active and changing society.[14]

That is, while language constitutes the social, in this view the social also, decisively, constitutes language. By removing language from a purely systemic level and placing the establishment of differentiation within shaping

historical processes, Williams restores the centrality of social experience and material social process.

This calls upon us to adopt an inter-disciplinary approach drawing resources from culture studies as well as sociological theories to make a better analysis of Dalit discourse. For this reason let us examine Raymond Williams' concept of cultural studies. Culture, according to Williams, is "one of the two or three complicated words in English Language." In his *Culture and Society,* he had identified four kinds of meaning that attach to the word, referring respectively to: an individual habit of mind; the intellectual development of a whole society; the arts; and the whole way of life of a group of people.[15] The distinction that most fascinated him, however, was that between the latter two meanings. The concept of culture, he would later note, had "played a crucial role in definitions of 'the arts' and 'the humanities', from the first sense ... an equally crucial role in definitions of 'human sciences' and 'social sciences', in the second sense."[16]

Where traditional literary studies had defined literature as timeless, an "aesthetic" category, cultural studies would see cultural values as socially constructed. From its very inception, then, cultural studies would be interested in the interplay between cultural texts and such conventionally "sociological" indicators of social inequality as caste. It was the sense of "ordinariness" of culture that had first led Williams to propose the notion of "structure of feeling" as a mediating term between "art" and "culture." The "structure of

feeling", he wrote, "is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization." He continues, "in this respect ... the arts of a period ... are of major importance ... here ... the actual living sense, the deep community that makes the communication possible, is naturally drawn upon." [17] This sense of ordinariness of culture had led him to formulate the new theoretical perspective termed "cultural materialism." Cultural materialism, he explained, "is a theory of culture as a (social and material) productive process and of specific practices of 'arts', as social uses of material means of production.[18] From this perspective, cultural tradition becomes the "selective tradition", a product of contemporary interests. For Williams, "culture ... has to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" and tradition itself as "always more than an inert historicized segment ... it is the most powerful practical means of incorporation."[19] As such, it is dependent for its practical efficacy upon identifiable "institutions" on one hand and "formations" (that is intellectual or artistic movements) on the other. In his *Marxism and Literature* Williams argues that the specializing concept of literature is essentially one of a series of "evasions", by which art and thinking about art "separate themselves ... from the social processes within which they are ... contained." To such evasions, and to their often transparently elitist ideological functions, he seeks to counterpose a stress on "the multiplicity of writing", and on "the variability, the relativity, and the multiplicity of actual cultural practice."[20]

For Williams language is best understood "as activity, as practical consciousness", that is whether spoken or written, language is not a "medium", in the sense of an intermediate communicative substance, mediating between thought and expression, but rather a constitutive element of material social practice. More particularly, language is in fact a special kind of material practice: that of human sociality." Linguistic signification is, then, a "real and demonstrable activity", with its own distinctively material, and in a sense "formal" properties. But these formal meanings function within "lived and living relationships." And is these relationships that "make all formal meanings significant and substantial." Writing is special form of language, which unlike speech is at once both materially objectified and reproducible. This reproducibility is necessarily dependent on the socio-cultural system within which it operates. Saying this, Williams readily concedes the problematic status of the figure of the author. While insisting that authorship cannot be reduced to an effect either of textuality or of institutionalized processing of texts, he argues that dynamic interrelationship between social formation, individual development and cultural creation taken together allow a fully constitutive definition of authorship.[21]

Let us briefly examine the resources available from sociology and the concept of sociology of literature. In general, the institutionalized academic division of labor had ensured that the discipline of sociology would tend to steer clear of any too direct an encounter with literature proper. The pre-eminent French "sociologist of literature" in the 1960s was Robert Escarpit,

literary criticism, the literary text itself. Where Escarpit had evaded the questions of aesthetic value, Goldmann set out to develop a sociological hermeneutics that could be applied precisely to the "great" works of literary art. He felt that a literary "work" should be studied as a "whole" in the light of its "historical evolution" so as to bring out the "work's objective meaning." Like Escarpit, Goldmann too believed that literary work should be understood as the effect of an extra-textual human agency. Goldmann assumed that literary work is the object of "collective consciousness" (that is entailing a certain consciousness of social class). He wrote that "every time it was the question of finding the infrastructure of a philosophy, a literary or artistic current, we have been forced to consider ... a social class and in relation to society." The crucial mediating agency between the life of a social class and the work of an individual writer is for him the "world vision", that is, "the whole complex of ideas, aspirations, feelings which links together the members of a social group ... and which opposes them to members of other social groups." For him, social class world visions could exist on two different planes. One plane is that of the "real consciousness of the group" and the other plane is that of their "coherent exceptional expression in great works of philosophy or art." His coupling of coherence with exceptionality is fundamental to his argument that the coherent expression in art, of what is in everyday life ever incoherent, thereby represents the "maximum of potential consciousness" of the group or class to which the artist belongs. He maintained that not only all work of art do in fact coherently express such a world vision, but also that "it is precisely because their work has such a

coherence that it possesses ... literary ... worth."[23] The structures of intratextuality and intertextuality elucidated in structuralist accounts of literature were, in Goldmann's view, better understood as the central informing categories central to the world visions of social class. Thus it is possible to trace structural "homologies" between the work of the individual writer and the world vision of the social group and the social situation in which the group finds itself. Goldmann defines "homology" as a systematically patterned set of parallels between different objects of analysis, a parallelism so systematic that in the case of truly "strict" homology, "one might speak of one and the same structure manifesting itself on different planes."[24] While advocating his sociology of literature or "genetic structuralism", he continued to insist on a radical discontinuity between "high" art on the one hand and popular commodity culture on the other. Pierre Bourdieu came up with an effective deconstruction of this distinction.

Like Raymond Williams, Bourdieu came from an unusually plebeian and provincial background and in some respects his work is close to Williams' in tome, purpose and subject matter. Bourdieu's reputation as a sociological thinker revolves around the "theory of practice." He followed closely the developments of Levi-Strauss's method in his early works on ethnography. Soon, he was dissatisfied with the theoretical and methodological problems and came up with his own theory. He attempts to theorize human sociality as the outcome of the strategic action of individuals operating within a constraining, but none the less not determining, context of values. This, he

describes with the term "habitus." According to him, habitus means "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted." The habitus is simultaneously structured and structuring, it is materially produced, and, interestingly, it is very often "generation-specific." Like Williams, Bourdieu argues that modern capitalist societies are still class societies and that distinction between the dominated classes (the working class, the peasantry) and the dominant class is obvious. The distinctions are not simply matters of economics, but also of habitus. Moreover, according to him, the dominant class, the bourgeoisie, is divided into two main fractions – the dominant fraction that controls the economic capital and a dominated fraction within the dominant class that controls "cultural capital." All practices, including those purporting to be disinterested or gratuitous" can be treated as "economic practices directed towards the maximizing of material or symbolic profit."[25] In his *Distinction*, the best example of his work in cultural sociology, Bourdieu analyzed the correlation between zone of taste and class of affinity based on a detailed sociological survey conducted in 1963 and 1967-68. He identified three main zones of taste – "legitimate," "middlebrow" and "popular." He characterizes legitimate taste in terms of what he calls its "aesthetic disposition", that is its disposition to assert the "absolute primacy of form over function". Artistic and social functions are inextricably interrelated according to him. He argues, "it should not be thought that the relationship of distinction (which may or may not imply the conscious intention of distinguishing oneself from common people) is only an incidental component in the aesthetic disposition. The pure gaze

implies a break with the ordinary attitude towards the world which, as such, is a social break." The "popular aesthetic" by contrast, is based on the "affirmation of continuity between art and life" and a "deep rooted demand for participation." Hence its hostility to representation of objects that in real life are either ugly or immoral. Bourdieu's analysis of legitimate taste and other tastes is as follows

> The aesthetic disposition ... presupposes the distance from the world ... which is the basis of bourgeoisie experience ... Economic power is first and foremost power to keep economic necessity at arm's length ... The detachment of pure gaze cannot be separated from a general disposition towards the "gratuitous" and the "disinterested" ... This affirmation of power over a dominated necessity always implies a claim to a legitimate superiority over those who ... remain dominated by ordinary interests and urgencies.[26]

If there is indeed any "coherence" to art, it is, for Bourdieu, only ever that of a coherent attempt to sustain the boundaries of social exclusivity. Commenting on the class struggle of Eighteenth century English society, E. P. Thompsons calls up the image of a field of force,

> In which an electrical current magnetized a plate covered with iron filings. The filings, which were evenly distributed, arranged themselves at one pole or the other, while in between those filings which remained in place aligned themselves sketchily as if directed towards opposing attractive poles. This is very much how I see eighteenth century society, with, for many purposes, the crowd at one pole, the aristocracy and gentry at the other, and until late in the century, the professional and the merchant groups bound by lines of magnetic dependency to the rulers, or on occasion hiding their faces in common action with the crowd. [27]

As he turns his understanding of such a field toward the analysis of popular plebian culture, he suggests that its "coherence...arises less from the

particular field of force and sociological oppositions peculiar to eighteenth century society; to be blunt, the discrete and fragmented elements of thought become integrated by *class*."[28] While this argument hold good for a bipolar societies, it cannot be applied in the exact manner to the modern complex multivalent societies. However, Williams' notion of dominant culture, which we have discussed earlier, and Gramsci's notion of hegemony help us to understand the relationship and tension between discursive fields and social fields of force in a more complex society. Gramsci begins his notes on Italian history with some observations concerning the history (and the study of history) of "ruling" and "subaltern" classes. "The historical unity of the ruling classes," he writes,

> Is realised in the State, and their history is essentially the history of States and groups of States. But it would be wrong to think that this unity is simply juridical and political (though such forms of unity do have their importance too, and not in a purely formal sense); the fundamental historical unity, concretely, results from the organic relations between State or political society and 'civil society...'[29]

He continues, The subaltern classes on the other hand,

> ... by definition, are not unified and cannot unite until they are able to become a 'State': their history, therefore, intertwined with that of civil society, and thereby with the history of States and groups of States. Hence it is necessary to study: 1. the objective formations of the subaltern groups, by the developments and transformations occurring in the sphere of economic production; their quantitative diffusion and their origins in pre-existing social groups, whose mentality, ideology and aims they conserve for a time; 2. Their active or passive affiliation to the dominant political formations in order to press claims of their own, and the consequences of the attempts in determining processes of decomposition, renovation or neo-formation; 3. The birth of new parties of the dominant groups and to maintain control over them; 4. The formations which the subaltern groups themselves produce, in order to press claims

> of a limited and partial character; 5. Those new formations which assert the autonomy of the subaltern groups, but without the old framework; 6. Those formations which assert the integral autonomy, ...etc.[30]

According to Gramsci, both the ruling and the subaltern are not homogenous in the sense that they imply plurality and diversity for whom unity is a political and cultural problem. However, the unity of the ruling class is unproblematic as it is achieved through the control of the state. That is to say, unity requires control of the State, the control that is juridical, political, cultural and moral. Despite the unity at a broader level, the ruling classes are prone to spatial differentiation—uneven and unequal development of social powers in regional spaces—at a narrow level. The same logic can be extended to the subaltern groups but with some modifications. The very definition of subaltern classes indicates that they are not unified because they are not the state. There is also diversity in their objective formation in the economic sphere—the movements, developments, and transformations in production and distribution in space and time. Therefore, to understand the hegemonic process, it is also necessary to consider what associations or organizations of kinship, ethnicity, religion, region, or nation bind or divide them. Gramsci clearly mentioned that the subaltern groups carry the "mentality, ideology, and aims" of preexisting social groups; they "affiliate" with preexisting political organizations as they attempt to press their own claims; they create new organizations within a preexisting social and political "framework." Thus the process of hegemony can be understood as a struggle, the ways in which the words, images, symbols, forms, organizations,

institutions, and movements used by subordinate population to talk about, understand, confront, accommodate themselves to, or resist their domination shaped by the process of domination itself. This brings us back to the concept of language in the social—the common material and meaningful framework, discursive process—a common language or way of talking about social relationships that sets out the central terms around which and in terms of which contestation and struggle cam occur. Conceptualizing such a process in terms of the necessity of constructing discursive framework allows us to examine both the power and fragility of particular order of domination. Let us consider the idea of State power according to Corrigan and Sayer:

> The arcane rituals of court of law, the formulae of royal assent to an act of parliament, visit of school inspectors, are all statements. They define, in great detail, acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity; they regulate...much...of social life. In this sense "the state" never stops talking. Out of the vast range of human social capabilities—possible ways in which social life could be lived—state activities more or less forcibly "encourage" some whilst suppressing, marginalizing, eroding, undermining others. Schooling for instance comes to stand for education, policing for order, voting for political participation. Fundamental social classifications, like age and gender, are enshrined in law, embedded in institutions, routinized in administrative procedures and symbolized in rituals of state. Certain forms of activity are given the official seal of approval; others are situated beyond the pale. This has cumulative, and enormous, cultural consequences; consequences for how people identify...themselves and their "place" in the world. [31]

Though the same situation prevailed in colonial India, nothing changed in the post-independent India except for the royal assent. The particular merit of the understanding of hegemonic process aids us in drawing a more complex map of field of force. That is, the formation of particular regional, religious,

ethnic, national, or class/caste communities and identities needs to be understood in relation to historically specific processes of domination and struggle. This understanding of discursive framework works as a reference point to the analysis of Dalit literature, which emerged as a resistance literary movement literature in India.

The evolution of Dalit discourse as a new discursive practice has its origin in postcolonial India. The late eighteenth century Orientalist tradition saw ancient texts as the source of authentic knowledge about immemorial custom and tradition. The Sastras and Koran, it believed, set out the codes of conduct of Hindus and Muslims, and defined the customary laws which mediated social relationships as well as conflicts within communities. This meant that Dalits can be represented either by Hinduism or Islam. It is obvious that Indian sociology brought Dalits under the banner of Hinduism – the dominant religion. Practices were seen as legitimate only when conformed to the injunctions of ancient texts. This point makes the role of literature and language crucial to the discussion of discursive formations. As Dalits had no written codes of their own and as literary scholarship was inaccessible to them, they relied hugely on oral tradition for a considerable period that extends up to the late colonial times. The absence of written documentary code of their own, the present Dalit practice is not the acceptable proof of valid custom: it could represent perversions, distortions and deformations of the original principles—a standard attack on Dalit community. Colonial rulers of India believed that practices became tainted

with the passage of time; marked with the imprint of generations, the real principles were buried under the weight of history. Therefore, to preserve immemorial custom a return to the original form was essential: custom had to be purged of foreign influences and Vedic law has to be consolidated where an amalgam of practices had developed. Hastings felt that the original authoritative texts have to be translated and understood; and colonial codes had to be based on and authorized through these texts. This legitimized the Vedic texts rewritten and reinterpreted during the colonial rule as the authoritative texts on Indian society. This Orientalist thinking on custom, tradition and law was relentlessly attacked by Utilitarian positivists inspired by the idea of Bentham as conservative ideology pathologically opposed to liberal reform. In the absence of a written code, how was the Dalit custom to be defined and discovered? What were the sources of its authority? The Indian Pundits came in to the scene. The question of knowledge became linked to the discourse of morality. Soon the contributions of Pundits became controversial and were replaced by village headmen—*chaudhuris* and *mukkaddams*. This inquiry began another phase in the redefinition of custom. But, when it came to the issue of Dalits, there was no much difference between the discourses of Pundits and the Village headmen. This process of translation of vernacular statements, and the re-reading of textualized records and systematization of evidence provided a wide space for colonial authorial intervention in the making of the custom. This resulted in appropriation and reconstitution of custom defined by specific frames of reference through which local reality was perceived.

The process of codification restructured rural power relations and was also shaped by those relations. The inquiry into custom opened up a space for negotiation and conflict over the truth of practice. We are aware that the language of judicial discourse continuously slips from the deductive to the inductive, from the mythical to the 'real', transcending such oppositions and intermeshing them inseparably. The imagined reality of the coparcenary community became part of official and judicial common sense and imposed its own specific order into the rural world of customary practices. The boundaries of the proprietary community were sharply demarcated; the entry of 'outsiders' into it was legally restricted. The logic of the argument led to the Land Alienation Act of 1900, when communities classified as 'non-agriculturists' were debarred entry into the rural market. The colonial regime of customary law thus sharpened the opposition between the outsiders and the insiders, the 'agriculturists' and the 'non-agriculturists', the proprietary body and the lower castes. In short, the discourse on custom reveals a dialogue between masters and natives. The native voice was inscribed within imperial discourse, but it was constrained, regulated and ultimately appropriated. This was a male, patriarchal voice, the voice of dominant proprietary body speaking against the rights of non-proprietors, women and lower castes. Despite this, the official discourse was not monologic: the dominant voice could not represent all others. Through the cracks opened up by contestation, evidence of alternative practices becomes visible. Not all the voices could be easily accommodated within the imperial discourse on customary law, not all

evidence was always recognized. Codification was also a process of silence and erasure. Imperial officials defined terms of validity of custom and the criteria of reasonability and equity; they distinguished between the norm and the exception, between antiquated and living practices. Through their classificatory process they sought to repress troubling evidence and fix the meanings of customs in the act of encoding them. The common argument that customs are frozen through codification is premised on a simple contrast between the oral and the textual. The oral tradition is seen as fluid, open to a variety of meanings and interpretations, a range of appropriations according to the context. When oral tradition is textualized the fluidity disappears and meanings are fixed. But, texts too convey a variety of meanings; and new meanings are continuously inscribed onto texts in the process of interpretation and elaboration. Beneath the regime of codes was the reality of uncodified practices. Inheritance rules, rights of women, and norms of marriage did not all change with codification. There were violations of rules, a public flouting of norms, a silent persistence of alternative practices. The official mind could not close itself to the pressure of this subversive evidence. Colonial officials could not continue living in a world of imagined reality, gloriously ignorant of native understanding and practices. Subversion and contestation did not simply constitute a private transcript which remained hidden behind the public transcript – a code to which people submitted. The private transcript persistently asserted itself in public spaces, the language and understanding of the rulers felt the strain of contest. In the process of this cultural confrontation, colonial structures and categories of representation were

dislocated and refigured, while the public transcript imprinted itself onto the private in invisible ways.

This codification of customary practices resulted in Vedic literature becoming a *de facto* social norm for Hindus. *The Puranas* became instruments for the propagation of Brahmanical ideals of social reconstruction and sectarian interests, a medium of absorption of local cults and associated practices, and a vehicle for popular instruction on norms governing everyday existence. The cumulative affect of the composition of *Puranas* and the popularization of Puranic ethos was constituted in somewhat imprecise categories, what is popularly known today as 'Hinduism.' The impression of two English civil servants of the early twentieth century regarding what constitutes Hinduism will serve to illustrate the point. Malley describes Hinduism thus:

> Considered purely as a religion...Hinduism may be described as a conglomerate of cults and creeds. The non-Aryan tribes who were admitted to the fold of Hinduism and the Hindus of Aryan descent reacted on one another, the former adopting the rites and customs of their conquerors, while the latter assimilated some of their less civilized cults and incorporated in their system the objects of popular devotion. The higher and the lower forms of religion still coexist side by side. At one end of the scale, therefore, is the cultured monotheist of the eclectic pantheist for whom no mysticism is too subtle. Pantheists actually form a small minority, and the great majority of Hindus are theists believing in one personal god, though they are at the same time polytheistic in their religious observances. At the bottom of the scale is a great multitude of people in a low state of religious development, some of whom have scarcely risen above mere fetishism.[32]

Hutton defines Hinduism as follows:

> If the view be accepted that the Hindu religion has its origin in pre-Vedic times and that in its later form it is the result of the reaction by the religion of country to the intrusive beliefs of northern invaders, many features of Hinduism will become at once more comprehensible, while the very striking difference between the religion of the Rigveda and that of the Dharmasastras will seem natural...This would explain Hinduism's amalgamation with and absorption of local cults and its excessive multiformity, and is, moreover, in entire accordance with the manner in which it still spreads at the present day, absorbing tribal religions by virtue of its social prestige, by identification of local gods with its own, by the experimental resort to Hindu priests, and bythe social promotion of pagan chiefs who are provided with suitable mythological pedigrees. Into the early Hindu beliefs spread in this manner the religion of the Rigveda has been imposed and absorbed. [33]

Brain K. Smith[34] has identified two criteria as constitutive of Hinduism: 1. Recognition of the authority of the Brahmana class and 2. Recognition of the authority of Vedas. On this premise he defines Hinduism as the 'religion of those humans who create, perpetrate and transform traditions with legitimizing reference to the authority of the Veda.' We shall return to the idea of Hinduism in relation to Dalits and Dalit literature in Chapter 3.

The colonial system initiated by Macaulay and Bentinck and elaborating during the course of nineteenth century had many facets and functions, among which its contribution to the creation of a new 'cultural common sense' figures as the most enduring and critical. This facilitated educational opportunities to the lower castes. The cultural impact of new literacy was not confined to English literates. There was a spill over effect on vernacular readers. The written word as a cultural factor became increasingly

important and influential during the course of nineteenth century. The access to printing technology opened new instruments of communication—both literary (for example, novels and short stories) and non-literary (magazines and newspapers). The novel became a popular genre of late nineteenth century.

Access to education has brought about a radical change in the perception of the Dalit about her/himself and the society (s)he was part of. The Brahminical order was challenged and deconstructed in that a new discourse that centralized identity and dissent emerged. The emergent discourse designated as Dalit discourse is ideologically subversive and politically self-conscious in post independent India.

Endnotes

[1] T. J. Jackson Lears. 1985. "The concept of cultural hegemony: Problems and possibilities." *American Historical Review* Vol. 90; No. 3. pp. 567-93 cited in Wilmsen and McAllister, *The Politics of Difference*. Chicago: U of Chicago P.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Scott Joan. 1988. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 54.

[4] Wittgenstein Ludwig. 1968. *Philosophical Investigations*. Blackwell: Oxford.

[5] An episteme is a historical period that is unified by the rules and procedures – the modalities – for producing knowledge.

[6] Foucault Michel. 1970. *The Order of Things*. London: Tavistock.

[7] Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Allan lane: London.

[8] Gareth Stedman Jones. 1983. *Languages of Class*. New York: CUP. Pp. 7-8.

[9] Joan Scott. 1988. *Opt. Cit.* p. 2.

[10] B. L. Whorf. 1956. *Language, Thought and Reality*. New York: Wiley. p. 134.

[11] Marx and Engels. 1970. *Manifest of the Communist Party.* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

[12] B. Bernstein. 1972. "Social class, language and socialization", in P. P. Giglioli (ed) *Language and Social Context.* Hammondsworth: Penguin. p.172.

[13] Raymond Williams. 1977. *Marxism and Literature.* Oxford: OUP. p. 29.

[14] Ibid. p. 37.

[15] Williams, R. 1963. *Culture and Society: 1780-1950.* Hammondsworth: Penguin. p. 16

[16] Williams, R. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* Glasgow: Fontana. p. 76

[17] Williams, R. 1965. *The Long Revolution.* Hammondsworth: Penguin. pp. 64-5

[18] Williams, R. 1983. *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays.* London: New Left Books. p. 243

[19] Williams, R. 1977. *Opt. Cit.* p. 115.

[20] Ibid. p.117.

[21] Ibid. pp. 117-20, 153, 158-9, 165-8, 187-92, 201

[22] Escarpit, R. 1971. *The Sociology of Literature.* Tr. E. Pick. London: Cass. pp. 18, 22, 25-8

[23] Goldmann, L. 1964. *The Human Sciences and Philosophy.* Tr. H.V. White and R. Anchor. London: Jonathan Cape. pp. 36, 99, 102-3, 130

[24] Goldmann, L. 1975. *Towards a Sociology of the Novel.* Tr. A. Sheridan. London: Tavistock. p. 8. In his studies of Kant, Pascal and Racine, Goldmann relates the structure of the "tragic vision" as world vision to two concepts. First, he relates it to the textual structures of the philosophical writings of Kant and Pascal and the theatre of Racine; secondly, to the social structures of seventeenth century France and eighteenth century Germany. Goldmann believes that "structures are born from events and ... except for the most formal characteristics, there is no permanence in these structures."

[25] Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Tr. R. Nice. Cambridge: CUP. pp. 72-95, 183

[26] Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Tr. R. Nice. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. pp. 17, 28, 30-2, 54-6

[27] E. P. Thompson. 1996. "Eighteenth Century English Society: Class struggle without class?" cited in Wilmsen and McAllister, *The Politics of Difference.* Chicago: U of Chicago P. p.76.

[28] Ibid. p.77-8

[29] Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks.* New York: International. P. 52.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Phillip Corrigan and Derek Seyer. 1985. *The Great Arch: English state formation as cultural revolution.* Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 3-4.

[32] L.S.S. Malley edited the Bengal District Gazetteer in 1912. Malley, *Popular Hinduism: The Religion of the Masses.* New York: Cambridge; 1935, p. 2 cited in Tradition, Dissent and Ideology: Essays in honour of Romilla Thapar, Delhi: OUP, 1996, p. 65.

[33] J.H. Hutton directed the Census of India in 1931. Hutton, *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins*, Bombay: 1946, p. 230 cited in Tradition, Dissent and Ideology: Essays in honour of Romilla Thapar, Delhi: OUP, 1996, p. 65.

[34] Brian K. Smith. 1989. *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual and religion.* New York: p. 10.

Chapter 3

Ideology and Dalit Movement

Discrimination does not exist, at least not in a legal sense, until a court (and, really the Supreme Court) says so. A judicial finding of discrimination has an uncertain quality about it. The finding is empirical, analytical, and policy driven. Questions of fact, of law applied to the facts and of who bears the burden of proof. In addition, a lower court's finding of discrimination is subject to reversal on direct appeal or years later when and if the issue comes to the court again in another case. Thus, a careful review of judicial determinations (the best evidence available) is inconclusive evidence of the existence of even a legally controlled concept of discrimination.

Roy Brooks

Roy Brooks[1] observation about racism in America also holds good for castism in India. Is our caste system lesser evil than racism practiced elsewhere? In this Post-civil rights era we Indians still practice discriminatory castism. To understand and analyze Dalit Literature it is imperative to look briefly into the caste system and practices of India, while examining the concepts of Ideology in Dalit Movement.

3.1 Caste in India

There are several theories that explain the rise, growth and sustenance of caste system in India such as, the Divine Plan theory, Racial Antipathy

theory, Occupational or functional theory, etc. A "caste" is not a class. Caste is something more than a class. The caste structure is not based on economy or wealth. Economy does not determine social ranking in caste system. It is the caste, which determines an individual's social position in the social hierarchy. The second aspect, which distinguishes caste from class system, is the ascriptive nature of the social status, which the individual acquires that cannot be improved or changed.[2] The persistence of the caste system as a socio-historical reality over the centuries and the changes it has undergone or has been undergoing at the present times are not easy to grapple with and are even more difficult to explain. Stratification of society is a universal phenomenon but caste as a system is peculiar to India. Contrary to what some Hindus and intellectuals say, caste is not found in other countries: what is found in countries that did not come under the influence of Hindu culture is not really castes but caste-like practices. Caste is characterized by birth and ascribed status. The caste system ensures prestige, power and privileges for some and inherited deprivation and subjection for a large number of people who were forced to work and produce wealth to keep the upper castes in comfort besides doing all unpleasant hazardous jobs. The caste system is based on graded inequality and therefore those who suffered from deprivation and destitution could not unite and protest against the system. In India patriotism and caste cannot go together. M. N. Srinivas[3] views caste as being functionally interrelated in a 'system' contributing to the vertical integration of a rigidly stratified society, or as autonomous 'groups' serving common purposes and striving for common ends. Viewed as the former, caste constitutes a

'structural principle' of society, and viewed as the latter, it acts as a 'dynamic force' in interest articulation, collective mobilization, and social movement. In its operation the caste system is a multidimensional phenomenon. Its most visible and therefore most widely recognized dimension has been the rigid socio-economic inequalities determined on the basis of birth and the consequent inhumanity and injustice.

All those who write about caste usually start with the theory of cosmogony as propounded in the last part of *Rig Veda* (Purusha Sukta) and end with Manu who codified Hindu law and gave it divine sanction. *The Gita* and the *Puranas* including epics like *Ramayana* further strengthened it. Not to mention, any attempt to go against the established practices and customs was suppressed and any alternative way of living to the one that was practiced was subtly either adopted into the main practice with modifications or treated as incompetent and intolerant variants. (One example is the Shivite sect of the Hindu religion.)

The major challenge to the established Hindu way of living came from Buddhism. The Buddha rejected the Vedas, supremacy of the Brahmans and transmigration of the soul. He founded a new way of living or religion, based on the principle of equality, compassion and loving-kindness. In his Sangh he admitted people belonging to all castes – Brahmans, merchants, soldiers, chandals or untouchables, butchers, courtesans, etc. – and laid down the law for governing the Sangh. Another potential threat to Hinduism appeared in

Jainism. Brahmanism, the key factor in Hinduism, did not relish the emergence of Buddhism or Jainism for they threatened the Brahmanic society and power and prestige of the upper castes. They waited for some time, consolidated their power and struck. As a consequence, Buddhism was abolished from the land of its origin but in the process a few of the teachings of the Buddha had to be adopted and incorporated in the teachings and philosophies of Brahmanism. Neo-Hinduism, which thus emerged, was different from the Brahmanism, the religion of sacrifices and 'yajnas' but still continued to lay emphasis on caste, purity, defilement, untouchability, etc. Nevertheless, the supremacy of Brahmans was maintained.

Ambedkar has very clearly brought out the contradiction in the *Vedas*, which is the source of the caste system in India that places indigenous population as outcasts in society. On the issue of who created the caste system, Ambedkar[4] felt that there is no uniformity. The *Rig Veda* says that the four varnas – Brahmana, Khsatriya, Vaisya and Sudra – were created by Prajapati. It does not mention which Prajapati (as there were several Prajapatis mentioned at various stages in the evolution of Hinduism) created the four varnas. But even the point that Prajapati had created the caste system is disputed. Few Hindu theologists believe that the caste system was created by Brahman while few others feel that it was created by Kashyap. But a vast majority believe that the varna system was invented by Manu. On the issue as to how many varnas were created, again there is no uniformity. The *Rig Veda*

says that four varnas were created while other authorities say only two varnas were created namely, Brahmana and Sudra.

Even though we come across several castes in the present time in the form of sub-castes and sub-sub-castes, the basic distinction of caste as outlined in the Vedas – Brahmana, Khsatriya, Vaisya and Sudra – is still maintained. The present day castes are divided and multiplied, according to Ketkar[5], due to the following reasons:

1. Four original Varnas
2. Castes which were supposed to be produced by mixture with pure and mixed castes
3. Castes which lost their status die to the neglect of sacred rites
4. Castes due to the exclusion of persons from the community
5. Slaves and their descendants
6. People excluded from community of four varnas as well as their descendants[6]

Ghurye felt that "a close study of the names of the various minor units, the so called sub-castes, within the major groups reveals the fact that the bases of distinction leading to the exclusive marking off of these groups were first territorial or jurisdictional separateness; second mixed origin; third occupational distinction; fourth some peculiarity in the technique of one and the same occupation; fifth sectarian difference and sixth dissimilarity of customs and last adventitious circumstances suggesting certain nicknames."[7]

3.2 Untouchability

Untouchable is the word used by Ambedkar for those castes lowest in the Hindu scale of pollution. It first appeared in 1909. Untouchability has become an integral part of the Hindu society over the centuries. However, the main cause for the practice of untouchability is Brahmanism, which is entombed in the Hindu society. Concepts like purity, defilement, etc., which are exclusive to the Hindu society and the mainstay of Brahmanism. In the four varna system of Hinduism, mixed marriages was (is?) not encouraged by the society. The fourth caste, Sudra and the progeny of the mixed marriages among the other castes are generally treated as low caste people and untouchables in the society. Moreover, a person may be regarded as an untouchable if he undertakes any of the following occupations according to Narada, a lawmaker after Manu:

> Know that there are two sorts of occupations: pure work and impure work; impure work is that done by the slaves. Pure work is that done by the labourers.
> Sweeping the gateways, the privy, the road and the place for rubbish; shampooing the secret parts of the body; gathering and putting away of the leftover food, ordure and urine.
> And lastly, rubbing the masters' limbs when desired, this should be regarded as impure work. All other work is pure...
> Thus have the four classes of servants doing pure work been enumerated. All the others who do dirt work are slaves, of whom there are fifteen kinds. [8]

Dr. Ambedkar compares the slaves of the ancient times with the modern untouchables. "...the untouchables like the slaves are owned by the Hindus for purposes which further their interests and are disowned by

them, when owning them (untouchables) places them (Hindu owners) under burden. The untouchables can claim none of the advantages of an unfree social order and are left to bear all the disadvantages of a free social order."[9] Literary historians agree that untouchables were never involved in literary processes as they were kept outside the realm of literary activities. In general, the literary engagement was restricted to the upper castes of the society. It is evident from the literary history that most of the literature produced by the upper caste Hindus by and large reaffirmed and justified the caste system and social discrimination. It is interesting to note that while most of the literary production was directly or indirectly related to the dominant Hindu religious practice that advocated the stringent practice of Varna system, some competing religious discourses like the 'Veerashaivam' of Andhra Pradesh canvassed for the removal of caste and gender differences. These discourses, like Palakurki Somanath's *Basava Puranam*, talked vaguely about the presence of nomadic and aboriginal tribes that were allowed to perform religious activities in particular temples on particular days which otherwise are inaccessible to these untouchables. However, the same discourses, like those of Mallikharjuna of Kakatiya Kingdom (early 11th & 12th Centuries) critically accused counter-Hindu religions like the Buddhism and the Jainism for breeding disorder in the society thus leading to the brutal execution of several followers of Buddhism and Jainism. If one wonders as to who constituted the majority of the followers of Jainism and Buddhism those days, they were obviously people from the lower castes of the society, prostitutes and 'dasis.' While the 'Veerashaivam' discourses made a mock appeal for the alleviation

of castism on one hand, works like *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabha Raya on the other hand, demonstrates very clearly that the lower caste people were not Hindus. The reasons sited by him are that the lower castes do not practice the religious rituals and death rites of the upper caste Hindus; they are obsessed with magic and stunts; and they worship pagan, local demi-gods and deities like 'Kakatamma,' 'Ekaveera,' 'Mailarudeva,' 'Musanamma,' 'Muhuramma,' etc. Commenting on the status of untouchables during the early 10th and 11 the centuries (A. D.) K. Satyanarayana in his *Andhrula Samskriti – Charitra 2* (The Study of History and Culture of Andhras, Part 2) says that they are degraded, downtrodden and demoralised to the extent that they resigned to their fate and did not even think about fighting for social equality[10].

3.3 Dalit and Subaltern

The concepts of caste system and untouchability pose us the question —Who is a Dalit? Members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, neo-Buddhists, the working people, the 'landless' and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion.[11] Depressed classes are the sum total of the untouchable castes of India. To begin with, there is no generic name of common acceptance that actually describes this large group of people. To day they are called untouchables, low-castes, pariah, panchama, outcaste Hindus, Protestant Hindus, Adi-dravidas, Harijans, scheduled castes, etc. First used by Swami Shardhananda, word 'Dalit' denoting the depressed classes, is more popular

than 'untouchables', its English expression. By the early 1980s there were more than 105 million untouchables distributed throughout peninsular India. The exact number is difficult to determine, because government statistics do not account for those who are converts to non-Hindu religions, even when their neighbours demonstrably treat them as untouchables. At the lowest estimate, the untouchables account for more than one out of every seven Indians. Nearly 90 percent live in India's rural villages, compared to (approximately 80 percent of) the higher caste population. Although untouchables are commonly clustered together in segregated hamlets at the edge of a village, they are a small and vulnerable minority in any given region. As a result, making resistance to exploitation and violence is very difficult for them. The 1971 Indian census figures show that 52 percent of the untouchables workforce were landless agricultural labourers, compared to 26 percent of the non-untouchable workforce. Even the untouchables literacy rate is very poor compared to that of the other communities in India.

Dalit community by no means is a homogenous category. Language has been a dividing line. Only recently has there been any substantial pool of Dalits with a command of several languages, including English, who could serve as human links between Dalit movements in different linguistic regions. Each untouchable caste within Dalit community has also been defined by the same social rules of endogamy (in the Indian context, marriage exclusively within the caste community) that shape the entire Indian caste system. The result has been the development of variety of distinctive Dalit sub-systems

with significant difference in the direction and pace of mobilization for change. For example, *Chamars* consider *Mahars* as their inferior and the latter regard *Mang* still lower in the scale of humanity. In a tacit way, it also means that there is a potential for social conflict among these sub-systems that might make cooperative effort difficult among Dalits. The problem is all the more acute because the individual hierarchic ranking of hereditary castes that permeates the dominant society does not stop at the social border of Dalit community. Some untouchable castes have long regarded themselves as superior to others, and even imposed their internal 'touch-me-not-ism'. But all these sub-systems of Dalits are united by a common feature of poverty and degradation due to the contemptuous treatment they suffered at the hands of the caste Hindus. One of the contemporary Dalit movement has been its explicit rejection of the older divisive strategies by which a given untouchable caste would seek its own liberation by trying – usually unsuccessfully – to distance itself from other untouchable castes. Now the goal of the movement is liberation of all Dalits – and this means dismantling the burden of centuries.

Even the process of approximation to the upper castes' code of conduct, which M. N. Srinivas has described as Sanskritization, could not help the Dalits to cross the barrier of untouchability. For example, the Chamars of an Indian village who gave up beef eating and changed their caste behavior in order to get greater respect from the higher Hindu castes received "at best recognition, certainly not approval".[12] The attempt of *Jatavas* of Agra who wanted to become Kshatriyas in the initial period of their upliftment soon

changed into a turbulent political movement[13]. The Dalits constitute not only a socio-cultural group but often an economic class too. A number of social studies have revealed that Dalit women make up a large number of prostitutes in India. It has also been established by these studies that 90 percent of those who die of starvation and attendant diseases are Dalits. Their untouchability and poverty support each other – their untouchable status accentuates their economic exploitation and their deplorable economic conditions strengthen their polluting social status.

Nirmal Minz in his essay on "Dalit Tribals: A search for common ideology"[14] explains that Indian consciousness is that of the dominant group. It is caste oriented. The subaltern consciousness of the Dalits and tribals have not been taken seriously, it is true that we should articulate it as it exists among Dalits and tribals. The subaltern consciousness should represent the consciousness of an oppressed nationality in our country. This consciousness manifests anger, rejection, and protest of the existing dominant socio-economic, political and religious situations in India. But this consciousness includes the positive human values of a social order. This is particularly true of tribal subaltern consciousness of an egalitarian, community ownership of means of production, and distribution according to needs, and a democratic form of government in which leadership is always of Panchas-corporate and consensus in decision making.

Trilok Nath[15] traces the steps taken to enable the Dalits to politically participate to the efforts of colonial period.

A 1997 report issued by the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes underscored that "untouchability"—the imposition of social disabilities on persons by reason of their birth in certain castes—was still practiced in many forms throughout the country. The report described a number of social manifestations of caste-based discrimination in the 1990s: scheduled-caste bridegrooms were not permitted to ride a mare in villages, a marriage tradition; scheduled castes could not sit on their *charpoys* (rope beds) when persons of other castes passed by; scheduled castes were not permitted to draw water from common wells and hand-pumps; and in many tea-shops and *dhabas* (food stalls), separate crockery and cutlery were used for serving the scheduled castes.[16]

The prevalence of "untouchability" practices was also noted by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1996, while reviewing India's tenth to fourteenth periodic reports under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.[17]

Although constitutional provisions and legal texts exist to abolish untouchability and to protect the members of the scheduled castes and tribes, and social and educational policies have been adopted to improve the situation of members of the scheduled castes and tribes in protecting them from abuses,

widespread discrimination against those people, points to the limited effect of these measures. The Committee is particularly concerned at reports that people belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes are often prevented from using public wells or from entering cafes or restaurants and that their children are sometimes separated from other children in schools, in violation of article 5 (f) of the Convention.

Most Dalits in rural areas live in segregated colonies, away from the caste Hindus. According to an activist working with Dalit communities in 120 villages in Villapuram district, Tamil Nadu, all 120 villages have segregated Dalit colonies. Basic facilities such as water supply and medical facilities exist exclusively in the caste Hindu colony. "Untouchability" is further reinforced by state allocation of facilities; separate facilities are provided for separate colonies. Dalits often receive the poorer of the two, if they receive any at all.[18]

As part of village custom, Dalits are made to render free services in times of death, marriage, or any village function. During the Marama village festival in Karnataka State, caste Hindus force Dalits to sacrifice buffaloes and drink their blood. They then have to mix the blood with cooked rice and run into the village fields without their *chappals* (slippers). The cleaning of the whole village, the digging of graves, the carrying of firewood and the disposal of dead animals are all tasks that Dalits are made to perform. In villages where Dalits are a minority, the practice of "untouchability" is even more severely enforced. Individual attempts to defy the social order are frequently punished

through social boycotts and acts of retaliatory violence further described below. Activists in Tamil Nadu explained that large-scale clashes between caste communities in the state's southern districts have often been triggered because of Dalits' efforts to draw water from a "forbidden" well or by their refusal to perform a delegated task. Dalits have responded to ill treatment by converting, en masse, to Buddhism, Christianity, and sometimes Islam. Once converted, however, many lose access to their scheduled-caste status and the few government privileges assigned to it. Many also find that they are ultimately unable to escape the treatment as "untouchables."

It is shocking to know that Dalits as a social group, are still the poorest of poor. A negligible minority has managed to escape poverty limits and maintained to reach at a reasonable level of prosperity with the help of certain State policies like reservation and political patronage. In social terms however, all Dalits, irrespective of their economic standing, still suffer oppression. This social oppression varies from the crudest variety of untouchability, still being practiced in rural areas, to the sophisticated forms of discrimination encountered even in the modern sectors of urban life. Although, the statistics indicate that Dalits have made significant progress on almost all parameters during the last five decades, the relative distance between them and non-Dalits seems to have remained the same or has increased. More than 75 per cent of the Dalit workers are still connected with land; 25 per cent are marginal and small farmers and the balance 50 per cent are landless labourers. The proportion of Dalit landless labourers to the total laborers has shown a steady

rising trend. In urban areas, they work mainly in the unorganized sector where the exploitation compares well with that of a feudal rural setting. Out of the total Dalit population of 138 million, the number of Dalits in services falling in the domain of reservations does not exceed 1.3 million including sweepers; less than even a percent. And this too would be grossly misleading, as out of this 1.3 million the relatively well-off group A and B officers (in which most of the clerical staff of the PSUs are also included), count only 72,212 as against 131,841sweepers.

The problem is that the Dalits cannot assert a differential identity without distinguishing it from a context; and in the process of making distinction, the Dalits also assert the context at the same time. And the opposite is also true: the Dalits cannot destroy a context without destroying at the same time the identity of the particular subject who carries out the destruction. It is a very well known historical fact that an oppositionist force whose identity is constructed within a certain system of power is ambiguous to that system, because the latter is what prevents the constitution of the identity and it is, at the same time, its condition of existence. And any victory against the system also destabilizes the identity of the victorious force. At its very limit, understood as mere difference, the discourse of oppressed and the discourse of the oppressor cannot be distinguished. The reason for this was, if the oppressed is defined by its difference from the oppressor, such a difference is an essential component of the identity of the oppressed. But in that case, the latter cannot express his identity without asserting that of the oppressor as

well. The main consequence that follows is that if the politics of difference means continuity of difference by being always an other, the rejection of the other cannot be radical elimination either, but constant renegotiation of the forms of its presence. Gramsci was well aware that in spite of the extreme diversity of the social forces that had to enter into the construction of a hegemonic identity, no collective will and no sense of community could result from such a conception of negotiation and alliances. Because, negotiation, however, is an ambiguous term that can mean very many different things. One of these is a familiar process of mutual pressures and concessions whose outcome only depends on the balance of power between antagonistic groups. It is obvious that little or no sense of community can be constructed through that type of negotiation. The relation between these two groups can only be a potential war. It is at this place the hermeneutic circle completes its path leading the two groups to negotiate on the verge of war. This process continues until the circle is broken. This negotiated confrontation or confrontational negotiation constructs a discursive site for the testing of ideologies.

3.4 Ideology and Movement

Central to any social movement is an ideology that provides impetus to collective mobilization and orientation towards change. Ideology is crucial in that it distinguishes a movement from any organized effort involving

collective mobilization. Ideology according to the OED, is the manner of thinking characteristic of a class or an individual. A movement implies sustained pursuit of shared and collective action which is either organized or spontaneous. The process of social mobilization includes meetings, campaigns, demonstrations, conferences, and literature expressive of interests and beliefs of a group. Interest, which is immediate in terms of motivation and demands, is rooted in a more fundamental belief system which is called ideology. Thus Andre Beteille[19] defines movement as a kind of collective behavior mobilized on the basis of a belief which redefines social action. A social movement has to justify the need for social change. It therefore must develop sooner or later a comprehensive ideology or a theory which should be convincing to the movement participants. The shared ideology forms the basis of the identity of the group in a movement. While an ideology directs the course of events, the results of the events themselves have a crucial influence on the character of ideology, changing the pattern of communion with different symbols and codes. Thus it is a dynamic symbolic system. It helps towards the codification of beliefs and myths in order to define a group's aspirations and responses to reality. Ideology then is closely related to the problems of identity, i.e. the way in which a group perceives itself in relation to other groups and vice-versa. Ideology is based on the structural conditions of existence of the concerned group, on the one hand, and the level of consciousness and resources, on the other. A movement may start with an ideology or acquire one in the course of its development. It may also shift the ideological positions depending upon the situational demands and

appropriateness criterion. In any case, it is continually revised in the light of subsequent events and the reaction of the opposition reference groups. A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavor to promote a change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegal means, revolution or withdrawal into utopian community. The social mobility and change that are brought about by protest movements are based on challenges, dissent, confrontation, aggression and revolt, as opposed to acquiescence. All movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power. Heberle[20] holds that all social movements fulfil two key functions in societies: they help both in the formation of a common will or a political group-will, and in the process of socialization they train and recruit political elite. According to Smelser[21], treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective action or movement. 'Structural conduciveness' leads to the origin of a movement when there is a strain on the sub-systems within the structure of a society. This is closer to the Marxist notion of 'relative deprivation'. Nativism and revivalism also lead to social movements. Nativism is an attitude of rejection of everything alien—persons, culture, or rejection of everything from the dominant society, for example, Dalit Movement and ethnic politics. In revivalism, the aim of the movement is to return to a former era of happiness, to go back to a golden age, to revive the previous conditions of social virtue, for example, right-wing nationalist Hindutava Movement of Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

While Tafuri considers the Marxist concept of ideology important, Foucault prefers the notion of discursive technologies [or practices] since it does not imply any truth to unmask. One understands the exercise or "tactics" of domination ... in terms of actual tangible procedures that determine the forms of experience in which we find ourselves. The term ideology has a checkered history, from Napoleon Bonaparte verbally undercutting his political opponents, to Manfredo Tafuri's preoccupation with Marxist false consciousness. Most generally it has suggested a shading of the truth - but in the extreme, a massive non-violent deception cast over a whole class of people, masked by irrational appeal to some small, seemingly inclusive, but ultimately only partial truth.

Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau, reject the idealist absorption with purely mental operations, taking up the more inclusive analytic of "practices," (sometimes - "discursive technologies"), whereby what we do as well as what we believe is to be understood. That is, each in their own ways analyze the development of our specific patterns of actions, non-discursive as well as discursive, including the mundane spatial-temporal bodily actions of routinely inhabiting the physical world, and our conceptual, classificatory, schematizing, representational/ expressive actions, everyday and extraordinary.

An ideology is popularly held to consist of fixed ideas, for example that fundamentalism is root of all evil breeding communal violence and caste

conflicts. In discourse, however, ideologies produce inconsistencies, typically linked to the basic contradiction between favouring human rights (inclusive theory) and restricting who should have them (exclusive practice). For example, suppressing the Irish independence movement and arresting people in the name of revolutionaries by the British is part of the British political ideology, whereas, England can choose to fight for the cause of independent Kosovo in Yugoslavia on grounds of humanitarianism and human rights violation. This is true for USA in Iraq about Kurdistan, etc. This is also true of Indian political scenario where several separatist and autonomy movements are seen as part of an ambiguous democratic process. That is, we can observe the same concept being used in discourse for opposite images of different social groups. The discursive constructs make it possible to ignore or excuse the 'infringement of rights' from both sides. Ideology can also harness language for inverting things into their opposites. Political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. For example, the 1930s & 40s things like the continuance of the British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of atom bombs on Japan or the present day 'war preparations' as a means to 'keep the peace' can indeed be defended but only by arguments that are too brutal for most people to face. Therefore, political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging, and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenseless villagers are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called 'pacification', for example, in Vietnam, Iraq, Yugoslavia, India, etc. Yet such glaring abuses should not

distract us from the subtler 'politicizing' of public discourse at large and also the discourses of the home, the school, and the workplace, where delicate hierarchies of power are played off to block or undermine solidarity. As the material crisis worsens the battles for diminishing the world resources are fought in the disguise of cultural differences. The *de facto* multiculturalism of most modern societies is fiercely attacked by militant right wing monoculturalism that mystifies claim to cultural supremacy for the elitists (the upper caste communities in India and the middle- and upper classes in the West) behind an allegiance to the values of 'law and order', 'patriotism', 'family' and 'morals' (Hindu or Christian or Islam). Few people would object to such values or, if they do, right-wing discourse has a gallery of buzzwords ready to hurl at them: 'soft on crime', 'unpatriotic', 'satanic' and of course, 'leftist'. Predictably, the chief targets of right-wing monocultural discourses are ethnic minorities, lower class or lower castes and religious minorities, where old feelings of racism, communalism and colonialism can handily be reawakened (if they ever were asleep). A leading discourse strategy is to transform the victims into victimizers by hatching conspiracy theories and making the minorities and their defenders into scapegoats for the economic and political problems actually caused by the specific interests of the dominant castes and classes. For example, look at the following headlines from various International Newspapers, leave alone Indian Newspapers:

> Our tradition of fairness and tolerance is being exploited by every terrorist, crook, screwball, and scourger who wants a free ride at our expense. (Daily Mail, 28 Nov 1990).

> Nobody is less able to face the truth than the hysterical 'anti-racist brigade'. Their intolerance is such that they try to silence or sack anyone who does not toe their party line. (The Sun 23 Oct 1990)
>
> Liberal academics [have] abandoned scholarly objectivity to create academic disciplines that were in actuality political movements ... ethnic studies, race and gender studies, women's studies, etc. have one intent only, that is, undermining the [American/Traditional] educational system through the transformation of scholarship and teaching into blatant politics. (Florida Review 12 Oct 1990).

Such a discourse betrays a characteristic motivation gap: making victims into victimizers requires accusing them of seizing initiatives to do things for which they could have no reasonable motivation, such as 'academics' striving to 'undermine the education system' that gives them a livelihood. The discourse either does not mention the real initiative coming from the right wing or else portrays it only as a fight back. Historical parallels to anti-Semitic discourse of the Hitler era are all too patent. Discourse analysis must not just describe and demystify the discourse of cultural confrontation and victimization. If we make angry counter attacks on racists, we get drawn into their own mode of confrontational discourse. Developing alternative strategies is a bare necessity to tackle the situation.

In India, there is a multiplicity of endogamous and mutually exclusive caste and sub-caste groups. They are hierarchically structured, in a graded inequality, based on ritual purity. Dalits are the most economically oppressed, culturally ostracized and politically marginalized people in modern India. The liberation of Dalits is the only sure way for the liberation of the Indian people.

The primary motive of the Dalit Literature is the liberation of Dalits in particular and the liberation of the oppressed in general. It is fundamentally a cultural activity coming under the broad movements of Dalit political liberation. It is cultural politics. It takes the form of protest. In the traditional Indian literature, there was no place for labour class Dalits. If at all Dalits did write their writings were regarded as non-canonical, base and undeserving. The term "canon" denotes a set of officially recognized "sacred" books. Literary critics never claimed a sacred status for their canon (Shakespeare might have been great but he wasn't actually God). By analogy, however, the literary canon has normally been seen as "authentic" and "inspired" in ways that other texts are not. Dalit literature does not come under the category of canonical literature. Writing, reading and the various associated social practices that facilitate writing and reading are very clearly immensely important human activities. This helps us to analyze and explain how writing is produced, received, distributed and exchanged.

Literary works of prominent thinkers have always played a great role in changing society. The writings of Rousseau and Voltaire were undeniably responsible for the French Revolution of 1789. The literature of Marx, Lenin, and Gorky inspired the revolutionaries of Russian Revolution in 1917. For Dalits, it was the writings of Ambedkar that inspired them to continue the movement that was started by him. Though innovative, protest literature by itself lacks the component of collective action. However, the Dalit Movement and the Dalit Literature are so inter linked that it is impossible to think of one

without the other. Some of the major Dalit literary figures like Dhasal and Dhale are the founder members of Dalit Panther movement. Moreover the changing trends and patterns of both Dalit Movement and Dalit Literature indicate their mutuality as well as contradictions. For example, the controversy over the Marxist oriented literature and Buddhist literature are reflected in a parallel controversy in Dalit Movement.

Marcuse's Critical Theory[22] and Theory of Generation Gap explicated in the report of the Indian Secular Society and Maratha Mandir bring into focus our understanding of a literary movement as a movement of a counter culture. The critical theory formulated by Herbert Marcuse formed the spirit behind the counter cultural movement in the USA. He was considered one of the stalwarts of black movement, the women's liberation movement and the hippie and beatnik movements in the USA. Marcuse was opposed to the 'new economism' of capitalist society, particularly American society. He argues that in a society whose totality is determined by economic relations to the extent that the uncontrolled economy controlls all human relations, the working class, becomes tame, is no longer in possession of its political bearings and revolutionary potential, and in fact, willingly acquiesces in its own exploitation and becomes a staunch and conservative defender of the *status quo*. The power of corporate capitalism stifles the consciousness and imagination of the common masses, particularly the youth. Its mass media adjust their rational and emotional faculties to the market, and its policies steer them in defense of its domination.

The counter cultural movement is reflected in a systematic linguistic rebellion, a rupture with the linguistic universe of the establishment. The sub-culture groups develop their own language. Thus, the hippies and the blacks redefine the concepts of dominant civilization when they say "Black is Beautiful". Non-conformism becomes evident in everything—language, dress, lifestyle, music, art, etc. The critical theory supported thinking all over the world has accepted that a Cultural Revolution is necessary to bring about changes in society. The radical character in contemporary art seems to indicate that it does not rebel against one style or another but against style itself, against the form of art, and the traditional meanings of art. In late 1960s, when the Marcuse theory first began to ride high, the press did its best to create a sensation over every student action, depicting these as the only or the most militant expression of struggle against the establishment. Nihilist and terrorist tendencies were evident throughout the world, and this had an impact on Indian youth too. It was a turbulent period in India. The ideologies propagated by Marcuse, Debrey and Fanon had filtered into India through the mass media and influenced Indian intelligentsia. This was the period when negation in different fields was explicit through agitation and protests. The revolt aspect became more prominent. The youth wings of every political party were revolting against the social system and their party leaders. The new wave in literature carried the tone of negation too. In Bengal there was the literature of the 'bukhi pidi' (hungry generation), there was 'nagna kavita' (naked poetry) by the Digamabara Kavulu in Andhra Pradesh and the

literature of Kanchan Kumar Amokh (a Naxalite Writer) in Utter Pradesh. In Maharashtra, this negation was expressed through the Little Magazine movement in 1967, which challenged and protested against the monopoly of established caste Hindu writers' ideology in the literary field. The young writers were creating a new form and style of their own and the various regional magazines gave them a forum. Social norms were flouted through lifestyles. The long beard, the 'kurta', the slippers and the shoulder bag were common style of the youth during this period. According to the youth, the concept of happiness had been freed from any ties from bourgeois conformism and relativism. Indulging in sensuous pleasures according to the dictates of instinct became the norm[23]. The linguistic revolt is visible in the Dalit literature with its rustic, obscene and arresting language, which was a rarity in Dalit writings before 1940s.

The report of the Indian Secular Society and Maratha Mandir states that the concept of generation gap is a characteristic of all societies which are modern or in the process of modernization. It also says that the generation gap is a complex phenomenon. This theory reflects the total disillusionment experienced by the youth of 1960s India, with special reference to the youth of Maharashtra. This study is the report of five-member inquiry committee appointed to examine the causes of the Worli riots. The theory of generation gap traces two phases in the evolution of youth. First, there is the phase of adolescent's alienation from his father or father figure, which is a part of the process through which the youth asserts his/her independent personality. This

phase involves the rejection of the values the father stands for, but positively it involves participation in an autonomous youth culture with its distinctive life style, norms, idioms, art forms, manners, etc. The emergence of such a youth culture becomes possible only when a large number of youngsters find themselves thrown together for a fairly long period of time, as in colleges, hostels and places of employment.

The emergence of this youth culture coincided with the period when, for the first time in the history of India, a sizable number of Dalit youth began going to college. They were naturally drawn towards this culture, which was in revolt against the traditional Hindu middle class way of life. This culture has acquired respectability and a role, which was to fight against the hypocrisy of the higher castes, which tolerated and even sanctioned inequality and social oppression. In general, this theory throws light on the prevailing discontentment and disillusion amongst the youth.

The new promise of powers to Indians by the British as set out in Montagu-Chelmsford reforms gave a new boost to the Indian polity. This was the period of advancing mass struggles and ideological upheavals. The Indian working class began its major era of organization with the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1920. This period also witnessed several peasant struggles through out the country. In the context of growing radical mass nationalism, this increasing activism of peasants, workers, Dalits and non-Brahmins could have provided a basis for militant, combined struggle.

But this process was upset by the crystallization of Hindu-Muslim identities and formation of right wing nationalist movements like the Hindu Mahasabha (1915) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1925). Worker and peasant struggles, Gandhism, Hindu-Muslim tensions and rise of Hindu nationalism, and non-Brahmin political formations all provided the ideological and organizational environment within which early attempts at organizing the Dalits took place. At the same time, Dalit initiatives put pressure on the society, making the issue of 'untouchability' a politically salient one. This process first began in Nagpur in Maharashtra under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and later spread to Hyderabad, Mysore and other parts of the country. Three important events mark the birth and consolidation of Dalit movement in India. First, we have the Depressed Classes Conference of 1930 organized by Ambedkar soon after his return from the Round Table Conference in London. This heralded the social radicalism of 1930s in India. The second is the 1942 Depressed Classes Political Conference in which the Independent Labour Party was wound up and the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation was established. This conference planted the seeds of Dalit identity and consciousness in India. The third event is a religious protest called the *Diksha* of 1956 where several Dalit masses embraced Buddhism. One important aspect of Dalit movement is its link to the socio-economic conditions of India.

As we discussed earlier, several Little Magazines came into existence and propelled the Dalit movement towards the present day situation. Kisan

Faguji Bansode, a Marathi peasant, started several papers, the *Nirikshak Hindu Nagarik* (1918), *Vithal Vidhvasak* (1913), *and Mazur Patrika* (1918) with an aim towards social emancipation of Dalits through literature. Ganesh Akkaji Gavai, another Marathi, the first Dalit member of the legislative council founded 'Mahar Library' and 'Mahar Shudrak Mandal' dedicated to the life of Dalit Mahars. However, these leaders were swept by the growing tide of nationalism and took the position of Tilakites and pro-Hindus. Soon, they realized the impact of Brahmin-dominated nationalism and joined the Ambedkarite sect. Anti-Hindu militancy was frequently expressed in the writings of Bansode. In a 1909 article of the Little Magazines, he wrote:

> The Aryans—your ancestors—conquered us and gave us unbearable harassment. At that time we were your conquest, you treated us even worse than slaves and subjected us to any torture you wanted. But now we are no longer your subjects, we have no service relationship with you, we are not your slaves or serfs...We have had enough of the torture and harassment of the Hindus...If you don't give us the rights of humanity and independence, then we will have to take our own rights on the basis of our strength and courage, and that we will do.[24]

This non-Aryan theme and the declaration of autonomy was the common rhetoric of the non-Brahman Satyashodak movement with its strong antagonism to Brahmans and Hinduism and to the national movement.

The Dalit movement of the 1920s was caught between the currents of opposite polarity. While some Dalit activists tried to work out a model integrating the Dalits with the Hindus making use of Sanskritic reforms drawing on Bhakti movement and supported by the nationalist Hindus,

Ambedkarites invoked the Dalit autonomy with an ideology that expressed the contradiction in such a move and rejected Brahmanic and Bhakti religious traditions. This rejection gave rise to militancy among the Dalit youth. This militancy meant militancy in both social and economic sense, including an opposition to capitalism in the mills and the 'landlordism' in the rural areas. It is interesting to note that Tilakite and Gandhian congress leaders opposed these movements. However, Ambedkar continued his support to these Dalit movements. While the call of Diksha by Ambedkar converted the Dalit masses in Maharashtra to Buddhism, in Andhra something different happened. Most of the Telugu Dalits embraced Christianity. Alarmed by the conversion, caste Hindus took up the process of educating and uplifting the Dalit masses. Veereshalingam Pantulu established Brahmo samaj in Andhra Pradesh and advocated widow remarriage, removal of untouchability and abolition of dowry, prostitution and corruption through his writings and speeches. This tendency can be seen clearly in the two famous novels from Andhra written about Dalits.

Malapalle (Mala hamlet or Mala village) by Unnava Laxminarayana, describes the social and economic effects of commercialization in the Krishna-Godavari delta and the response of Dalits to this. Agricultural laborers are depicted as realizing the manipulative potential of the new wage system in eroding real wages; use of coercion, preventing cattle from grazing on private lands, beating of Dalits and eviction of poor peasants from their lands are

shown, along with a major crisis of traditional cultural values. Hargopal summarizes this in *Caste-Class Dimensions* as follows.

> The main reason presented for the absence of class-consciousness is the hegemony of the Hindu world-view conditioning the consciousness of Harijans. This prevents them from revolting. This theme is presented through a character who finds several philosophical explanations for their degenerating living conditions...His elder son...opts for Gandhian model of resistance which broadly fits the Hindu philosophy of action. He joins the 'panchama' movement launched by the scheduled castes [and] attempts to organize his caste people. But the landlord who smacks the potential of the movement violently kills him. This act...gets absorbed by the peace loving nature of these groups coupled with the manipulations by the ruling elite and the intervention of the state. This indicates not only the structural constraints in which poor Harijans were locked but the cobweb of consciousness which permitted them little concerted and organized action. (pp. 2-3)

Harijan Nayakudu (Harijan Leader) written by N.G. Ranga reflected the ideological positions of a peasant leader. The protagonist of the novel is a Harijan social reformer who agitates on various issues, opposing the violence against and abuse of Dalits, organizing inter-caste marriages, establishing schools, fighting for entry into temples and use of public wells. While kammas belong to the land lord community and are upper caste Hindus, Dalits are bonded labourers in the Kamma farms and house hold. There is no love lost between these two communities, as they are diametrically opposite to each other in the Marxist framework. But the president of the village denounces the ill-treatment of Dalits publicly to the surprise of his caste members. This splits the village into a bipolar world of confrontation with visible success in the nationalist Hindu reformation process. Dalits are depicted as allying with

the peasant (kammas) in contrast with the *kamma* landlords who do not soil their hands.

Dalit movement and ideology in Andhra Pradesh needs to be understood from a different angle. The Nizam's rule of Andhra gave a distinct flavor to the cultural conditions in the region. Not only that Dalits were converting in large numbers to Christianity, they were also equally attracted to the anti-Hindu life style of the Muslims. However the Dalit fascination towards Muslim culture soon came to an end as the orthodox Islamic identity became a hurdle in their way. The Dalits had to choose either Islam or Hinduism. As Dalit movement developed, it did so within a dangerously polarizing Hindu-Muslim tension. Dalits faced pressure on both sides, to identify themselves as either Hindus or Muslims. In some ways there was closeness in Dalit-Muslim relations in Hyderabad area, but it was a closeness characterized by ambiguity. The relationship was expressed in a saying quoted by a Dalit activist—'The Dalit colony is the Muslim-in-laws' place—meaning that Muslims took wives or girls from Dalit communities. But this was an unequal relationship. In the *devadasi* custom among the Dalit Mala and Madiga communities, the *basavis* or *matangis* very often had relations with affluent or noble Muslims in Nizam's empire. When the Dalit reformers moved to stop this custom, in 1920s, it resulted in Muslim antagonism. Muslims were 'always after our girls' was a Dalit complaint. The closeness thus had a clear element of sexual exploitation in it, though Muslims did not observe untouchability. This brings into significance an interesting story

about Dalit-Muslim relationship. This 400 years old story is about Hyder Ali, the King and Bhagyamma, the Dalit woman. This story tells us that the present city Hyderabad was earlier called Bhagyanagar after the name of the Dalit women who won the heart of Hyder Ali. While other exploited sections of the society identified both Hindus and Muslims as the oppressors, and still others were led into the Hindu fold, there was some Dalit attraction to Muslim culture in Hyderabad. The period between 1920 and 1940 saw a clear split in the Hyderabad Dalit community on this issue. The increase in communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims left Dalits with only one alternative—Christianity.

Religious conversion did not solve the problem of untouchability as expected by the Dalits. The emergence of partly educated Dalit middle class searched for alternative movements of Dalit identity. Dalits through out south India believed that the theme of 'Adi ideology' would solve the Dalit problem. The Dalits of Andhra Pradesh called themselves Adi-Hindus and held four conferences between 1912 and 1924. Along with the traditional aims of internal reform like establishing schools for Dalits, removing social evils, organizing bhajan mandalis, etc., the aims of the organization included 'removing ignoble appellations and spreading the identity of Adi-Hindu.[25] This term spread among sections of north Indian Chamars, claiming them to be 'exploited and conquered original inhabitants'. The Adi-Hindu conferences of 1927 and 1930 described the depressed classes or Adi-Hindus as 'descendents of the original inhabitants of the country who were rulers and

owners of land of their birth before the advent of Aryans to the country. This was familiar anti-caste radicalism. But adi-Hindu also carried with it the connotations of Hinduism, which the Dalits disliked. In south India, while caste Hindus made a discrete silence about the issue, Dalits of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh were involved in a controversy as to whether the Adi-Hindus are Hindus. The Adi-Dravida Educational League argued that, judged by the history, philosophy and civilization of the Adi-Dravidas, the real aborigines of the Deccan, the depressed classes are, as a community, entirely separate and distinct from the followers of Vedic religion, called Hinduism. The League's contention was that

1. Hinduism is not the ancestral religion of the aborigines of Hindusthan.
2. The non-Vedic communities of India object to being called Hindu because of the inherited abhorrence of the doctrines of the Manusmriti and like scriptures, who have distinguished themselves from the caste Hindus for centuries past.
3. The Vedic religion which Aryans brought in the wake of their invasion was actively practiced on the non-Vedic aborigines,
4. These aborigines, coming under the influence of gradually and unconsciously adopted Hindu ideas and prejudices. This argument was deplored by Adi-Hindus.[26]

This was clear posing of the autonomy-integration dichotomy in terms of religious and cultural identities. This issue gradually emerged as a pan-Indian Dalit issue. Common themes can be traced underlying all the British, princely and Gandhian paternalism. The decade of the 1920s was dominated by the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict in Mysore state, but this was elite-based, with no rural connection, little articulation of broad Dalit ideology and

no effort at mass mobilizing. Caste associations formed after 1905 included the Veerashaiva Mahasabha, the Vokkaliga Association, the Adi-Dravida Abhivrudhi Sangha and the Kuruba Association. This period witnessed Brahmin sponsorship of Dalit organizations as a strategic reaction to the threat from non-Brahmin political domination. The ideological theme of Brahmin sponsorship did not go beyond the 'panchama' identity of the Dalits—the proclamation of ancient greatness and an ancient community degraded only because it was poor. There was little mention of oppression and exploitation. Caste conflict and untouchability, albeit their prsense in the society, were not mentioned conveniently by the Hindu reformists. The silence of Dalits was appropriated by the Brfahmin organization as they started championing the Dalits cause, allowing them to use temples, roads, public places, tanks, while stressing on internal reform such as cleanliness, giving up meat-eating and the drinking of alcohol. This move on the part of Brahmin organizations was strategic and was not genuine as such a move hardly helped to eradicate untouchability. This can be illustrated from the Government of Mysore Statement (1927) that

> The aim should be to Hinduize them (meaning, the Dalits) more and more, for they belong to the Hindu community really, and to offer them every facility to remain in the fold...Alienated, they will introduce an additional element of heterogeneity which will in future complicate the already difficult problems of administration.[27]

However, 1917 saw the beginning of the downfall of such caste Hindu patronage and the rise of a new self-directed Dalit movement. The context was the political turmoil of 1917-20 period, when almost all communities

were being mobilized around the issue raised by the Montague-Chelmsford reforms; the immediate issues were those of who would represent untouchables. The implications of the so-called reforms were much more profound. It is at this time that a young Mahar, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar emerged on the scene of Dalit movement. It was then that Ambedkar made his claim to alternative leadership, in three steps: submitting testimony to the Southborough Committee on the Reforms; appearing at two major conferences on the untouchables; and initiating a journal - *Mooknayak* (Voice of the Mute). Ambedkar said:

> The right of representation and the right to hold office under the state are the two most important rights that make up citizenship. But the untouchability of the untouchables puts these rights far beyond their reach. In a few places they do not even possess such insignificant rights as personal liberty and personal security. These are the interests of the untouchables. And as can be easily seen, they can be represented by untouchables alone.[28]

This reminds us of Gayatri Spivak's questioning of upper caste elites right to represent the subaltern which is as ironic as the First World's representation of the Third World (or Fourth World?).

The 1927 Mahad satyagraha turned the Dalit movement into a liberation struggle and established Ambedkar as the Dalit (Human) Rights Leader. The first day of the hunger strike, March 20, is till today observed as *Asprushya Swatantra Din* (Untouchable Independence Day), the day of the mass struggle of Dalits to assert their human rights. To support the movement, Ambedkar started the weekly magazines *Janata* (Masses) and

Bahishkrut Bharat (Outlawed India?). However, one can not but agree with Omvedt's argument about the origin of the Dalit movement. She feels that Ambedkar was and is a crucial force to the spread of social movement but there are other instances in the history that account for Dalit movement, in different times. It is in this context Mahatma Gandhi's role in Dalit movement is important. While Ambedkar advocated the Dalit Autonomy, Gandhi advocated the Dalit Patronage Movement.

Ambedkar had his first meeting with Gandhi in London in August 1931, and it took place in a turbulent atmosphere. According to B. C. Kamble's narration, Gandhi treated Ambedkar with a lack of even normal politeness, while Ambedkar responded with condemnation of the Congress, walking out after a scathing speech ending with the famous statement, 'Mahatmaji, I have no country.'[29] This was not dialogue, but confrontation. They confronted each other again at the conference, each speaking with emotion and eloquence, with the self-assurance of leaders who can gather masses behind them. Each claimed to speak on the behalf of untouchables. There was a vast difference in points of view, with Ambedkar stressing the need for political power for the Dalits, and Gandhi arguing for reform and protection from above. Gandhi said: 'What these people need more than election to the legislature is protection from social and religious persecution.' But the emotional quality of the debate indicates an even deeper clash. Ambedkar replied.

We cannot deny the allegation that we are the nominees of the Government, but speaking for myself I have not the slightest doubt that even if the Depressed Classes of India were given the chance of electing their representative to this Conference, I would all the same find a place here... The Mahatma has always been claiming that the Congress stands for the Depressed Classes, and that the Congress represents the Depressed Classes more than I or my colleagues can do. To that Claim I can only say that it is one of the many false claims which irresponsible people keep on making, although the persons concerned with regard to these claims have invariably been denying them...the Depressed Classes are not in the Congress.[30]

Gandhi responded:

The claims advanced on behalf of the Untouchables, that to me is the unkindest cut of all. It means the perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the Untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself in my own person to represent the vast masses of the untouchables. Here, I speak not on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim that I would get, if there was a referendum of the Untouchables, their vote, and that I would top the poll...I would rather that Hinduism died than that Untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my due regard for Dr. Ambedkar and for his desire to see the Untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say in all humility that here the great wrong under which he has laboured, and perhaps the bitter experiences he had undergone have for the moment wrapped his judgement. It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of the Untouchables, which is as dear to me as life itself, if I did not say it. It will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility, and *I say that it is not a proper claim by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of the Untouchables of India. It will create a division in the Hinduism, which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever.* I do not mind untouchables, if they so desire, being converted to Islam or Christianity, I should tolerate that, but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages. Those who speak of political rights of Untouchables do not know their India, do not know who Indian society is today constructed, and therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that *if I was the only person to resist this thing I would resist this with my life.*[31]

This confrontation resulted in Congress elite organizing several Dalit meetings and producing Dalit Leaders who took Anti-Ambedkarite stance borrowing from the ruling class ideology in 19th century Europe. This ideology takes individuals and their groups as basically selfish units as its premise. It holds that individuals and social groups progress only through competition. It had however to take cognizance of weaker sections in the society, paradoxically in a large number, who cannot enter this competition openly and hence could potentially be spoilers of the game. The French Revolution had demonstrated this potential in ample measure. As the Whigs in the English Liberal party had thought the best way to ward off revolution was to adopt a liberal generous attitude toward the lower classes. The upper classes should make concessions gracefully and in good time, and not wait until the lower classes are roused to exact them. If a revolution happens, it doesn't show that the people are bad and should have been repressed more thoroughly repression is self-defeating. What it shows is that the upper classes were not wise enough and self-confident enough to make reasonable concessions in good time. It accommodates the relatively weaker sections by extending them some concessions or aids for some time, basically to equip them for the competition. The State performs the role of a referee in this competition. This State is supposed to be run by the representatives of all social groups. However, all the rallies and the threat of Fast-unto-death by Gandhi fizzled out and Ambedkar emerged as the unchallenged Dalit leader. Ambedkar was confirmed in his belief that the caste system was exploitative and that autonomy was necessary. 'Untouchability' was not just a peripheral

evil that could be removed without basic changes in the system; the system was inherently exploitative. Since only the exploited can remove exploitation by destroying a system and fighting their exploiters, autonomy was necessary; 'the emancipation of Dalits had to be the act of Dalits themselves'. This gave Ambedkar a natural tendency to look to Marxism, the theory and practice of historical materialism which was reaching India by that time with emphasis on concepts like exploitation, contradiction and self-emancipation of the exploited.

There is no doubt that communism entered India with something of an explosive force in 1920s. At a time when Marxism was penetrating as a powerful ideology, Indian communism was marked by a central lacuna of indifference to caste conflicts. This is evident from E. M. S. Namboodaripad's comment on Dalit movement in his *History of Indian Freedom Struggle*, 50 years later –

> However, this was a great blow to the freedom movement. For this led to the diversion of people's attention from the objective of full independence to the mundane cause of the upliftment of Harijans[32].

This brings to light an interesting attitude of the Marxists towards Dalit Movement. The communists fighting for untouchable rights proposed a confrontation with Ambedkar, denouncing him as a 'separatist', 'opportunistic' and pro-British. The Communist Party of India's Political Thesis makes the following claim about the Untouchables.

> Forming the most exploited and oppressed section of our people, the six crores of untouchables are a powerful reserve in the

> struggle for democratic revolution. The Congress, led mainly by bourgeoisie leaders belonging to the upper castes, has consistently refused to champion the cause of the untouchable masses and to integrate the struggle for social and economic emancipation of the untouchables with the general struggle for national freedom. This has enabled reformists and separatists leaders like Dr. Ambedkar to keep the untouchable masses away from the general democratic movement and to foster the illusion that the lot of untouchables could be improved by reliance on imperialism...To draw the untouchable masses into the democratic front, to break down the caste prejudice of the upper caste workers and peasants, to unite the common people of all castes against their common enemy—such are tasks faced by the party. This task will have to be carried out by a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie of the upper castes as well as against opportunist and separatist leaders of the untouchables themselves. We have to expose these leaders, tear away the untouchable masses from their influence, and convince them that their interest lies in joining hands with the other exploited sections that only the victory of the democratic revolution will emancipate them from social degradation and slavery. Every discrimination against the untouchables must be denounced as a bourgeoisie attempt to keep the masses disunited, and every just demand of theirs must be fought for as a part of the common struggle for people's rights.[33]

However, tenets of communism soon infiltrated the Dalit movement in the form of unified working class movement by early 1940s. A serious critical article on Marxism appeared in a 1936 issue of *Janata* and was reprinted in 1938 as front-page article entitled 'The Illusion of the Communists and the Duty of the Untouchable Class'. In taking the relations of production as the basis of the 'economic interpretation of history', the article made a clever twist or reversal in the often used architectural analogy of the 'base and super structure'. To build the strength of the working class, the mental hold of religious slavery would have to be destroyed. The removal of untouchability and caste discrimination is thus the first stage in the struggle for the Indian revolution, and it is impossible for socialists to by pass it.

However, Ambedkar adhered to some basic assumptions of Marxism in fact throughout his life. He had successfully negotiated these assumptions in his writings on Buddha and Marx. Aspects of post-colonial Dalit movement would be dealt at a later stage in this chapter. We shall discuss here the relation of Marxism to Dalit Movement, which directly draws our attention to the treatment of Caste and Class in India in the context of over all economic organization of the state.

Caste and Class are viewed as the two most significant dimensions of social stratification. They are considered as closely interrelated, almost inseparable, basic processes of social life. It is one thing that caste is viewed as a sole model for analyzing Indian society or class is used for analyzing caste and power, but it is quite different in real life as caste and class are not only highly differentiated categories internally, but their complexities signify the vast ramifications of structured social inequality. Debate on caste and class has covered wide-ranging issues related to indicators of status, levels of equality and inequality, cultural and structural interaction, occupational mobility, etc. Conceptual schemes to analyze these issues highlight structural versus attributional, and corporate versus individual dimensions regarding the nature of caste and class in India as systems of social stratification. The caste-class divide was never as rigid as reported in various writings, and hence Indian society was also not as rigidly structured as depicted in several accounts of the caste system. The 'ideal' and 'actual' status was never the same. Inter-caste marriages produced 'mixed-castes'. Contradictions within the caste system and

influence of external forces of change on it rule out the possibility of it being what is called in cultural studies, *Homo Hierarchicus*. A long history of discontinuities, break downs, contradictions and changes in the nature of the caste system also negate its absolutist, unchanging and holistic nature.

Both inequality and equality have been built into the ideology and practice of the caste system, and change has taken place in both as well as in the nexus between the two. Despite the priestly superiority of Brahmins over all other castes, the functionary lower castes enjoyed some 'ritual status,' certainly not comparable in any way with that of Brahmins. The status and the protection accorded to them by the caste Panchayats enabled them to protest against the injustices meted out to them by the upper caste patrons. Hence, a critical re-examination of caste as a system of ideas and rituals, and class as a system of relations between the rich and poor may be necessary. The structural and ideological changes, which were intended to bring about annihilation of the caste system, have promoted it in many ways contrary to expectations, both explicitly and implicitly. The caste system has never been uniformly rigid/flexible in different parts of India, and therefore, it has affected differently the other 'orders' of social life.

There is a long history of anti-upper caste movements in India, a testimony not only of the structural and ideational changes, but also of accretions, alterations and withdrawals in the caste system. Besides caste,

the quality of agricultural land, infrastructure for cultivation, trade and commerce, invasions and migrations, and power determined social status and mobility are also significant besides the question of caste-ranks.

A shift from the emphasis on 'cultural' criteria has made the distinctions based on economic and political power the focal theme in the *study of the caste system. Surfacing of incongruities between caste and* other domains shows diminution of caste as an all encompassing system and the emergence of a new nexus with economy, polity, migration and religion as interlocking sub-systems. Since agrarian relations, economic transactions and service relations have changed, the caste system too has changed a lot setting the process of 'role-reversal.' A couple of studies have highlighted the role of migration, education, occupation, power, style of life, ownership, control and use of land, inter-caste feuds, competition and bargaining for higher wages as the changing criteria of status-determination and the caste-class nexus.

Castes are 'discrete', segmentary and flexible. Class relations can be analyzed by juxtaposing them with caste, kinship, marriage and family. Studies of the nexus between caste and class have highlighted the multifaceted nature of social stratification. The structural-historical perspective in particular is found relevant for analyzing the historicity of the nexus. What is more important here is the fact that the studies of caste and class have moved away considerably from the hierarchical model of consensus, resilience and summation of roles and statuses. These studies

HILL UNIV
103614
704

the quality of agricultural land, infrastructure for cultivation, trade and commerce, invasions and migrations, and power determined social status and mobility are also significant besides the question of caste-ranks.

A shift from the emphasis on 'cultural' criteria has made the distinctions based on economic and political power the focal theme in the study of the caste system. Surfacing of incongruities between caste and other domains shows diminution of caste as an all encompassing system and the emergence of a new nexus with economy, polity, migration and religion as interlocking sub-systems. Since agrarian relations, economic transactions and service relations have changed, the caste system too has changed a lot setting the process of 'role-reversal.' A couple of studies have highlighted the role of migration, education, occupation, power, style of life, ownership, control and use of land, inter-caste feuds, competition and bargaining for higher wages as the changing criteria of status-determination and the caste-class nexus.

Castes are 'discrete', segmentary and flexible. Class relations can be analyzed by juxtaposing them with caste, kinship, marriage and family. Studies of the nexus between caste and class have highlighted the multifaceted nature of social stratification. The structural-historical perspective in particular is found relevant for analyzing the historicity of the nexus. What is more important here is the fact that the studies of caste and class have moved away considerably from the hierarchical model of consensus, resilience and summation of roles and statuses. These studies

have emphasized the emergence of 'caste free areas', downward social mobility and incompatibility of the pollution-purity principle with the entrenchment of middle and lower castes in politics and modern jobs. The increased quest for equality among the weaker sections as well as the highly aspiring middle castes and classes too overrides the traditional bases of status and power.

Both caste and class are corporate as well as individualistic entities; and the two have fixity as well as flexibility. Caste is not being replaced by class, and caste is still changing rapidly finding a place for itself in non-conventional and secular domains of social, political and economic life. Whichever caste aspires to use it for upward social mobility makes use of the 'caste idiom'. The castes which become economically and politically dominant also make use of caste for further upward social and cultural mobility. Caste is appropriated for economic and political goals in the first instance, and for socio-cultural mobility afterwards. It is opined that instead of 'caste and class', it would be appropriate to refer to it as 'class and caste'. However, there is no uniform pattern of the nexus between caste and class.

In India (for example, in Bihar[14]) caste is becoming a political process in which class and power are inherently embedded. Caste has changed, it has discarded some of its dysfunctional elements in today's context and has also become a 'resource', a means for some of its members.

What is needed today is an appropriate conceptualization of this complex situation rather than an undisputed adherence to the conventional concepts of 'caste', 'class' and 'power'. Caste- class-power nexus needs to be accepted as a concept signifying the dynamics of the inter-connection between social, economic and political dimensions of India's social reality particularly since independence.

In his essay, "Caste, Class and Politics in Colonial Bengal: A Case Study of the Namasudra Movement of 1872-1937," Sekhar Bandyopadhyay[35] showed how the Namsudras received encouragement in a struggle against high caste Hindu from the colonial rulers, not because they espoused their cause but because the British wanted to slow down the progress of upper caste Mandarins in their own interest. In the essay, "Caste and Power in West Bengal," Ranabir Samaddar[36] argues that the struggle of the SCs is social as well as political. The continuity of the caste and class together indicates persistence of the caste-class nexus that existed in the British period. The left-front government has not done much to break this rigid nexus as the middle peasantry has acquired a stable place in the system. Though the poor peasantry has not pauperized further during the left-front regime, but class contradictions have not sharpened further as expected during the regime of the present government under the leadership of Jyoti Basu.

"Caste-Class Situation in Rural West Bengal" an article by Srijnan Halder[37], examines how the rural middle castes have become a political force to recok with due to improvement in their economic position. But the situation in West Bengal is somewhat different from that of the neighbouring state of Bihar and some other states like Maharasthra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Despite economic betterment and some political clout, the middle castes in Bengal are not able to de-entrance the upper caste from control of superior positions in professions, bureaucracy and higher educational institutions. In fact, the middle castes have not been able to come up to a level that they could challenge or compete with the near monopoly of the upper castes.

In his essay, "Caste, Class and Landholding in the Analysis of Technology and Agricultural Production in Bihar," Shaibal Gupta[38] finds that to a considerable extent large landholdings are still owned by the upper castes, but the modern inputs into agriculture are not properly appropriated by them, hence low productivity. This is not true about the middle castes as they have even production with smaller landholdings and lesser. Thus, social background of the people engaged in agriculture becomes one of the most significant factors in agricultural production.

In his work on "The Orissan Society: Past Trends and Present Manifestations," Bhairabi Prasad Sahu[39] observes that backward agriculture and aborted industrialization have helped in consolidating the

pre-capitalist formation. This sort of sectored control by the upper and middle classes has also prevented the lower classes to revolt against their oppressors.

In the essay, "Caste and Kulaks in Eastern India: A Comparison of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal" by Arjan Ghosh[40], the author highlights that perspective on caste and class needs reformulation keeping in view the dynamics related to these in contemporary India. Mobilizations based on the categories like 'backward classes', 'Dalits', 'Bahujan Samaj', 'Dravidas', etc., suggests that caste is no longer used just as a local endogamous group or a group enjoying a given ritual ran in caste hierarchy. Ghosh argues that caste has not disappeared but rather has reconstituted itself. Caste operates as a system of social hierarchy in some backward areas, but as a means of social identity it persists throughout India. The emergence of the class of kulaks and rejuvenation of caste as the basis of social identity have harmoniously co-existed. Economic prosperity has not necessarily resulted in the rejection of caste as an evil, rather, caste is being accepted in its new forms.

"Kanshi Ram and the Bahujan Samaj Party," an article by Gail Omvedt[41] shows how the BSP is a unique political innovation on the Indian political scene as it claims to bring together all the Dalits of the country under a single banner. Initially, the party adopted an 'anti-party'

stance by refusing alliances with other parties and participation in political activities. The party is also against the rhetoric of the left.

The co-authered essay, "Caste, Land and Political Power in Uttar Pradesh" by Imtiaz Ahmad and N. C. Saxena[42] seeks to examine the interplay between caste, control over land and political mobilization in rural UP. The authors observe that the urban trading and professional castes like Banias, Kayasthas and Khatris who had acquired zamindari rights in the eighteenth century, lost it due to the abolition of the zamandari system after independence. These castes entered politics and for some time they were quite strong, but their power declined with the increasing tendency of seeking support on the basis of caste. Numerically, these castes were not strong and hence lost out on the support, which was simply based on education and other secular criteria. The middle castes are making a dent in politics, but are way behind compared to their counterparts in Bihar, AP and Karnataka. However, a caste or a federation of castes has become the basis of social identity for mobilization among the power-seeking members of different castes.

In his essay on "Feudalism, Caste and Class in Rajasthan," K. L. Sharma[43] argues that in the feudal princely states, class was determined on the one hand by feudalism and on the other by caste. After the abolition of

feudalism, caste and class have come closer because of the absence of the mechanism, which affected the two systems in a graded manner.

Since all the members of a caste do not enjoy a similar economic position, caste and class cannot be equated. Ghanshyam Shah[44] makes this observation in his essay on "Caste Sentiments, Class Formation and Dominance in Gujarat." The economic destinations within a given caste are not necessarily antagonistic, and the political elite of this caste generally have the support of upper economic stratum from within and outside their caste. The business class (merchants and industrialists) and rich peasants enjoy dominance in contemporary Gujarat. The fact is that these two classes do not hold formal positions of power and yet together they form the real power elite. The businessmen and rich peasants belong to the upper and the middle castes of Banias, Brahmins, Rajputs and Patidars. However, all these castes are differentiated internally.

"Caste and Class in Maharashtra," an essay by Sharad Patil[45] examines the persistence of the caste-class nexus in the resurgence of religious fundamentalism in the form of Shiv Sena, and cultist ideology in the name of neo- Buddhiasm/Ambedkarsim.

In his essay, "Class, Caste and Ideology in Maharasthra," Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, like Sharad Patil[46], discuss the problem of caste-class nexus vis-a-vis ideology. The 1980s were marked by two sets of confrontations: First between the Hindus and the Muslims; and second, between the upper caste Hindus (savarnas) and the SCs/STs (Dalits). The authors emphasize on the increasing Hindu militancy and the changing character of the Hindu identity in Maharashthra. They point out that caste-based conflicts must be analyzed in terms of the class hierarchy in the state because they are deeply rooted in the material interests of the warring groups. A process of class formation has set in, cutting into the hegemony of the upper castes. The appropriation of the state and its policies for development by the upper and upper middle castes/classes has come under severe attack from the 1960s onwards. "Agrarian Tensions in Rural Marathwada: A Case of the Shiv Sena," by Surendra Jondhale[47] examines the prolonged intense agitation in 1978 against the proposal of renaming the Marathwada University after Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. This agitation was followed by a short lull but soon the silence was broken by an anti-reservation movement. The communal and casteist organizations have discovered a new device by attacking the Dalits collectively with a view to hide/misguide the identity of the culprits. Besides this social boycott of the Dalits and forcible grazing of animals on their fields has become a routine affair. The root cause of violence and atrocities against the Dalits is their exploitation and the denial of minimum wages to them.

In his article on "Caste, Class and Politics in the Tanneries of Kolhapur," Gopal Guru[48] observes approvingly the inherence of class in caste as the big tannery-owners appropriate a great deal of surplus based on the work done by the poor tannery-workers of their own castes.

"Caste and Land in Colonial South India," a comprehensive essay by A. Nagaraja Naidu,[49] highlights that in the colonial period, in South India, the lower castes were Dalits and perceived the upper caste landlords as their enemy and not the British as the latter were not directly exploiting them. The upper castes, being the early beneficiaries of education, first entered into the British revenue administration and later became entrenched in politics. They were nominated to the legislative council representing the landed aristocracy. In such a situation 'freedom' for the country had hardly any meaning for the Dalits.

In his essay, "Caste and Class in Rural Andhra: A Historical Perspective," A. Satyanarayana[50] notes that there has been a gradual decline of the power and authority of the landed class as a whole. The zamindars and Brahmins have lost their hegemonic authority since the late 1950s, when land reforms were introduced in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Consequent upon land reforms, a class of rural rich emerged from among the principal agricultural castes, which in fact became a threat to the Zamindars and Brahmins. Soon this 'new class' began to displace the

traditional dominant castes/groups, and also received the support of a large number of people as its members belonged to the numerically preponderant castes.

Caste goes beyond the boundaries of kinship and family ties as it involves specialization of labour/work on a wider corporate basis. In his article, "The Formation of Caste Society in Kerela: Historical Antecedents," Rajan Gurukal[51] traces the genesis of the caste system in Kerala and observes that the actual formation of castes took place in the temple-centered Brahmin villages having agrarian activities. Brahmins, landlords and temples played a crucial role in the multiplication of castes and sub-castes. The peculiar systems of land relations and service tenure were responsible for the creation of the system of hereditary occupational groups. The Brahminical ideal of 'ritual status' was instrumental in converting these groups into 'endogamous castes'. Ultimately, the society was stratified in terms of higher and lower groups based on the ritual status accorded to various castes/sub-castes. Such a stratified society based on Brahmaninical prescriptions had the tacit approval of the king (ruler) as it was in his interest too to appoint officials and secure professional services on a hereditary basis to ensure the stability of his rule.

"Caste-Class Situation in India" by A. B. Bardhan[52] argues that a class of people has upheld the ideology of caste, and has kept it alive even in the most adverse of situations. In his essay on "Caste, Class and Social

Consciousness: Reflections on Contemporary Indian Situation," Javeed Alam[53] looks at the constitution of social consciousness in contemporary India with regard to caste and class. Rapid shifts in the consciousness of the same very people ranging from democratic struggles to communal and sectarian fights have been observed. Alam considers class, caste and social consciousness as aspects of a totality, that is, the social being. These are being transformed via retarded capitalism.

Let us now return to the Postcolonial Dalit Movement of Independent India tracing its ideological effects and epistemic formations. Once caste included class. In response to the Communist criticism, Ambedkar and the Dalit movement joined hands with the freedom struggle, which silenced the Indian Marxists. In 1948, Ambedkar published *The Untouchables*, in which he argued that they had been "broken men", fragments of defeated tribes, which did not give up Buddhism when Brahminism triumphed in India, and were barely tolerated outside the village of settled tribesmen. The Nehru era saw the growth of liberal democracy in Indian politics directed at improving the conditions of the depressed sections of society through the policy of protective discrimination and through the enactment of new laws to abolish socio-economic disparities. The influence of liberalism on Ambedkar is more pronounced after he accepted the role of the Chairman of the drafting committee for the Indian Constitution in collaboration with the Congress. Inspite of his proposal of State socialism submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation, his position amounted

to an ideological somersault that could not be helped for situational compulsions. Practically this period was marked by transition to modernity according to the new democratic values enshrined in the Constitution. Even the Dalit movement led by Ambedkar rejected the adventurist efforts such as Telangana Agitation (1946-51) and the Tebhaga Agitation of West Bengal (1946-47).

Another significant aspect of the Dalit Movement is the mass conversion of Dalits to Buddhism on 15th October, 1956 following the call given by Ambedkar. Ambedkar had the idea of religious conversion since 1935. Disdaining the slow moving pace of Hinduism and in the light of his bitter experience and frustration with the reformers who led his people into deeper self-degradation. Ambedkar felt that conversion to Buddhism is the best way to transcend the caste hierarchies. Paying his tribute to the Lok Sabha on 6th December, 1956 on Ambedkar's sudden demise, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said,

> ... the way he will be remembered most will be as a symbol of the revolt against all the oppressive features of Hindu Society...he rebelled against something against which all ought to rebel and we have, in fact, rebelled in various degrees.[54]

Ambedkar's call for conversion gave a new identity to the Dalit and initiated the neo-Buddhist movement in India. Apart from this aspect, there was another significant development in the Dalit Movement—it is the evolution of present day Dalit Literature. The first Dalit Literary Conference was organized in Bombay in 1958. It was in this conference, through a

resolution (No.5), a formal label *Dalit Literature* was given to the literature written by Dalits and that written by others about Dalits. While the literary scene was witnessing extensive activity, the Dalit Movement was reorganizing and reshaping into a new formation. The post-Nehru era saw the emergence of the militant Dalit Movement. The reform movements led by the upper caste leaders were concerned with the amelioration of the conditions of the backward classes in general and the depressed classes in particular, in keeping with their liberal ideology. Unlike the earlier movements initiated by the outsiders, the movements in which the Dalits participated have consciously and voluntarily brought about a sea change in their socio-cultural identity and self-definition. Such movements are the results of conscious efforts on the part of the deprived to mitigate their deprivation, secure justice and demonstrate their power. Being highly affected with the ethos of the liberation movements all over the world and enraged because of the disparity between raised expectations and reality, the Dalit youth came forward to rectify the historical injustice with a clenched fist. This resulted in the formation of a new revolutionary organization under the banner Dalit Panthers in 1972. Impressed by the 1966 Black Panthers movement of the United States, the Dalit panther movement—the subaltern insurgency, which definitely contributed to the improvement of the status of Dalit community—originated in India. It is at this stage the ideology of Racism percolated into Dalit movement. The Dalit Panther movement suffered weakness because of it was loosely organized, though the movement gathered momentum right

from the beginning. W. E. B. Du Bois' comment on racism might hold good to the Indian Dalit Movement:

> Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,--a world which yeilds him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, the double consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by a tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[55]

The connection between Dalit literature and Dalit Panther movement runs very deep. As a matter of fact, the Dalit Panther movement is the political expression of the spirit of protest and rebellion, which was being consciously developed through the medium of literature. The Dalit Literature was an all out plebian attack on the orthodox establishment. The literature created by the Dalit writers was rebellious and explosive. Most of the Dalit writers belonged to the middle classes and were educated and city-bred and belonged to the middle class and were well aware that neither their new religious status nor their new social standing entirely removed from them the stigma of untouchability. Prior to the Dalit Panther movement there existed a literary organization named Pragat Sahitya Sabha. It was founded by the communist-oriented literary figures like D. K. Bedekar, Surve Baurao, Bagul, etc. After reading translated Russian, Chinese and

Bengali literature and Prem Chand's classics, these writers became aware of the need for a new rebellious literature. Following the Black Panthers style, obscene and violent language was also used in the literary narratives.

By 1980s, the idea of the 'New Dalit Revolution' or 'Dalit Democratic Revolution' was becoming a hegemonic one. This movement interrogated the traditional socialist ideology that never proposed the 'end of history' but accepted the opening up of alternatives working towards an egalitarian society. The Dalit reinterpretation coupled with Ambedkarite rationalism, had major themes to offer, and indeed the unraveling of Nehruvian secularism as well as socialism meant that an engagement with the more rabid upper caste Hindu 'fundamentalist' forces had to revolve around the creation of an alternative cultural tradition. Thus by the 1990s, Ambedkarism and Dalit themes were gaining ground every where as an alternative ideological framework. As the necessity for 'combining' economic and social themes could no longer be denied, the scope for dialogue was inevitable. Thus it is imperative for us to know about the Dalit Movement out of which sprang the Dalit Literature embodying and contributing to the Dalit Ideology.

Endnotes

[1] Cited in Oxford Reader on *Racism* edited by Martin Bulmer and John Soloms. 1999; p. 161.

[2] For detail. see Parmaji, S. 1985. Caste Reservations and Performance. Warangal: Mamata Publications. pp. 7-13.

[3] M. N. Srinivas. 1996. Ed. *Caste: Its Twentieth Century Avatar.* New Delhi: Viking.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ketkar, S.V. 1909. *History of Castes in India.* Quoted in M.N. Srinivas.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ghurye, G. S. *Caste and Class in India.* 1957. Quoted in M. N. Srinivas.

[8] Narada. Chapter V. Quoted in Peter Robb.

[9] Baba Saheb Ambedkar. *Writings and Speeches: Riddles in Hinduism.* Vol. IV. Education Department: Government of Maharashtra; 1987. Emphasis in brackets are glossed.

[10] Kambhampati Satyanarayana. *Andhrula Samskriti-Charitra 2.* Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust. 1982. p. 47.(in Telugu)

[11] Dalit Panthers. *Dalit Panthers Manifesto.* In Joshi R. Barabara. Ed. *Untouchable! Voices of Dalit Liberation Movement.* London: Zed Books; 1986. p.145

[12] B. S. Cohn, "The changing status of Depressed Caste" in McKim Mariot, ed. *Village India.* Chicago; 1958: p. 73.

[13] Lynch, Owen M. 1969. *The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India.* New York: Columbia University Press.

[14] In Arvind P. Nirmal. *Towards a Common Dalit Ideology.* Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute; 1990. p. 105

[15] Nath Trilok. *Politics of the Depressed Classes.* Delhi: Deputy Publications: 1987; pp. v-vii, 1-2.

[16] http://www.hrw.oreg/reports/1999/India/India994-04.htm

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Beteille, A. "Impurity and Deprivation—some concluding remarks" Mimeo. Quoted in *Racism*, opt. cit.

[20] *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.* P. 436.

[21] Smelser, N. J. *Theory of Collective Behaviour.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1962; pp. 8-10.

[22] Marcuse Herbert. "The Quest for Revolution" *cf.* Woddis Jack *New Theories of Revolution.* New York: International Publishers; 1972. p. 366.

[23] Sheik Mallika. *Mala Udhwasta Vhayachaya.* Bombay: Majestic Books. 1984. Pp. 43, 69, 75, 104. cf. M. N. Srinivas, 1996.

[24] Quoted from Bhagwat, *Vidharbatil Dalit...*, p. 297 cited in M. N. Srinivas, 1996.

[25] Venkataswamy. *Our Struggle.* Volume 1, pp. 10, 13-40. (book from Anveshi, Hyderabad)

[26] *Census of India.* 1931. Volume 23, *Hyderabad State, Part 1: Report.* Pg. 258. cited from Gail Omvedt.

[27] Speches of R. S. Dhurina, M. Kantahange, *Proceedings*, p. 5. cited in Gail Omvedt.

[28] Omvedt Gail. 1976. *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India, 1850-1935.* Poona: Scientific Socialist Publications; p. 111

[29] B. C. Kamble. 1987. *Samagra Ambedkar Charitra, Part 7* Bombay: Kamble. Pp. 82-93.. Also, *Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar and the Movement of Untouchables, Volume 1.* Bombay: Government of Maharashtra. 1982; p. 52.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Volume II.* 1982. Edited by Vasant Moon. Bombay: Government of Maharashtra Educational Department. Pp. 661-63. Emphsis in bold is added.

[32] E. M. S. Namboodaripad. 1986. *A Brief History of Indian Freedom Struggle.* Trivendrum: Social Scientist Press. P. 492.

[33] M. B. Rao. 1976. (ed) *Documents of the History of Communist Party of India.* New Delhi: People's Publishing House. Pp.85, 111-2

[34] Sharma, K. L. 1994. *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications. P. 1.

[35] Ibid. Pp. 8-9.

[36] Ibid, p. 9.

[37] Ibid, p. 9.

[38] Ibid, p.9.

[39] Ibid, p. 10.

[40] Ibid, pp. 9-10.

[41] Ibid, p. 11.

[42] Ibid, p. 11.

[43] Ibid, pp. 11-12.

[44] Ibid, p. 12.

[45] Ibid, pp. 12-13.

[46] Ibid, p. 13.

[47] Ibid, p. 14.

[48] Ibid, pp. 14-15.

[49] Ibid, p. 15.

[50] Ibid, pp. 15-16.

[51] Ibid, p. 16.

[52] Ibid, pp. 16-17.

[53] Ibid, p. 17.

[54] Ibid. p. 18.

[55] W. E. B. Du Bois. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk.* New York: A. C. McClurg & Co. P.5. cited in *Racism.* opt. cit.

Chapter 4

Dalit Literature:
An Analysis with reference to Telugu Short Stories

What bird is this that sings a song filled with such sorrow
Such aching notes in the dead of night
When my hut in its yard of densest dark
Is drenched to the brim of its heart?
Nor can I, wanting to follow him,
Find my voice or his direction

The Search by W. Kapur[1]

This chapter offers an analysis of Dalit short stories written in Telugu. While a brief overview of Dalit Literature in India will be given at the outset an attempt is made at examining the discursive formations of Dalit narrative with reference to Telugu Dalit short stories..

Literary historians agree that untouchables were never involved in the literary processes as they were kept outside the realm of literary activities. In general, the literary engagement was restricted to the upper castes of the society. It is evident from the literary history that most of the literature produced by the upper caste Hindus reaffirmed and justified the caste system and social discrimination. It is interesting to note that while most of the literary production is directly or indirectly related to the dominant Hindu religious practice that advocates the stringent practice of *varna* system, some competing religious discourses like the 'Veera Saivam' of Andhra Pradesh

canvassed for the removal of caste and gender differences. These discourses, like Palakurki Somanath's *Basava Puranam*, talk vaguely about the presence of nomadic and aboriginal tribes that were allowed to perform religious activities in particular temples on particular days which otherwise are inaccessible to these untouchables[2]. But today Dalit movement is constantly attempting an alliance of socially and economically exploited groups as an alternative political front to the Congress and the BJP which are seen as platforms of Capitalism and Brahmanism. Contemporary Dalit literature is an offshoot of this movement.

4.1 Short Story – A Genre of Articulation and Resistance

The early writers in most of the Indian languages came from among the upper castes and most of them had a predilection for Sanskrit. Many of them felt that a written style, in order to be dignified must maintain a distance from the spoken and living language. The genre of prose narratives thus emerged in Indian Bahasa literatures with disregard to the spoken language, its rhythm and neutrality of registers and was sanskritized. A glaring example from early Telugu Dalit stories can be cited from Sripada Subrahmanyam Sastry's *Sagara Sangamam.* This story, though written about the social problem of caste discrimination, employs archaic language style. The language of this short story is far from the everyday Telugu usage and is more close to the Brahminic variety restricted to the higher lictarture. Gradually, the various social movements like Gandhianism, Nehruvianism,

Ambedkaritism, etc. made inroads into the language style of prose and brought it closer to the natural spoken form of the language. The Dalit writing that developed under the high/low linguistic articulation followed a conflicting trajectory, one that is close to the spoken form and the other which is based on the Sanskritized Brahminical tradition. The conflict between these two styles, one nearer to the speech of the common people and the other nearer to a supposedly respectable model, away from the ordinary speech, continued to be in practice till the end of 20th century.

Most of the earlier Dalit Writings came to the public through Journals like *Bharati, Raaga Maalika, Satihita Bodhini, Andhra Jyoti,* etc. The majority of the writers associated with these journals either knew English or were exposed to the English language, and this conditioned their world-view and literary style to a great extent. Most of them did not write with literary pretensions; but all of them consciously or unconsciously took part in an experiment, which brought about a real break through in Indian literature. The awareness of the social problems, a rational view of existence as opposed to a theocentric world-view structured in privileging caste hierarchies are explored mostly in prose narratives. Indian literature before 20th century doesn't boast of an established literary canon in prose narrative. The writer was more autonomous. He or She could experiment more freely and create a new set of norms. The prose that began to appear was fresh and new, distinct from old tradition (with few exceptions) and was a new vehicle of articulation of existential experience. "It is not a coincidence," says Das, "that some of the

makers of Indian prose – Rammohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bal Gangadhar Sastri, Anandram Dhekiyal Phukan, Raja Shiva Prasad, Nabin Chandra Ray, Chinnaya Suri, were primarily scholars, educationists, social thinkers, rather creative writers. They created a new medium which gave a measure of unprecedented freedom to writers."[3]

The development of prose, maturing into a literary medium, was indeed a very complex phenomenon. As it is elsewhere, the prose tradition in 19th and 20th century Indian literature began with Journals. Most of the social reformers and religious thinkers published their own journals. Their writings in these journals, some of them later collected into book forms, enriched the growing Indian prose literature. It is necessary to mention that the problems of women and depressed classes were first focussed in the pages of these journals.

In 1879 a Tamil Journal *Suryodayam* was started in Madras by a group of people who called themselves Adi Tamilar. They belonged to the scheduled caste and the journal about which very little is know, as expected, printed essays on their problems and tales about their lives. This journal is regarded as the first Dalit Journal in India. In Telugu, Veeresalingam Pantulu started a journal *Satihita Bodhini* in 1883 to highlight the problems of women and depressed classes. The most well known journal in this field known for its deep social concerns was the Marathi weekly *Dina Bandhu* (1874) published by the Satya Shodak Samaj influenced by Jyoti Rao Phule's ideology. Two

works deserve special mention in this context. The first one is *Gulam Giri,* a Marathi prose work by Phule, a prodigious son of a gardener and social reformer in the 19th century India coming from a lower caste. *Gulam Giri* (1873) written in the form of a dialogue, offers the most trenchant criticism of the Brahmins, a pungent sarcasm against their claims of superiority and an uninhibited reproach for their role in Indian history. It can be said that directness and bluntness to the language of prose brought by Phule have initiated a new style in Dalit literature of our times. The other important work is Bankim's *Saamya* (1872). It is a treatise on equality, a concept as defined by Rousseau and later European social thinkers and an analysis of the historical background of the growth of inequality in India.

The journals focusing on the social and gender problems offered the writers an opportunity to vent their views on social discrimination. The writers started experimenting with the short story form, moving away from the earlier established essay style. The short story later made itself a well-established genre in Indian prose literature. There are three distinct stages in the growth of short story as a modern literary form. The first stage belongs to that of the anecdotes and the second stage of tales and fables. The third stage emerged in the late 19th century with the advent of journals and periodicals which encouraged the growth of character sketches and reportage of incidents. As a form, the modern Telugu short story shares the features of the above three stages, but it developed its own distinctiveness identified by the presence of conscious narrative, foregrounding a particular incident, or a situation or a

moment of emotional intensity. The growth of the short story was also accelerated by the emergence of short fiction, which shares the general features of the novel in respect of structural complexity and development of characters through a considerably long period of time.

The short story in Telugu began with Gurajada Apparao and Achanta Venkata Sharma who began experimenting with this new form around 1910. It is used extensively by several writers to portray the social problems and caste related issues. Chinta Deekshitulu is known for his portrayals of rural life and satire against Telugu women aping western mannerism. Sripada Subrahmanyam Sastry wrote about domestic and social problems. Sarat Chandra, Adavi Bapiraju, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Karuna Kumara, Kanaparti Varalakshmanna, Chalam, Tripuraneni Gopichand, Kodavaganti Kutumbarao all of them made their mark through their experimental and progressive literary styles. Some of the Dalit stories written by these writers are also included for analysis in this chapter.

Important periodicals like, *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Patrika* formed a good publishing site for these modern Telugu short stories. The most conspicuous feature in the development of Telugu short story is the foregrounding of common man. Most of the Dalit writers and those writing about Dalit problems adopted the short story genre to project and represent their ideas. Then, in a way, one can assume that short stories form the major genre of Dalit literature. This claim does not discount the various genres like

poetry, novel and drama in which Dalit literature also exists. About the beginning of Dalit literature, Das says:

> The most significant feature of modern Indian literature in respect of the emergence of the underdogs as a major literary force is what has come to be known as Dalit movement. The word Dalit means 'the down trodden' and the socially underprivileged who assert themselves as a significant socio-political category called themselves by this name. It is a movement different from the Ezhava's initiated by Narayana Guru or even Gandhian movement for the upliftment of Harijan, in its robustness and unstinted criticism of the Brahmanical orthodoxies. It gained momentum around 1920 under the leadership of Dr. B. M. Ambedkar with the burning of the "manusmriti," agitation for the right to use ponds and wells reserved for caste Hindus, etc. Although Dalit literature, a literature of militant protest against the upper caste literature upholding the Brahminical values, is a post-independence phenomenon – to be precise it made its impactin the sixties – its ancestry can be traced in the earlier decades. Javalkar's Desaca Dushman (1926) an essay attacking Chipulankar and Tilak, for which the author was prosecuted by Brahmins can be taken as the begenning of Dalit literature. According to some, S. M. Mate's – Mate belonged to higher caste – Upekshtance Antaranga (1942) is the first specimen of Dalit life in Marathi. Dalit literature as it is come to be known found its powerful expression in the short stories of Annabhav Sathe and Shankar Rao Karat. Not only did they introduce a new world experience in lietarture, but also widened the range of expression and exploited the potentiality of the language of the downtrodden.[4]

4.2 Analysis

158 Telugu Dalit short stories written during 1910 to 1998 that appeared in various journals and published in a book form in 1998 are considered for the purpose of analysis. The stories are classified into five major themes namely, 1. Caste Discrimination Stories, 2. Economic and Political Stories, 3. Untouchable Stories, 4. Dalit Stories and 5. Dalit Women Stories (see Appendix). These stories are reclassified thematically into –

Social Emancipation Stories; Caste Feuds & Caste Politics Stories with sub themes as Sub-caste Conflicts, Inter caste conflicts, Gandhian stories, Marxist stories, Revolutionary stories, etc.; Religious Stories; Stories of Exploitation with sub-themes as Religious stories, Stories on Education; Economic stories, Political stories; and Gender Stories, though not in the same order given above.

4.2.1 Re-writing the Genesis

One popular story among the 'Madigas' of Andhra Pradesh about the origin of their caste is the Jambavanth Myth. Though there are no written documents confirming the story it is heard almost in every village and every family of the Madigas. This story, an example of the continuation of the age-old oral tradition that disturbs the chronological sequencing of the origin of Dalit literature in India. Is it necessary that a story has to be written in order to be considered for dating literature? This story did not exist in written form until K. Sudhakar recorded it from oral narration of elders of the caste. One might be tempted to say that there is some hastiness in trying to fix a date for the origin of Dalit literature. There are several oral narratives that exist to date which are undocumented but are on the tips of the tongues of Dalits. In the middle ages, the voice was the central medium for the telling of author's tale; and it was aided by the gesture and posture of the performer reciting the story, imitating and thereby informing characters and listeners with the tale. The question of the identity of the author of these scripts is a perennial problem,

but one that particularly worries the modern scholar. In most cases, no author is named in these scripts, and it must be argued that this doesn't matter, for such authority as there is in the telling of the tale is conferred upon the speaking (or singing) voice of the *jongleur*: authority is not attributable to one name or to one discrete individual. The text in such a case as this is the composite property of its speakers. But it should be noted that the speakers themselves, the *jongleurs*, hand over the authority for certain parts of their *recits* to its characters, whom they purport to quote. Many recent experiments bear the mark of desire on the part of writers to test the viability of the transfer of such immediacy as we have in the oral tradition into the print which is the modern medium of much modern fiction. The effect is to reintroduce into fiction the illusory presence of a real speaking voice. And we should note that this is not necessarily the voice of the author, for he or she lends a voice directly to a narrator and indirectly to the speaking characters of the fiction. Thus by dispersing a single authority over a text, the writer purports to come closer to the reader in a process of sharing authority and subjectivity; which is to say that the writer as much as is aspiring towards the kind of closeness as the medieval *jongleur* experienced in an oral declamation to a gathered audience.

This story highlights the particular heuristic questions raised by the poetical approaches of all texts, which can be considered as openly manifest rewritings, and re-workings of pre-existing literary work. Gennette calls this 'transportation' of an epic text. This transportation of an epic text could

consist of stylistic modifications, which would shift, for example, from the noble register that is the text's own to a more familiar, if not vulgar, register. According to Gennette[5] (1982), the object of poetics is not the text in its singularity, but 'transtextuality.' That is, every relation that makes it possible to connect one text openly or secretely to another text is said to be a transtextual relation. Genette identifies five types of transtextual relations namely, 'intertextuality', 'paratextuality', 'metatextuality', 'architextuality' and 'hypertextuality.' According to him, if a text is present in another text, then these two texts are said to be in intertextual relation. For example, quotations, plagiarism, allusion, etc. are features of intertextuality. A text exists in paratextual relation to all other texts to which it is directly linked. The critical relation of a text to another text is called metatextual relation. The gender of transcendent categories to which each text belongs constitutes architextuality. Any link uniting a text with a prior text on which it is grafted in a different way from that of a commentary is called hypertextuality. Gennette calls the prior text as 'hypotext' and the grafted text as 'hypertext'. Some of these concepts like intertextuality were discussed also by theorists like Kristeva (1969).

All the above relations can be best explained with reference to the Hindu epic *Ramayana*. Several regional Ramayanas written in Telugu have extensively quoted verbatim from Valmiki's *Ramayana* (which is regarded as the sur-text/pre-text or original text, source book, etc.). All these texts exhibit intertextuality. Most of these regional Ramayanas in Telugu are

commentaries on the Valmiki's *Ramayana*. These commentaries exhibit paratextual relation to each other. It is possible for each commentary to focus and extensively portray any one aspect or several aspects of Valmiki's *Ramayana* without deviating considerably from it. For example, one commentary might dwell at length on the character of Sita with elaboration on certain aspects like her puberty and sexuality which were not described at length by Valmiki or another commentary might portray Ravana's anti-heroic qualities extensively and so on. This type of texts are said to display metatextuality. It is also for the regional commentaries of *Ramayana* to be written either in verse or in prose form. If we subscribe to the notion that Valmiki wrote *Ramayan* in narrative verse form, then all the commentaries or regional varieties of Ramayanas written in narrative verse form are said to be in architextual relation. A confronting variation of *Ramayana* popular in southern India, especially in Tamil Nadu and adjoining parts of Andhra Pradesh is that of Kamban. Kamba *Ramayana* is an example of hypertextuality in the sense that Valmiki's work is the hypotext on which Kamban grafted his hypertext.

The story about the origin of caste exbits all types of transtextual relations described by Gennette except archtextuality. Let us look at this story. The story begins like this:

> Who is Jambavanth?
>
> He is the first god in the Universe.
>
> He is the Ancestor of our caste.

The story goes on:

There existed a cow species called 'Kamadhenu' with eight legs, four eyes, four ears and two tails. Vishnu, Brahma, Shiva and Jambavanth jointly owned this animal. All of them had equal claim to the beast. It was believed that the body of the animal and its dairy products contained 'Amrith' (nectar, Potion of Ecstasy and Immortality). None of the four were interested in herding the cow, but were after its milk and dairy products.

One day Shiva and his wife Parvathi were riding on a chariot. Suddenly Parvathi's menses commenced. She wiped her menstrual blood on to a cloth and hid it in a bush. They continued on their journey. On their way back, to her surprise Parvathi found a small baby in the very cloth she hid in the bush and reported the same to Shiva. They brought up the child and entrusted the responsibility of herding Kamadhenu on him. But they did not allow this boy to consume the dairy products of the cow he reared.

Once Parvathi was busy churning the curd to make buttermilk from Kamadhenu's milk. The young boy said that he was hungry and repeatedly asked her to feed him. Then Parvathi without washing her hand fed the boy. This resulted in a drop of buttermilk spilling on the rice bowl of the lad. The boy was overcome by the ecstatic effect of the buttermilk. In the evening, the lad inquired Parvathi as to why the food he had eaten that day was so very tasty and different from the previous meals he had taken regularly. Parvathi briefed him about the process of making buttermilk and said that the buttermilk was Amrith. The next day, as usual the boy took the cow for grazing and stealthily milked the cow and made buttermilk and drank it. Then the boy mused to himself "If the milk is so tasty, how tastier would the meat be!" The very moment Kamadhenu died. The boy rushed back to Jambavant and reported the death of the cow.

Jambavant, Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma along with the boy went to the place where Kamadhenu died and divided the meat of the animal into four portions. Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma took their portions and left in one direction while Jambavant and the lad left in another direction with their share of meat. As his share Jambavant got hide, head and legs of the cow. On the way, the boy felt hungry and pestered Jambavant to give him a small piece of the meat to eat to which Jambavant obliged. The boy lit up a fire and roasted the meat and satisfied his hunger. On getting the scent of the roasted meat, the trio Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva reached Jambavant and accosted him as to what happened to his portion of meat and what the smell was about. Jambavant was

> silent. Then they asked him to weigh the four portions of the meat. They found that one share was less in quantity. Again they weighed and again the result was the same. Then Jambavant agreed that the lesser portion was his. Then the trio cursed him saying that he is not equal to them as his share was less and hence his caste also should be less. And also that he has to become a cobbler and skin the animals to eke a living. Since then on the descendents of Jambavant were regarded as untouchables and lower caste people.[6]

What is of interest to a researcher here is the way the origin of the caste that is identified/represented by the Dalits. This story is radically different from the popular Hindu stories of origin of the four Varnas. While the whole gamut of Hindu theology pivots on the Omnipotent triumvirate—Brahma, the Creator; Shiva the Destroyer; and Vishnu the Deliverer—the Dalit consciousness carves out some space for Jambavant, a commoner God preceding the mythical trio. This story is handed over to the Madigas by the word of mouth and there is every chance for the story to loose its originality. The process of mystical birth as outlined in the story is drastically different from the popular versions of childbirth in Hindu literature. Of course, this concept is equally amusing/alluring as any other concept of theological discourse, for instance, it is not only Hindu Mythology that is full of incidents where progeny was accounted for in various forms and methods ranging from marital to extramarital, asexual events like wishful thinking to sexual both heterosexual and homosexual trysts; even several myths of origin and genesis like cosmic egg theory, etc. are popular with several ancient tribal and Indian communities across the world. If one subscribes to the idea of mystery embedded in religion, one would discount the idea of childbirth portrayed in

the above story. Equally bewildering is the concept of caste system that is depicted in the above story. Though it appears to be trivial to be discriminated on the basis of the quantity of meat that is possessed, it brings into light the concept of power relations where people with more property addressed the one with less property as a lower caste. Also the child born in a mystical way was not adopted by the father, Shiva, instead was left with Jambavant. If the child is accepted into the family, one might wonder as to why he was not allowed to share the dairy products consumed by the family or for that matter became a legitimate member of the family.

Gennette says that 'transmotive' is one phenomenon that might help us to analyze the above narration. Transmotive or substituition of a motive is one of the major devices of semantic transformation of a text. This concept is a bipolar entity. At the positive end of the spectrum, the original motive of the original text is preserved in the transtext in letter and essence and is elaborated upon or adjusted appropriately by the rewriting. While at the negative end of the spectrum, transmotivation surfaces as a complex process of 'demotivation' and 'remotivation'. That is, the rewriter 'subjects to elision' the original motive and replaces or substitutes with a new motive. This aspect is best portrayed in the above story in the characters of Jambavant and the orphan.

Paula Richman in the introduction to *Many Ramayanas*[7] observes that through out Indian History many authors and performers have produced and many patrons have supported, diverse tellings of *Ramayana* in numerous

media. In her critique, Romila Thapar, a noted scholar of Indian History, calls attention to the plurality of the Ramayanas:

> The Ramayana does not belong to any one moment in history for it has its own history which lies embedded in the many versions which were woven around the theme at different times and places.[8]

Not only do diverse Ramayanas exist; each Ramayana text reflects the social location and ideology of those who appropriate it. Thapar says:

> The appropriation of story by a multiplicity of groups meant a multiplicity of versions through which the social aspirations and ideological concerns of each group were articulated. The story in the versions included significant variations, which changed the conceptualization of character, event and meaning.[9]

The same argument holds good for a different Dalit rendering of the origins of Varna system. The treatment of caste as lineage was and is criticised from time to time by several literary scholars. A 10th century Kannada poet, Pampa wrote: *kulam kulamaltu, calam kulam, ammu kulam, abhimanam kulam* – caste is not lineage and lineage is not caste; firmness, valour and self-respect are lineage. Pampa's criticism of caste system is an attack against the basic Hindu system that one is born into a caste. Through out the medieval age, Basavanna, Kabir, Chaitanya, etc. have criticized caste system from time to time.

4.2.2 Caste, Politics and Dialectics of Slavery

Colonial legacy has given Indians a notorious instrument of authority in the name of divide and rule. As the ancient proverb goes: Unity is Strength;

segregation only results in weakness. This theme is dominantly portrayed in several Telugu Dalit stories. The following is a discussion of few such stories where the upper caste Hindus divided the Dalits on caste lines and fuelled frequent internal caste wars so that their vested interests of exploitation and bonded slavery were best restored.

Let us now briefly look at the dialectics of slavery. It is vital to ask whether the social process of slavery has disposed of all the hidden conceptual accretions of language. The conceptual apparatus of social biologists tell us that one of the major classes of social behavior is symbiosis and within it one of the most significant classes is parasitism. Orlando Patterson[10] says that conceiving of slavery as a relation of parasitism has many advantages. Parasitism emphasizes the asymmetry of all such unequal relations: the degree to which the parasite depends on the host is not necessarily a direct measure of the extent to which the host is exploited in supporting the parasite. A parasite may be only partially dependent on its host, but this partial dependency may entail the destruction of the host; or the host may be totally dependent on the parasite, but the parasite may only partially influence the host – or may have no effect beyond being a minor nuisance, in which case the relation approaches what biologists call *commensalism.*

It took the arcane philosophical language of Hegel to uncover what quickly became apparent when the conceptual framework of parasitism is used: 'the dominator in the process of dominating and making another

individual dependent also makes himself (the dominator) dependent.'[11] Parasitism is a function of the terms of exchange in an unstable situation. Slavery began on the violent and permanent overpowering of one person by another. Distinctive in its character and dialectics, it originated as a substitute for certain death and was maintained by brutality. Depending upon the number of slaves involved and the kind of society in which the slave holder lived, a variety of means of appropriation, acquisition and enslavement were utilized by the slave holders and their associates in recruiting persons to be parasitized. The slave was natally alienated and condemned socially as a dead person; his existence having no legitimacy what so ever. This alienation and isolation made him or her the ideal human tool, perfectly flexible, unattached and branded. To all members of the community the slave existed only through his caste and profession. The slave losing in the process all claims to autonomous power was degraded and reduced to a state of liminality. He often was projected at an inter-subjective level as slave to a particular master thus erasing away his personal identity. The Dalit slave was camouflaged by his or her landlord or master by various ideological strategies. The landlords defined the Dalits as dependents. This is consistent with the distinctively human tradition of camouflaging a relation by defining it as the opposite of what it really is. The landlords used concepts from Hindu mythology and vedic puranas to support their views. This exploitation led to the awakening and reconfiguration of Dalit consciousness.

Applying Gramsci to Indian Nationalist Movement, Partha Chatterjee identifies three phases of development – 'moments of departure', 'moments of manoeuvre', and 'moments of arrival'[12]. We can extend these concepts to include Dalit situation. The moment of departure here could be treated as the awareness of the essential differences between the Dalits and the upper castes. First, the acceptance of the upper caste power to dominate and control over Dalit life; and second, the recognition of inherent Dalit power leading to evaluation and consolidation of Dalit identity and representation. During this period several personalities like Gandhi, Nehru, Tilak, Subash Chandra Bose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Bankim Chandra, etc. made various attempts to unite Dalits and the upper caste with institutional apparatuses like nationalist movements, religious movements, patriotic movements, Reformist movements, Marxist movements, etc. Nonetheless, Dalit identity became a crucial factor in the sub-continental discourse originating in the early nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century colonial India. However, this phase appears to have made a popular appeal to the Dalits to accept their fate and surrender to the exploiters.

The second phase of Chatterjee's analysis is the 'moment of manoevre' which is war on two fronts – 'war of movement' and 'war of position.'[13] Applying this to the Dalit situation, we might observe that moment of departure's 'surrender yourself' attitude was soon replaced by confrontation. Journals, pamphlets and essays on one hand and public rallies, meetings and mass gatherings on the other hand urged the Dalits to fight for their rights.

Emancipation from different forms of slavery was the watch word of this phase. Continental ideological tidal waves like Maoism, Apartheid, Semitism, etc. have influenced the Indian scenario resulting in both violent and peaceful mass upraise. Gandhism and Nehruvianism have developed into conflict with Ambedkarism. For a while directionless Dalits found several paths to follow and each group chose a different path. However, the ultimate destiny of these paths was the same – achievement of democratic equality and secure fundamental rights prescribed in the Constitution. It was during this phase that the submissive Dalit got transformed into a fighter. The war of movement and position was also fought at literary level. Some Dalit writers used powerful language with slurs and caustic remarks about the upper castes in the war of words. This shook the Indian literary scenario with a rude shock and provoked serious response from the literary circles. While many condemned the Dalit writings for its style and content, making sure to keep it outside the literary canon, a few began to reason the motive behind such writings. This phase was a crucial phase with contradictory possibilities.

The third phase according to Chatterjee is the 'moment of arrival.'[14] It was this stage at which the Dalit movement attained a complete profile as we see it. Several fragmented ideas were amalgamated and a unified Dalit discourse was constructed. Ambedkarism replaced several divergent Dalit movements of the time. Clear theoretical formulations leading to the understanding of the relationship between Dalit ideology and Dalit responsibility emerged during this time. In short, the Dalit thought attained its

maximum development resolving all earlier contradictions and divergences 'incorporating within the body of a unified discourse of every aspect and stage in the history of its formation.'[15] Exclusive to the Dalit discursive formation is the coming together of literature and political movement influencing each other. This formation gave possibility to writers to speak in two voices – one of violent rhetoric of aggression inciting people to take to arms, and the other of the lamentation and grief over the oppressive past with a promise and hope for a bright future. Thus the contesting and passive responses in literary representation became central to Dalit discourse.

Let us now, focus on the short story ***Pullamraju***. The basic premise of the story is that one cannot do away with Varna system. The story dates back to the colonial period, where native feudal lords existed along side the British colonizers. It was the time when Indian Reform movement was taking a concrete shape, where several meetings were held to abolish untouchability and bring about equality among the masses. Ironically, these meetings had little effect in the metropolitan and urban areas, while the deep-rooted untouchability persisted in the rural and country life of India. The story shuttles between Bombay Presidency and Doppalapudi, a lesser-known fiefdom in Andhra Pradesh. As was the tradition, the elite and advisors to the king of Doppalapudi, Pullamraju were Brahmins. The news that several seminars at Bombay have given a fervent call for the abolition of caste system and untouchability reached Doppalapudi. This created awareness in the masses of the region and they started to question the practice of untouchability

in the region. Pullamraju was irritated by the mass movement in his fiefdom and sought the help of his advisor Ramachandraiah. Both of them felt that the mass upraise against traditionally sanctioned practices should be brought to an end. Ramachandriah with his disciples charted out a plan of action. He toyed with the idea of manipulating the internal caste system of untouchables. It is worth noting here to specify that among untouchables, based on their profession there is an internal heirarchy. For example, the most glaring of such a heirarchy in the Telugu community is the one between Mala and Madiga castes with Mala as an upper order untouchable and Madiga as their inferior, which exists even to this day. Ramachandriah and his disciples met the headmen of both these communities separately. He explained to them the meaning of equality in an intriguing way with the example of community well. He reminded them that community wells were accessible only to upper caste people till that time and that the untouchables' pitchers were filled by drinking water at a distance from the well by the upper castes. If the concept of equality is to be applied, then both Mala and Madiga communities get free access to the well, which might not be a problem to the upper castes. On the contrary, the inferior untouchables and the superior untouchables would draw water from the same well and that their personal sentiments would be affected. This idea was enough to fuel the internal caste feuds of the untouchables. Ignoring the broader agenda of social equality, both the communities were up in arms against each other to prevent the other from making use of the community well. As advised, the king Pullamraju made an announcement stating that until the internal strife is put down among the untouchables, they

would not be allowed equality on par with the other upper castes of the community. The strife never ended and the untouchables never acquired social equality. The story ends with Ramachandriah being commended for nipping the rebellion in its bud by Pullamraju.

Another parallel story ***Horns*** that depicts the internal caste-feuds among the Dalits are fuelled by the upper castes on religious grounds. It is common to the traditional Varna system imposed by the Brahmanical order that untouchables have no entry to the Hindu temples. Neither can they visit the temple to offer their prayers nor could they hear religious gospels of the temple. If at all they are to pray, they could from a distance without entering the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. On the other hand, the untouchables or the popular masses worship several local deities like Ganganamma, Nukalamma, etc. who, according to them protect their kith and kin from epidemic diseases, famine and natural catastrophes. Their way of worship is distinctly different from the Hindu rituals. The priest of the common man is one among them but not the Vedic Brahmin. They sacrifice animals to please the deity by performing a ritual called jatara, where they take out a procession of the local deity and gather at the village outskirts under a sacred tree, usually Neem or Peepal, to cook the offerings and distribute the food among the families based on the number of members of the family. This story, in a first person narrative, talks about Ganganamma Jatara which is jointly celebrated by both Malas and Madigas of Andhra Pradesh, which turns up into a violent blood bath splitting up the Dalit communities on strong internal caste

hierarchy. *Horns* begins with *jatara*. The deity Ganganamma was taken in a procession around seven neighbouring villages for four days. All the offerings were collected and the procession came to a halt at the village outskirts. Rice that was gathered was cooked along with the meat of goats, chicken and sheep that were sacrificed to the deity. The preparations were spread out on a long cloth that was spread on the ground. Each family placed their respective lamps around the food. This process was accompanied by music played on traditional Dalit instruments. As the final offering, a buffalo decorated in multicolored robes was sacrificed. As soon as the offering was made, the tantrums of the drums came to a complete halt and a peculiar noise took the place of the rhythmic drumbeats. It was nothing but animated altercation between two castes—Mala and Madiga. No one had any idea as to what ignited the quarrel. All of a sudden two were killed and another half-a-dozen wounded. Slowly, the gathering understood that the fight was about the distribution of the slaughtered buffalo. Lurking in the gathering was Kondareddy a henchman of the upper castes, who was waiting for an appropriate occasion to fuel the flames of hatred. All of a sudden he came to the forefront and yelled at the top of his voice. Imitating the hysterical shrieks of a possessed soul, he laid down the seeds of venom in the gathering. He went on to say that the strife was deity Gangaanamma's own creation, as she could not tolerate the coexistence of superior untouchables—Mala and the inferiors—Madiga. Enacting the sequence of an Oracle possessed by a God /Godess, he lectured elaborately on the dangers to follow in the future, which might wipe out the entire untouchable communities. He concluded his

rhetoric with a strong warning against the unity of the two communities. Puzzle ridden, the gathering bifurcated into two groups strictly on their caste basis and left the place. The narrator on curiosity approached Kondareddy only to learn that it was Kondareddy who initiated and fuelled the factional clash.

Sagara Sangam (Oceanic Confluence) also shows the nurturing of internal caste hatred among the Dalits, in the light of inter-caste marriages. It demonstrates that the upper castes never miss out even a single chance to break the unity of the Dalits. In this story, Somaalu, a Mala woman and Kaatamraju, a Madiga man (both of them belong to Dalit community) fall in love. Kaatamraju served village kotwal (Police) and looked after his horse while Somaalu served Rangamma, an upper caste rich widow. Somaalu was different from other Dalit women of the locality, thanks to the generosity of Rangamma, who offered her good sarees and dresses to wear. She even taught her how to groom herself in a simple and decent way. Somaalu and Kaatamraju agreed to get married, but were afraid that their people might not approve of this inter-caste marriage. They seek Rangamma's help in this regard. As a wedding wish, Somaalu expressed her desire to parade the village on the horseback on the eve of her marriage to Kaatamraju. He requested the kotwal and got his permission for the same. Until then it was the practice of the upper castes to parade on the horsebacks on the marriage eves. The idea that a Dalit couple would do the same stirred up the whole village. Gradually, the village elders expressed their resentment against Somaalu's

idea. The Dalits too were afraid that such an act would invite the wrath of the upper castes. They dissuaded the young lovers to forget the idea of a horse-ride. By then rumors were running wild about the possible sabotage of the marriage. Distrust was implanted in the mind of Kaatamraju about the credibility of Somaalu's character, saying that she whored with some upper caste villagers and even had an affair with her own cousin. As a result, Kaatamraju beat up Somaalu mercilessly in a drunken frenzy. Somaalu survived her paramour's onslaught for two days only to succumb to the injuries inflicted by her beloved Kaatamraju. This incident sparked up large scale rioting in the Dalit community and both the Mala and Madiga castes took to swords and drenched their streets with innocent blood. The upper castes were happy that their honour of parading on the horse was restored and that no Dalit would dare to wish for the same in the future. They were also delighted that these two Dalit castes would never unite.

A cursory glance at the Indian political scenario reveals to us that it is the masses who form the major vote banks and the upwardly mobile rich upper castes are their representatives in both Houses of Parliament. The following stories describe how the upper castes play havoc with the sentiment of the lower castes, especially Dalits for their political gains. It is common sight during the elections that party loyalties run very high and people transgress the barriers of personal relations to achieve their political vendetta. Political rivalries are nurtured even in day to day lives. The effect of political affiliations of the masses is so intimate that they take the opposition to their

heart and go all out to settle the scores with the rival parties. In almost all the stories discussed here, the political representative is the upper caste person while his supporters are from the masses. Usually, the dominant landlord and his competitive rival contest the elections on two different party tickets. It is commonplace practice that both these contenders show off their might by rallying the masses. Manpower as well as muscle power display is an integral part of the Indian political system. While the economic power, which is also, an essential political apparatus comes from the upper caste, the muscle power and manpower comes from the lower castes. It has already been discussed in the literature above that internal caste politics of the untouchables are nurtured and exploited by the upper castes for their hideous benefits.

Most of the colonial pre-independence ideological formations in early twentieth century India were discursively organized around 'Mahatma' Gandhi. These new formations attempted to shake the basic tenor of rural India. Even when metropolitan and cosmopolitan cultures were influencing Urban India, rural India remained traditional at large. The rural masses of India have been regarded as good subjects through out the Indian history. This concept was used animously by the front-runners of Independence movement. The assumption was that any movement requires vast human and economic resources for its survival and success. The rural India with its land lords and bonded labour was recognized as the ideal choice of import. Leaders of Independence movement started visiting the villages, lecturing on various topics, which for the most part was not understood by Dalits as they were

uneducated and could follow only the local or regional vernacular form of speech. But this mass mobilization witnessed the emergence of 'liberal upper caste,' which was often regarded by the upper castes as a cancerous growth. In most cases these liberals were city-educated undergraduate and graduate upper caste male from rural landlord families. These young men were sent by their families to the cities for higher education in order to serve the British Government in India. Contrary to the expectations of their family, the arrival of at least one liberal youth in each village witnessed tumultuous scenes in rural India. While most of these young men were influenced by the speeches of Gandhi, few others were greatly motivated by Marxism.

The liberal youth under the influence of Gandhi started several social awareness programmes in the villages. As the majority of the youth came from the rich landlord class, the common man found it hard to comprehend the sudden change in situation. These liberal youth tried to implement Gandhian Ideology in the villages. This created chaotic situation as they did not know the consequences of such an ideology in a stratified society. Gandhi invoked religion to unite the masses throwing up a modernist progressive ideology while continuing to be a counter-modernist. This ideology provided for contradictory formation that, reforms were necessary for social cohesiveness only attempting to reform certain practices without changing the structural matrix of caste hierarchy. This is challenged both by Marxists and Ambedkarites. The consequences of Gandhian ideology in pre-independence era helped evidently in achieving only one major goal – the unflinching and

unquestioning support of the masses to Gandhi – an unconditional offer of themselves to be used in whatever way by the front-runners of the freedom movement. Available research says that most of the rural contribution to the freedom movement was in two major ways – first, the peaceful way of filling up of jails or the civil disobedience movement and second, the active way of following the militant communist revolution. However, Gandhian impact on Dalit literature is actively visible in the writings between 1920 and 1950 with a linear structure – a progressive development of Gandhian thought towards freedom struggle and gradual abandoning of Gandhi (substituting him with Ambedkar) away from freedom struggle.

Two stories written by P. Kesava Reddy and Ayapalli Raamalakshmi, *The Road* and *Dhanya Jeevulu* (Liberated Lives) present us with the classic example of failure of Gandhian Ideology in solving the Dalit problem. These stories written at a time when the first five-year plans were made and development of rural India was on the agenda of every political formation. People's unity across caste barriers was one of the major factors in achieving Indian independence. Several freedom fighters and leaders visited rural India in the pre-independence era and lectured about equality, unity, education and social responsibilities of a true nationalist/patriot. After independence, the rural India was totally neglected by the same intelligentsia on the grounds of Nation building, political consolidation and shaping of the future. With the creation of a separate Muslim state, Indian right wing nationalists too neglected Dalit politics as they did not visualize any communal threat. For

about 10 –15 years, the mainstream intellectuals, allowing the traditional forces to consolidate, regroup and reorganize the society, while ignoring the rural India. Many of the young liberals found promising administrative jobs with the Government and migrated to the cities. The remaining few tried to implement Gandhian concepts to the society and failed miserably.

Like *The Road* most of the Dalit stories dealing with similar theme begin with the description of a typical early Independent Indian village and its discursive formation. The traditional Indian village (as portrayed in almost all the short stories analysed by the researcher and as portrayed in canonical literature elsewhere) is characterized by three dominant factors – the division of neighborhood in terms of caste hierarchy; the ownership patterns; and religious segregation. Each village is divided into three neighborhoods; the first is the center of the village with houses of Brahmins and rich upper caste families with facilities to all basic amenities like medical, health, sanitary, religious, administrative, educational, etc. with its internal order. For example the Brahmin colony is close to the religious structures (temples) and is called 'agraharam' housing medical and educational facilities The landlord class is close to this neighborhood and houses administrative structures like, post office, village panchayat office, library, etc. The third colony in the center of the village constitutes the upper caste business community housing shops and commercial establishments like shops and entertainment facilities. The peripheries of the village constitute the Dalit settlement which is again internally divided. On the side closer to the village higher order Dalit houses

of farm laboureres, bonded labour of the zamindars exist followed by houses of washermen community. On the far side of the village towards the fields are the houses of scavengers, sweepers, cobblers and other lower order Dalits with facilities like grave yards and public toilets. Between the center and the periphery is the volatile zone of people who are known as back ward castes who constitute the communities of milkmen, blacksmiths, ironsmiths and carpenters and other tradesmen.

The physical allocation of space in the villages also reflects the economic configuration of the village. The economically, politically and religiously rich consumers form the center of the village, while the producers constitute the peripheries in a graded manner. Even the building types support this view. Invariably all the buildings of the rich upper castes are concrete/semi-concrete permanent constructions with proper architecture and good sanitation. The Dalit settlement constitutes huts and mud constructions with leaky roofs and unhygienic sanitation. The middle order comprises of house ranging from brick and mortar constructions to well formed huts. While the usual public facilities like water supply and ponds are in the upper caste areas, burial grounds and crematorium form an integral part of the Dalit neighborhood. While the upper caste locality is inter connected with good roads, which also connects to the main road that passes through the village. The roads connecting the localities of artisans and craftsmen are usually mud and gravel roads. The migrant population like, traders and settlers usually

from Muslim community that shares this neighborhood. There are no roads in the Dalit localities.

The novel *The Road* begins with the Dalit speculation of a road connecting the Dalit locality to the administrative facilities like Post office, Panchayat Office, etc. situated in the 'agrahaaram'. This Dalit idea of Subbarayudu is endorsed by the liberal Brahmin who doubles as both Postmaster and School teacher. The story also discusses some of the positive results of independent India like the opening of post offices, library and village administrative offices with access to radio and newspaper. The memory of united struggle for freedom transgressing the caste barriers was still present in some parts of the village. We might note that the Dalits cherished and preserved this memory as an achievement while the upper castes treated it as an obligation and political duress which has to be erased at the earliest convenience. The idea of a connecting road at such a time was received both positively and negatively. While the village accountant (Karanam) held it as a positive move, the president and religious heads viewed it as disastrous. The postmaster takes up the responsibility of bringing a unified approach and argues in favour of the road. Now smitten by obligation to intellectual persuasion, the upper caste hatch out a conspiracy to sabotage the plan. However, their first attempt fails as the Dalits agree to physical labour of laying the road as their contribution, while some willing upper castes would provide the financial resources to procure the raw material lest the government supplies might fall short. The combined effort results in

completion of a quarter of the road length within a day. Frightened by the pace of development, the conspiring upper castes implicate the most trusted of the Dalit community in robbery and succeed in persecuting him. This triggers violent caste conflict and once again the whole village splits on caste lines. The road is never finished. And the two communities vow not to come together again.

Parallel to this development, the story also discusses the denial of education to the Dalit children. Some of the disabling factors of Dalit development are the need for every family member to share the burden of earning money for the family due to their extreme poverty and the obligation of working for the landlords right from young age in compensation to the debts incurred by their parents and ancestors. This concept of Dalit education is dealt comprehensively in the story *Dhanya Jeevulu* (Liberated Lives). The village schoolteacher fails in his efforts to achieve any kind of understanding between the Dalits and the others of the village. The story ends with the schoolteacher staring at the unfinished road as a donkey grazes the scattered documents relating to the road. A mongrel expresses its opinion by barking at the schoolteacher.

Dhanya Jeevulu (Liberarted Lives) is about a conflict between an uneducated orthodox traditional Brahmin father and an educated modern, liberal son. This story is situated in the backdrop of educational reforms taken up by the new independent India in an age of growing industrial activity.

Even during the post-independence era, the father adheres to draconic castist practices, while the son mixes freely with the Dalits. This causes tension and anxiety in the village. Influenced by the call for equality and equal opportunity given by Congress Party, many educated youth took up the task of uplifting the Dalits of rural India. This process was never a smooth operation as it involved constant protests and threats from the upper castes. The upper castes went to the extent of excommunicating the social reformers who tried to disturb the very fabric of the society, no matter whether they are kin of the highly respected people of the community or immigrant social workers.

Venkata Sastry is an orthodox Brahmin who performs the duties of both priest and a mendicant. It is a common practice in villages where the priest of the village usually supplies Ayurvedic Medicines prepared by him (using some shoots, roots, nuts, flowers, leaves and barks) for minor ailments. The village acknowledges this fact and remunerates the Brahmin accordingly. While upper castes offer him Ghee and dairy produce, other farmers offer him grain and cereals. Other artisan communities offer him necessary tools and implements of daily use. The Brahmin accepts money from the Dalit community as remuneration simply because of the fact that he does not want to touch any thing that is given by the Dalits except money. Strangely the upper castes, including the Brahmins, believe that money – the symbol of goddess Lakshmi – is beyond untouchability. That is to say money is immune to untouchability and therefore, does not get defiled when stays in the Dalit possession. Sankar is the city-educated son of this Brahmin who believes that he has internalized Gandhian thought in his body and "'Gandhi runs in his

blood." He comes to his native village to find the deplorable living conditions of the Dalits. He attempts to admit Dalit children to the only school in the village to which all the upper caste children are sent. The village rejects to this idea and warns Sankar severely. He then proceeds to the Dalit colony and starts an open school. Dalits revere him as liberator and feel that he has come to their colony to redeem them of their educational bankruptcy. Sankar's growing popularity in Dalit sections of the village disturbs the traditional orthodoxy and they expel him from the upper caste community. Sankar on the contrary, tells them that it is he who is abandoning the upper caste for its monstrous views and not that he is been declared out caste for his anti-caste activities. Dalits provide a place for him to stay and Sankar continues to educate the Dalit children defying the castist orthodoxy. Gandhian concept of cottage industry and rural self-employment are also brought out in the story through Sankar's wife. She starts a loom which steers the Dalit community towards a new way of life. Most of the Dalits learn weaving and spinning cotton very fast owing to high motivational attitudes. This new knowledge is seen as a challenge by upper castes for two reasons – financial and authorial. The Dalits stopped loaning money from the upper castes and instead they were successfully doubling their earnings through the newly acquired skills. Dalits also showed less enthusiasm to work in the fields of the land lords as they found weaving more lucrative. This planted the seeds of Dalit autonomy in the village and upper castes grip on the Dalits started to ease. This led to new confrontations and new cultural patterns. The upper castes resorted to passive non-cooperation movement with the Dalits. That is

to name a few, when the Dalits wanted the help of a doctor, he was not available; when they wanted transport facilities for emergency purposes it was denied; all the Dalit debts were recovered with crude coercive methods; temple entry rules were strictly enforced to prevent Dalit entry. Despite these odds Dalits continued to struggle for equality while others plotted for inequality.

This story offers a classic view of Dalits about education. A common belief among Dalits is that the author of *Ramayana*, Valmiki is a Dalit as he belongs to the hill tribal community of *boya* (hunters) . Another belief is that the wife of highly educated and most powerful of sages—Sage Vasishta, Arundhati is a Dalit as she also belonged to a hill tribal community. This conclusions are drawn comparing the professions of Arundhati and Valmiki -- which are found to be Dalit in nature. Highlighting these points in the story *Dhanya Jeevulu*, Raamalakshmi says that while the Dalit literary past boasts of a famous Sanskrit epic poet, present day Dalits find it difficult even to complete their primary education. Her story also offers us the standard critique of materialism against untouchability. She points out: "Harijans are not untouchables. They are also human beings. They are our brethren. While we consume unhesitatingly the Dalit production, which they produce by their sweat and blood, we do not touch them. Then what is this untouchability? Who or What has taught us the practice of untouchability?" She concludes her story with reconciliation between the orthodox father and liberal son, reflecting on the changing society of early independent India. But one should

note that this reconciliation comes on the death bed of the father – Venkat Sastry. As long as he was alive did not leave a single stone unturned to deter the confidence of his son, Sankar. Then how could he change on the death bed. The argument of traditional Hindu thought might help us to understand this. Hindu's believe that no matter how many sins they commit during their life time, a self-reflexive confession of the soul (true-self) even at the time of death could purge them of their sin and guilt, issuing a confirmed passport to their trip to heaven. This might have been the case with Venkat Sastry apart from the ususal happy conclusion that "there is reconciliation between orthodoxy and liberal outlook" drawn by the essayist. Some other positive influences of Sankar on Dalit community were prevention of alcoholism, development of social hygiene and public cleanliness.

The doctrines of Marxism and their various implications appeared in Journals and pamphlets published by the activists who began to consolidate from the third decade of the twentieth century. The first significant literary work , biography of Karl Marx appeared in Malayalam in 1912. The first Indian Communist conference was held in Kanpur in 1925 with the formation of Labour Swaraj Party. Soon, Marx was translated into all regional languages and a parallel freedom movement developed strongly on communist lines. While the freedom movement developed on the lines of congress depicted upper caste domination and upper caste ideology, with open practice of untouchability and the like, the left movement precisely addressed these questions and developed a parallel formation with emphasis on equality.

While the Congress party devoted more time on freedom struggle and less time to internal reform, the left movement made a balanced approach to the peculiar problematic. The Indian war of independence is peculiar in the sense that the upper castes were unwilling to fight along side the Dalits. This soon became a national issue and several leaders made conscious efforts to persuade the upper castes. The exploitative politics witnessed by the Dalits found an easy outlet in leftist revolutionary movement while, it took a back seat in the movement led by Congress. The radical element of left revolutionary ideology of "eye-for-an-eye" and "punish the offender" attracted Dalits in a great way. Lectures on industrial revolution, growth of the proletariat and American war of equality have made great impact on the Dalits. Dalits extended the concept even further to accommodate caste politics and believed that exploitation could be answered by violence against the perpetrators. These two approaches, namely the Gandhian approach and the Marxist approach confused rural India to a very great extent. While politically Gandhian ideology was regarded as congress or nationalist approach, Marxist ideology was regarded as Communist or Revolutionary approach. Gandhi's open ban on revolutionary formations in cooperation with British Raj have even worsened the situation. Though there was a political ban on the left organizations inflicting capital and corporeal punishment on the members of the organization in public places, the revolutionary movement did not die. People continued to form secret organizations and the struggle continued. The impact of this on Dalit movement and literature was very vehement. It was this movement that made Dalits understand the exploitative relations of

economy. The relationship of producer and the consumer were depicted in a more clear and simple way which made Dalits to think about the problematic of oppression. The failure of Gandhian ideology in bringing about social equality forced the Dalits to search for an alternative in the form of violent revolution. Dalit stories written during this period depict a different Dalit ideology. While most of the stories dealing with Gandhian ideology end on an apolegetic note that despite several initiatives taken by the liberals to eradicate untouchability, the traditional upper caste orthodoxy successfully thwarted them by making new alliances and devising new forms of coercion. Few of the other stories end with a ray of hope for a positive tomorrow where Dalit victims dream of a socially equal status for their kids. Failure of Gandhianism encouraged the Dalits to experiment with Marxism, though not completely but in parts. There is a common tendency observable in communist movements to treat the party and its bosses with a kind of millenarian fideism, as if they were to be revered as providence itself or the deliverers of the just. Most of the village communist movements were lead by secret leaders who led the masses in their confrontation with the upper castes. This has its own problems maintains Gramsci:

> In our party, we have had another aspect of the danger to lament: the withering of all individual activity; the passivity of mass members; the stupid confidence that there is always somebody else who is thinking and taking care of everything. Disturbed by their condition of absolute inferiority, lacking any constitutional education, the masses abdicated completely all sovereignty and all power. The organization became identified for them with the organizer as an individual, just as for an army in the field the individual commander becomes the protector of the safety of all, the guarantor of success and victory.[16]

This approach has several faults, for example, the individuals by not expressing themselves clearly are not certain of what they want and what their fight is about; or they resort to idolatry by 'deitifying' the leader of the group and become helpless in his/her absence. Also there is another possibility of the leader turning manipulative as a consequence. Bordieu says that those who dominate the movement with political motives or *instituted political interests* end up imposing their own interests as the interests of those whom they represent.

> And yet nothing demonstrates unambiguously that the interests of the representatives, thus universalized and ratified by the plebiscite, do not coincide with the unexpressed interests of the individuals represented, since the former hold a monopoly of the instruments of production of the political (that is, politically expressed and recognized) interests of the latter – nothing except that form of active abstention that is rooted in revolt against a two fold impotence: an impotence with regard to politics and all the purely serial actions it proposes, and an impotence with regard to the political apparatus.[17]

Several short stories depict the problematic discussed above. Due to their lack of constitutional education, basic literacy and an awareness of fundamental human rights, the Dalits become easy prey in the hands of conscious manipulators. Though there is internal hierarchy and social stratification within the Dalit community, which is as heterogeneous as the caste system in general, the group is united by some form of collusion. It is fundamentally imperative to maintain discretion about a community's concerns, the intimate beliefs of the group. The collusive form that unites the Dalits is constituted of their 'consciousness' subjection. This concept is exploited by all instruments of political production. While the nationalists

tried to indoctrinate right wing Hindu ideology in the name of equality threatened by the growth of Church, communists found cadres for their gorilla warfare. Let us return to some more short stories.

Pavulu Paamulugaa Maarina Vela (A Time When Pawns Turned Snakes) and *Jeevanaadulu* (Pulse of Life) portray the revolutionary trend in Dalit movement. With independence rural Indian configuration underwent dramatic changes. The implementation of Panchayat system of governance, initiation of democratic processes like election, etc. and the publicity of Government Orders regarding Dalit issues have re-defined the political formations in the villages. It is common practice for the political contests of the village to organize public speeches from expert city orators to make an impact on the public. While some claimed to be followers of Gandhi displaying mug-shot photos posing with Gandhians clad in 'Khadis', others claimed to be genuine leftists, the representation of alternative leadership. As was discussed earlier, during elections, it is common for the contenders to display their socioeconomic might and popularity in their electoral constituency. This they do by gathering large following of well built youth, usually from one section of Dalit community. The political contesters also resort to pre-election and post-election violence as part of their fear-psychosis programme, the idea being the most violent is the most suitable candidate. Both these stories have elections as their backdrop. The Dalits were usually proud of the fact that at least they had some role to play in the society and stood by the side of upper caste people.

The first story *A Time When Pawns Turned Snakes* opens with Dalit mockery of the upper caste: "What on earth is wrong? Why do the upper castes want to talk to us? Why are they using honorofics too? Oh! Oh! The elections are round the corner! Huh! Huh! Huh!" These lines sum up the general relation between the Dalit and the upper castes. The two political contenders for the Reddipalem Presidentship, Sooranna and Narasaiah are also the two powerful landlords in the village in whose fields most of the Dalits work. While Narasaiah is the sitting president of the village, Sooranna is an ambitious contender. Both of them come from the same upper caste Reddy lineage. The election canvassing is portrayed in the following way. The first phase involves the gathering of human resources for displaying the popularity in a public rally. Therefore, all the farmhands of the contestant should volunteer to participate in the rally failing which they will not be allowed to work any more in the fields of the contestant and those friendly with him. So, not by choice, but by obligation the farm labourers assemble at the political candidate's house. The second part of the procedure is the merry-making or display of large-heartedness and magnanimity of the contestant. Therefore, a dining camp is organized for about two or three days to feed the general public. Care is taken as to arrange the camp as nearer to the election date as possible so that the memory of the sponsor lingers in the minds of the voters. The third and final stage of the pre-election campaign is the actual rally in which some handpicked strong youth pick up a quarrel with the rival rally as they pass each other. This is important to demonstrate the physical might and power of the contestant. Therefore, selected youth carry weapons of assault

and necessary instruments to carry out a riot. However, the modalities and strategies of the quarrel remains a close guarded secret to induce an element of shock and surprise to the opponents who are prepared for it. This is followed by post-election rally consisting of same three phases but with different purpose. The post election rally which takes place soon after the election results are declared is to thank the public for their support, to humiliate the looser and punish the rivals. C. S. Rao's *Paavulu Paamuluga Marinavela* depict these aspects very critically. It is ironic that both the Dalits and the upper castes know that there is exploitation and manipulation. But none of them seem to bother. The communists best exploit this hazy area of mutual understanding and tacit acknowledgement. For the first time, communists made the Dalits realize their physical strength and the potential of this power. They were made to understand that the same power, which is exploited by the upper castes, could be used as a weapon against the upper caste to achieve equality. While doing so, the communists were also criticizing the Gandhian approach, which they claim has led to such a situation. Empowered with the communist indoctrination and the knowledge of physical power, the Dalit seeks an occasion to implement it. The presence of communists in the society and their modus operandi is not unknown to the upper castes either. They prepare for this eventuality also. In this story, the clash between rival parties takes place resulting in the murder of an innocent child. This event is soon transformed into a political instrument and a new discursive is initiated. While the factions to which the dead child belongs wants to take out a procession displaying the dead-body as an object of rival faction's violence,

the perpetrators of offence file a case of mob attack from their rivals. The communists want the Dalit following of the two factions to reconcile at least after the death of an innocent child and force their common anger against the upper castes instead of holding each other from within their community responsible for the act. Driven by blind sense of loyality and pleased by the free supply of liquor, the Dalit followers do not reconcile. It is interesting to note that both the candidates for president ship have chosen to represent the same political party – Congress. The turmoil and chaos in the village triggers interference from the state executive of the party. The high command successfully diffuses the tension between the rival contestants by promising alternative administrative positions to the loser. The two rivals reconcile and to the surprise of the Dalit community parade together in the village in a self-congratulation for diffusing the tension in the village. The communists once again see an opportunity to implement their ideology. This time they succeed. The whole Dalit community goes up in arms against the upper castes. This new consciousness in Dalit has changed the discursive formation of the villages. The hatred towards upper caste practices was also extended to the dominant religion, which was attacked extensively by Marxists as the source of such discrimination. These factors made the Dalits re-evaluate their spatio-temporal dimensions in the society. Thus the seeds of Dalit militancy were sown. The bedrock of distrust and hatred towards dominant caste and religious practice initiated the Dalit quest for a new or alternative identity.

Thus the structure of political field which, being subjectively inseparable from the direct – and always declared – relation to those who are represented, determines the stances taken, through the intermediary of the constraints and interests associated with a given position in a field. That is to say, the political problematic as a field of strategic possibilities objectively offers to the choice of agents in the form of positions that are actually occupied and stances that are actually proposed in the field. The fact that every political field tends to organize around the opposition between two poles should not lead us to forget that the recurrent properties of doctrines or groups are situated in positions that are polar opposites. For example, the party in favour of change and the party of law and order; progressive and conservative; left and right; etc. are invariants that could be realized in relation to a given field. Bourdieu says,

> ...the acts of theatricalization through which groups exhibit themselves ... constitute the elementary form of objectification and, at the same time, the conscious realization of the principles of division according to which these groups are objectively organized and through which the perception that they have of themselves is organized....It is in this respect that representative institutions no doubt underlie the most fundamental representations, mental or objective, of the nation and its fundamental structure.[18]

Thus, certain recurrent oppositions, such as the one established between the libertarian tradition and the authoritarian tradition, are merely the transcription, on the level of ideological struggles, of the fundamental contradiction within the revolutionary movement, which is forced to resort to discipline and authority. The interests of unorganized Dalit masses have no chance of gaining access to political representation unless those interests

become a weapon and a stake in the struggle. In certain states of the political field, two things arranged against each other what Bourdieu calls, "spontaneism and centralism"[19]. While the spontaneous impulses of the least organized factions may lead to ultra-revolutionary volunteerism pushing the action beyond the boundaries of the organization, centralism develops a mechanism of control of the party organization thereby, controls the Dalit community and its struggle. These phases are best demonstrated in Dalit literature save in any other form of modern Indian literature.

In the story *Jeevanaadulu* (Pulse of Life), Santinarayan narrates a similar plot through different events and characters. In this story, continuous exploitation of Dalits with disregard to their individual demands of life prompt the Dalits to take up arms against the upper caste. Though many communists with revolutionary ideologies were branded as violent and banned during 1930s and 1950s, in the light of Gandhi's non-violence, Marxism as a revolutionary movement was being propagated in a secret way in India. The Dalit community formed the real testing ground for various ideologies. This story begins with the issue of Dalit marriage. (We have seen the implications of a Dalit marriage on the society in *Pullamraju.*) This story while depicting the success of a rare Dalit also demonstrates the general attitude of the society towards a successful Dalit. Due to extreme poverty most of the Dalits prefer physical labour to education, as menial work would help them to contribute in some way or other to the family. Even if a Dalit is sent to school, (s)he is humiliated and haunted by the caste stigma. By the time one reaches the high

school stage, we hardly find any Dalits at all in the school. Under these circumstances, Santanarayan introduces a Dalit son-in-law, Kullayappa who works as a clerk in the District Courts of Anantapur. The Bride's father works at the village landlord's house as a chief-slave or head-slave (the concept being, if there is more than one labourer working at any time, then one among them is chosen as the head of the group who interacts on behalf of the group with the employees). Recognition as a head-slave is regarded as prestigeous by the Dalits. And usually such a Dalit is also regarded as a representative of his sub-caste. This story also describes the misuse of public property by the influential upper caste in the villages. For example it is usual for the upper castes to borrow chairs, benches and other furniture from the school for their personal purposes like marriage, meetings, death, etc as hiring furniture would involve some financial expenditure, while artisan community like blacksmiths, carpenters and weavers are also expected to extend their help. Gangadu, the Dalit bride's father, approaches the schoolteacher to borrow the furniture on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. He is made to run from pillar to post, from one house to the other for two days and ultimately is denied of any help on the ground of customary practice. The upper castes emphasized that it is not customary for a Dalit to avail oneself of this facility while it is the custom to do so in respect of upper castes. Infuriated, he returns home. To mock at the village non-cooperation, he hires decent furniture. This upsets the village pulse. All the upper castes treat this as an act of insolence that calls in for corporeal punishment. While appropriate grounds for punishment are explored, Gangadu makes the task easier by announcing that he requires a

two-day leave to perform his daughters marriage. His landlord refuses to give him leave. Somehow the ordeal of marriage is completed. The upper castes not only prevent the married couple from taking out a procession (*baraat*) but also insult and humiliate them. The educated employed Dalit bridegroom (who works in district court as a clerk) publicly condemns the mockery for the first time in that village and denounces inequality. Gangadu ponders aloud: "Isn't this what our comrades have been urging us to do for quite some time? – To come openly and denounce the inhuman treatment and if necessary to take up arms against this evil." The Dalits realize that tolerance and submissiveness are regarded as inability by the upper castes. Immediately a militant vengeance over comes the Dalit community and the story ends with the chief-slave leading a rebellion against the landlords and upper caste armed with sticks and sickles.

Goddallaki Padunu Pettali (Sharpen the Axes!) is a story which goes beyond the Marxist framework. Inspired by the revolutionary ideology propagated by comrades in the village, few Dalits experimented its tenets. While some Dalits demanded upper castes to practice equality, some others abused the upper caste on a tit-for-tat basis. This story talks about the violent reaction of a Dalit husband whose wife was sexually harassed by an upper caste farmer. The husband of the victim chops off the head of the offensive farmer in broad daylight. This frightens the upper caste men who file a case in the court. The Dalit husband openly challenges the upper castes threatening them of murderous consequences if they stand witness against the Dalit. He

says: "All along we have restrained and controlled ourselves. But your behaviour has forced us to take drastic steps. You are responsible for this crime. I have killed one and I shall kill many. The punishment would be the same for a person who murders one or ten. If you put me away another will take up my position." This worked miracles on the upper caste security and they lose the case against the Dalits due to lack of evidence implicating the Dalit offender. This victory of the Dalit prompts other Dalits to flaunt their axes in public and control the exploiters in a violent way. There are very few stories in this category which actually portray the violent nature of Dalits. Most of the stories end with a call for united violence against the atrocities perpetrated on them but do not detail the modus operandi of such violence.

4.2.3 Symbolic Power of Education

Education was denied to the Dalits till late 1930's in the name of religion. Quoting instances from the *Vedas* and *Puranas*, education was made the exclusive domain of Brahmins with regulated allowances to the upper castes. The British educational policy has changed this situation facilitating education to all. Invariably educators continued to be largely Brahmins with a small representation from other upper caste communities. This resulted in Brahminising the educational system with strong emphasis on religion and Sanskrit. For example, every school, every day has to begin with a Sanskrit 'sloka' (Verse) praising the Muse of Education and other Gods. This

percolation of Brahminism into the educational system made it very difficult for the pre Gandhian India to accommodate Dalits. However a considerable change has come with the introduction of Gandhian form of education where self-sufficiency is also taught as an integral course in the curriculum. By self-sufficiency Gandhi meant ability of a person to take care of all his personal, social needs including washing of clothes, scrubbing of utensils, cleaning of toilets and so on. This idea has to be taught in the schools of colonial India, which is shortly to wage a war of Independence as part of nationalist and patriotic consciousness developing programme. Most of the rural upper caste children were discouraged by their parents to clean the toilets and hold a broom while making it clear to the schoolteacher not to engage them in such activities. Dalit students became the obvious choice. Most of the schools of that time, admitted few Dalit children exclusively to take care of cleanliness of the school and other related activities. However, it is interesting to find from the Dalit stories analyzed that the schoolteachers were the first to react to any political ideology. Gandhian way of living was introduced to the villagers through schoolteachers, so was the Marxist thought. Most of the schoolteachers in the period that immediately precedes the war of independence and succeeds it performed multiple roles in the village community. While most of the administrative roles like, Village President, Secretary, Panchayat President, etc. roles were held by the upper caste landlords, social functions which required a degree of educational awareness like, postal service, library service, etc. were performed by the school teachers in villages. Except for two or three stories, most of the Dalit stories analyzed

portrayed the schoolteacher as a facilitator of Dalit movement by imparting Gandhian and Marxist Ideologies into Dalit consciousness. All most all the stories convey that poverty and untouchability denied educational access to the Dalits. By looking at the schoolteachers, who were often consulted by the rich upper caste sections to interpret necessary information, as symbolic power in the society, Dalits made attempts to educate themselves. Some stories depict the pain and sacrifice made by the Dalit parents to educate their children. Dalits viewed education as symbolic power – a power that guarantees equality by breaking the burden of slavery; that issues a passport to the city; a power that enables political participation. In short, to them, education is a symbolic power that can change Dalit identity. Let us consider the stories *Paakeedi* (Scavenger or to be precise Night-soil Disposer), *Edi Gamyam?* (Where is the Destiny?) and *Achiraale Ayudhaalu* (Words are Weapons). Anisetti Subbarao brings out the basic reasons for Dalit literacy and narrates the extent to which Dalits go to facilitate education to their children. His *Paakeedi* is a touching narrative of a Dalit women who overcomes several obstacles in an exploitative and discriminatory society in educating her only son. Paakeedi (derived from the name of the profession 'Paakipani' which means in Telugu 'scavenging the night soil,') is a Dalit widowed mother. Though her name is Machi, no body in the village calls her by that name, not even her community members. If at all any one did it was her husband. She is 'Paakeedi' for the whole village, a term often used by the upper caste as a slur and abuse to discipline their wards. The narrator explains the menial tasks performed by the lady in a very sensitive way. This

story is situated in late 1940s rural India, where public sanitation was in its worst form. There were no sanitary latrines and toilettes owing to the fact that most of the rural Indians address their nature calls by relieving themselves in the village outskirts close to irrigational water sources or paddy fields, of course, obviously divided on gender lines (which can be seen even today in some parts of rural Andhra Pradesh). The advent of colonial tradition has a remarkable impact in this field where the concept of sanitary facility inside a house gained popularity. The system in vogue in rural India for both public and private sanitation was similar to that of Ancient Roman system, which requires manual disposal of waste. Every village has only one or two families who take it up as a profession and these families are regarded as the lowest of the low within the Dalit communities. If education is in accessible to the child of a farm Dalit labour who is comparatively at the highest level in the Dalit hierarchy, how can she think about her son's education. Machi also takes care of the maintenance of school toilettes. She comes across a liberal school teacher who admits her son into the school. The Dalit community warns of her doing so and says that the time is not ripe for them to go to school. Her brother-in-law disapproves of this and says that scavenging is the right profession for the boy and that he should follow the profession of his father. Disregard to the community's advise leads to ridicule from the community. Braving this, Machi trains her son not to get angry and irritated by the castist slurs hurled at him in school and coaxes him to continue education no matter how ever serious the humiliation he may have to face. Ignorantly, her son, Koti, develops friendship with upper caste officer's kid, Nagu. Parents of both

the kids detect the dangerous consequences and try to control the development of intimacy between the two boys. The narrator here portrays the language used by the officer and scavenger to bring out the ideologies of the two professions. Briefly, while the officer uses harsh language abusing and portraying the Dalit boy as a social evil which has to be kept outside his son's life, the scavenger uses a persuasive tone describing the superior qualities of the officer's son in terms of economy, status and mobility which should be the target to be achieved in his son's life. She further says that it can be achieved only when one focuses on studies with dedication ignoring other societal obstacles and hurdles that come in one's way. Ignoring their parents, the two kids develop deep bond of friendship. Soon the friendship among the two boys develops into a social problematic which the village has to address. While the officer was ridiculed by upper caste of allowing his son to align with Dalits, the Dalit was praised by his community of finding a good friend but advised him not to sustain it as it may lead to other problems. The innocence of childhood is soon replaced by the knowledge of castism. One fine day, the lone Dalit boy in the school was beaten severely by the school teacher and was asked never to return to school again. Machi suspects that there could be some problem, but it wouldn't be as serious as it involved innocent children below the age of seven. Shocked and grief stricken, she goes to the school and begs the teacher to readmit her son. The liberal teacher takes a detour from his earlier position and uses castist language. Her pleads go in vain and she returns home shattered. When Koti tries to talk to Nagu, near the sweet-meat shop in the corner of the street where a many evenings

they shared goodies with each other on their way back from school, he goes away without responding to the call. Koti observes that his friend's face is pale and sorrowful. Koti goes back to his house to find that his mother is distraught and tormented. He tries to cajole her but her sorrow gushes out uncontrolled. Machi's brother-in-law mocks at her and tells her to prepare her son to take up scavenging the next morning. She tells her son to be prepared for the next morning to go out with his uncle to clean the toilets, which was received by Koti with face expressive of an unsolved puzzle. The story ends with the note that Machi went into a deep sleep unconscious of her body.

While there are several stories portraying the Dalit struggle for education at various stages, it can be said that all these stories are connected by a single thematic unity – untouchability and poverty as the cause of denial of education to Dalits. Let us look at a different theme, which questions the government policies regarding educational scholarships. The short story by K. Enoch criticizes the scholarship policy of the Government of Andhra Pradesh and Government of India in general. The story revolves around three postgraduate student friends Ravi, Ramu and the narrator. The narrator is a Dalit while Ramu and Ravi are from upper caste families. Ravi and Ramu are at the two ends of an economic continuum in the upper caste strata, with Ravi at the wealthier side and Ramu at the poorer side. Ravi's parents are rich landlords while Ramu's father is an office assistant in some state government department. This story tries to draw a parallel between the poor of the upper caste and Dalits in the educational institutions. Ravi and Ramu are hostel

roommates, a room which mirrors the economic differences of the two inmates with lavish luxurious furnishings in one half of the room mocking at the rags and inadequate set up in the other corner. Ramu is good and studies well and is shown as a clever and practical student in contrast to flirtatious and 'I-care-two-hoots' attitude of Ravi. Ramu practically takes care of all academic requirements of Ravi, like writing assignments, briefing on the topics taught in the classroom, etc, while Ravi gallivants about the city on his motorcycle. Ramu also takes care of maintenance of Ravi's clothes and belongings by sending them and collecting them from laundry, etc. The narrator, identifies himself with Ramu and brings out an interesting representation of poor upper cast substituting for the Dalit subject of the past. This story is situated in the early seventies where Dalit movement was at its peak following the Ambedkarite movement. The non-availability of handyman to the rich upper caste (assuming that they are dependent on handymen to take care of their lives for centuries, then) reconfigured the upper caste relations on economic lines. In other words, the caste relations prevalent till the Gandhian era were replaced by the economic relations of a developing neo-modern capitalist society of the Ambedkarite era. The story goes on to demonstrate through Ramu, the presence of subservient attitude and unquestioning loyalities, which were key Dalit characteristics of the pre-Gandhian era, in the economically deprived sections of the society. The narrator identifies himself with Ramu and shows extreme regard to him while rejecting Ravi vehemently. The story also makes a statement about the contemporary society which transferred the subjugation patterns to the newly formed economically deprived classes across

the caste barriers in the absence of a submissive Dalit community. The Government's failure to recognize the economically backward among the upper castes is criticized by denying scholarship to Ramu on the grounds that his father was a government servant and sanctioning scholarship to Ravi on the grounds that his parents are unemployed and from agricultural background. This infuriates the narrator. Meanwhile, the state government changes and an inquiry into the allotment of scholarship reveals the misappropriation of funds and sanctions to ineligible students. The scholarships are denied to people like Ravi, who formed a majority of the recipients. Ignoring the warnings from Dalit students and students from economically weaker sections Ravi leads a stone-throwing agitation causing damage to public property. Police are called into the scene and the situation gets out of control leading to police-firing. Noticing a policeman targeting Ravi, Ramu jumps to his rescue and dies of bullet injuries. The agitation comes to a stand still and the story ends with the narrator musing over the differences between Ramu's of the present and his ancestors, while Ravi goes insane. If we try to compare this story with the stories discussed earlier, we find the traits of submission and unflinching loyalties shown by the Dalits even at the time of death threats to the landlords during factional fights. The narrators makes us believe that the exploitative politics of upper caste did not extinct with the changing discursive formations, but only have identified a new transcendental subject across the castes—the economically weak.

Another story, *Achiraale Ayudhalu* (Words are Weapons) collected and edited by Endluri Sudhakar makes a different narrative from the above two. While stressing on the importance of Dalit education, this modern story goes on to apply the standard Dalit question – While we are ostracized and alianated from society as untouchables and no one dare touch us or sit by our side, how can our produce be fit for consumption by the upper caste? 1970's and 1980's Indian educational scenario witnessed a change in its organizational structure paving way for Dalit academicians and educators through the policy of constitutional reservations. The story questions the paradoxical situation in which the material produce of the Dalits is acceptable while the producer is not. Some of the questions raised are -- Do the upper castes stop attending schools if they are taught by a Dalit? Do they refuse to learn from a Dalit teacher? Do they not get treatment from a Dalit Mediacal practitioner? etc. The story goes on to raise these questions through the dialogues between two Dalit friends; a villager and a convent educated when they meet after a long time at the banks of a village pond. The story concludes on the note that it is only through education that Dalits will achieve their equality and for a Dalit education if not just what it may mean to any other upper caste, is a 'weapon of social power'.

Most of the other short stories that deal with education as their theme are variations of the ideas – economic, social and political – with variations in character sketches and locations and minor variations in situational settings.

4.2.4. Social Emancipation and Representation of Self

According to Ralph Ellisson,

> perhaps the ideal approach to the work of literature would be one allowing for insight into the deepest psychological motives of the writer at the same time that it examined all external sociological factors operating within a given milieu. For, while objectively a social reality, the work of art is, in its genesis, a projection of a deeply personal process, and any approach that ignores the personal at the expense of the social is necessarily incomplete.[20]

This gives us a better starting point to search for the themes of self and emancipation in Dalit literature. We can extend Toni Morrison's idea of Black author to Dalit writer and say that the writerly imagination of a Dalit writer who is at some level always conscious of representing one's own caste to, or in spite of, a caste of readers that understands itself to be universal or caste free? In other words, how is "literary brahminism" and "literary Dalitism" made, and what is the consequence of that construction.[21]

While we cannot gain direct access to the inner worlds of the writers, we can detect and analyze the traces of emotional meaning left behind in their texts. Given the persistence of caste discrimination and the demand for Dalit literature to identify and revolt against it, the impulse to make the representation of such oppression the primary critical criterion for a Dalit text is understandable. Under these circumstances, Dalit literature evolves to prove that caste-discrimination exists in the real world and is not a figment of Dalit imagination. Therefore, Dalit literature focus on the parameters of the

negative, casteist and patriarchal boundaries which traditionally define untouchables and dares to step outside of them so as to understand their own individuality, worth and ability. There is no wonder then that the unremitting trauma of the Dalits demands an unending supply of stories about the victims of untouchability.

Dalit stories repeatedly inscribe the negative effects of caste system on Dalit characters. While majority of the stories describe the various modes of exploitation by the upper castes, few other stories suggest to over come this exploitation. These suggestions varied with the progression of time and the change in the ideological formations of that time. As the analysis of the stories is restricted to those written during the period from 1910 to1998, the researcher elaborated the ideological movements of Indian during that period in Chapter 3 namely, Pre-Gandhian, Gandhian, Marxist/Communist, Ambedkarite and post-Ambedkarite.

The ideological effect of Ambedkar on Dalits contributed to the idea of Dalit consciousness and heralded a movement of alternative political awareness in India. A self-empowering, vibrant, reconstructionist world view emphasized the potential role of Dalit initiative and responsibility in articulating the power of the powerless. The post-Ambedkarite Dalit Movement of the 1960s and 1970s was one of the most significant developments in India, not only because of the self-confident protest and rebellion that it unleashed but also because of the question it posed about the

nature of oppositional politics in India and its relation to the nature of Hindu society.

The stories written during the pre-Gandhian period presented detailed description of atrocities committed by the upper castes on Dalits, with the Dalit resigning his/her fate and surrendering meekly at the hands of exploiters as he/she had no other choice. Centuries of exclusionary practices led to what might be described as the inferiorization of Dalits: Dalits are portrayed as innately inferior, accustomed to dehumanized living, sexually promiscuous, intellectually limited, and prone to violence. As Dalits were black in complexion they are also associated with evil, demise, chaos, corruption, and filth.

Madigavadu (Madiga Man) asserts that Dalit way of living is the best way of living. In this story, the King himself in search for the secret of happiness finds that Dalit way of living is the happiest way as Dalits do not have the right to property. Since wealth is the root cause of misery and Dalit has no wealth, he is happy. The king abandons his kingdom, turns into a cobbler and finds happiness in life. This story makes an interesting inquiry into the search for identity of a Dalit. As we know that identity, representation and ideology can never exist independently of one another; this pre 1920's short story is an assertion of Dalit compromise with their economic condition. This story was situated in the spatio-temporal dimensions of colonial India witnessing disintegration of aristocracy and liberation of newly formed

capitalist forces. This is a radical story suggestive of the emancipatory quest of Buddha, of course, in a different way who denounced all his worldly luxuries and material prosperity to realize 'Nirvana' or the ultimate bliss or ecstacy.

Gukkedu Neellu (Gulp of Water) a story written in 1932 by Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao, portrays the concept of 'eternal justice' or 'Divine justice'. It's a story that begins with unwarranted abuse of a Dalit, Venkatappa by a Brahmin housewife, Mahalakshmamma. It is common place in villages for the orthodox Brahmin women to go to the village pond in wet clothes, soon after their bath, to fetch drinking water. Mahalakshmamma on her way back from the pond sees a Venkatappa waiting on the roadside and shouts at him to give way for her. Pre-occupied, the Dalit doesn't respond and this angers the Brahmin woman. She complains about this to her husband, who in turn, with the help of village landlord severely punishes the Dalit. The Dalit feels that the physical violence perpetrated to his body was not warranted as there was enough room for the Brahmin lady to walk past him on the road. Venkatappa prays to god to punish the guilty. After a couple of months, cholera epidemic breaks out in the village and the husband of Mahalakshmamma succumbs to the viral infection. Before his death, the Brahmin confesses to his wife that the sickness, which might lead to his untimely death, might be the result of his orthodox brutal attitude towards the untouchables. No villager comes to the rescue of this Brahmin couple fearing contamination and communicability of the disease. This stance of the upper

caste continues even after the death of the Brahmin. No where to go, Mahalakshmamma requests Venkatappa to help her in cremating the dead body and he accepts. The funeral process is done as per Brahmin custom and to the fulfillment of Mahalakshmamma. She feels greatly indebted to the Dalit. A few days later when Venkatappa becomes the victim of cholera, she goes to his house, and helps him to recover from the illness, despite ban from the upper caste community, in compensation to the help he extended to her. The Dalit miraculously recovers but Mahalakshmamma gets the contagious infection. Once again the upper caste villagers isolate the Brahmin widow's house spreading rumours that violation of orthodox practices has infected her with cholera. Venkatappa comes to know about this and he immediately rushes to the brahmin's house. Mahalakshmamma on her death bed asks Venkatappa to pour a gulp of water with balsam leaves so that she can die peacefully. The Dalit is surprised and taken aback. Here it is important for us to note that the offering balsam water (Tulasi teerth) to the person about to die is of most importance to the upper caste Hindu community. The belief is that Balsam plant is divine and hence the extract helps the soul in its heavenly journey. However, this offering of Balsam water has to be done only by the next to kin of the dead, for example, the immediate relations—son in the case of father, father in the case of son, husband in the case of wife, etc. Usually women are not allowed to perform death rites in Upper caste Hindu communities. The Dalit is given the status of a Brahmin son. Therefore, he carries out the death rites of the Brahmin widow. However, it is interesting to note that the general movement and pattern of assimilation of the Dalits was

towards the dominant Hindu religion, which is also responsible for the exploitation of Dalits. This was felt necessary at a time when Christian Missionaries were very actively exploiting the untouchability issue in India.

Another story *Eramma* written at a time when Gandhian influence was at its peak in every aspect of Indian life, portrays the problematic of Dalit health. As the Dalits are untouchables, there is clear discrimination on part of the local mendicants who happen to be Brahmins in most of the villages in dispensing with the treatment. This often results in the death of several Dalit children. ***Eramma*** is a motherless young Dalit girl of 13 suffering from severe fever. The only mendicant in the village – a Brahmin refuses to treat the child as she is a Dalit and her father cannot pay cash for the medicine. Her father pleads him in vain trying to remunerate the Brahmin with a pair of high-class footwear. Rama Rao, an educated liberal young man from the upper caste, claiming to be a disciple of Gandhi, moved by the plight, helps the Dalit father to admit the child in a hospital and also offers him enough money to buy medicines and ration for a few days. The Dalit with utter humility, keeping aside his self-respect and dignity accepts the money. To the Dalits accepting charity tantamount to begging which is worse than death by starvation. The Dalit father quickly becomes conscious of the upper caste discursive framework, which oppressed the Dalit for centuries with brutal force and violence is now trying to pursue the 'carrot-and-stick' policy. It is the upper castes who have made the life of Dalits miserable, then why should a Dalit accept alms from the very oppressor? But his 'practical reason' over

come the 'pure reason' and he accepts the money offered by Rama Rao with watery eyes. This story demonstrates the pain and suffering of Dalits and their social condition. This story is positioned in the light of Gandhian movement. Ironically Gandhian movement of untouchability has its own paradoxes and contradictions. For example, all the upper caste were asked to treat the Dalits 'sympathetically.' While the Dalits want their fundamental human rights to be protected, will sympathetic treatment from the upper castes guarantee them equality. This concept of 'pity' and 'sympathy' backlashed on the Gandhian ideology in the sense that it aroused a sense of humiliation and self-degradation in Dalits. Subsequent Dalit movements vehemently denounced these concept of mercy and sympathy as castist and appropriative. Dalit ideology does not subscribe to the notion that their cultural conditioning should invite charity. It rather asserts that what they need is the access to the fundamental rights of a citizen in an independent democratic nation state.

The Dalit stories written during the Ambedkarite phase demonstrate two important characteristic traits of Dalit consciousness – constitutional equality and religious identity. We have already discussed in chapter 3 about Ambedkar and his views on Hinduism. The description of religious inequality and religious sanctions or restrictions on the Dalits of the pre-Ambedkartie phase are replaced by aggressive search for religious identity of the Dalits with two alternatives – Buddhism and Christianity.

Paschadbhumi (Wretched Earth) is a story where the upper caste Hindus harass the Dalits on every and any given occasion. Frustrated by debarring entry into the temple and infuriated by the disavowal of religious Rights Dalits get attracted towards alternative religions. They search for a suitable priest to initiate them into Budhism, but they do not find any. They plead the Imam to offer them Islam, but Imam rejects them on the ground that they are pork-eaters. Ultimately a Christian pastor accepts them into the fold of Christianity giving them long lectures about equality, love for one another and camaraderie.

Ayyopaapam (What a Pity) is an autobiographical story of a newly married, young Dalit woman. The woman with her husband is on a visit to her bed-ridden sick mother's village on foot in the peak summer season. They feel thirsty and approach the "Water Serving Centres" (It is a common practice in every village to serve water to the general public through small facilities at important places in the village) of the villages only to find that Dalits cannot drink water from them. With heat soaring above, and parched tongues the couple go begging from door to door for water. Instead of their thirst being quenched, they are either scorned at or abused. Famished and ravished the young couple collapse under a tree on the village outskirts. A Moslem who was rushing to attend his nature calls gets suspicious and approaches the couple. To his shock he finds that they are on the verge of death and offers them water from his pitcher, which saves their lives. This and other stories represent the influence of Ambedkar on the Dalits. They address the question

of unbearable burden of dominant religion. For how long can one be a humiliated member of an imposed religious formation--Hinduism? At the time when religious sentiments ran high and communal tensions gripped the Indo-Pak division, with the right wing nationalist patriotic portrayal of Muslim as an offender and Islam as an offensive religion, these stories goes on to throw light on the human nature of this subverted religion. We know that ideologies are constructs that are derived from the socio, economic, political, historic and cultural contexts. This further highlights the search for a new Dalit identity resulting in mass conversions to non-Hindu religions, chiefly Christianity.

Other stories like *MarpukuMaargam* (Path to Change), *Siluva Vesina Manushulu* (Crucified Men), *Veli* (Outcast), etc. deal with religion. Each story gives out a strong social reason that forces the Dalits of the villages to change their religious identity. Ilaiah in his article on 'Why I am Not a Hindu' argues that Dalits were both beef and pork eaters. We might assume that the anti-pork Moghal rulers might have tried to curtail the Dalit practice of pork eating just as the right wing nationalists tried to dissuade them from eating beef.

While displaying their religious configurations, the short stories also capture the radical transformations of Dalit consciousness. It can be generalized that the initial resignation of Dalit subject has been reformulated into organized counter attacks in the form of militant violence of verbal abuse. The stories that display Dalit resignation to their miserable fate of humiliation,

written mostly during the pre-Gandhian period contain descriptive passages of torture and corporal damage leading to death.

Yetti (Labour) is a story, which condemns the inhuman nature of the upper castes in a different context. The author, Damodar Rao draws parallels between an upper caste marriage and a Dalit death. The number of Dalits in the village gradually dwindles as a result of starvation death as majority of the Dalits in the village eke out their living by knitting and weaving straw mats. The farm labourers, who are traditionally the Dalits, are replaced by poor sections of the upper castes and non–Dalit castes. Request for help from the upper castes goes unheeded and the total number of Dalit families is reduced to fifteen. These events as the backdrop, the village landlord organizes his daughters marriage in a grand way. The Hindu marriage requires several straw mats to be spread (if we think them as present day equivalents to carpets and mattresses) for people to sit and sleep on. The landlord sends for these straw mats to the Dalit colony, while the Dalit colony desperately tries to save one more starvation death, this time of a child. It is common for landlords not to pay for these mats, and they may, if they wish so, offer some cheap clothes to the Dalit couples as gifts. The Dalits plan to sell the mats and admit the child to a hospital in a nearby town and refuse the mats to the landlord. This infuriates the landlord and he sends muscle men to forcibly snatch away the mats from Dalits, ignoring their pleas. The writer juxtaposes the tying of wedding knots with the Dalit child's death. As the child's dead body cannot be even wrapped in a straw mat, the marriage party walks on the straw mats

towards the chariot in which they are to take out a procession. The Dalit child's dead body is taken out in a parallel procession towards the graveyard with mourners, while the just-wed couple, take out a procession with family members throwing flowers, coins, etc to the onlookers. This deepens the Dalit hatred towards upper castes but they just accept their misfortune and humiliation as their fate.

Polaiah of Karunakumara written in 1938 explains the need for a religious change to dissociate the idea of 'miserable fate' from Dalit consciousness. This story points out that Dalits should not either consciously or unconsciously get involved with Brahmins. If they did so, the Dalits are subjected to corporal punishment and branded depending upon the nature of their crime. The usual means of transport in villages those days were the bullock carts. While the upper castes maintained their bullock carts in a very good condition (for example, with cushion mattress to sit on, soft padding on either side of the cart for passengers to lean on, good canvas cover to shield them from sun and rain, well fed bulls which can cover 10 to 20 kms in an hour, etc.), the Dalit bullock carts display the Dalit status with starving bulls, disorganized carts and literally no roof, etc. One cold night, a Brahmin returning from a long pilgrimage to Benaras, tries desperately to find a transport to his village, which is 20 kms way. As it was midnight and cold none of the cart drivers volunteer despite a 3times fare-hike by the Brahmin. For the orthodox Brahmin it is a must-must situation, as he cannot afford to miss the naming-ceremony (baptizing) of his grandson. The Brahmin pleads

with a Dalit cart-man explaining the gravity of the situation. The cart-man, Polaiah, obliges to take him to the village, but briefs the Brahmin about the bad condition of his cart. Over come by the acceptance of a night ride, the Brahmin hops on to the cart and they set off for the village. The Brahmin uses all the available infrastructure of the cart to keep him warm in the cold night – like the straw, rags of the Dalit, jute sacks, etc. After a long troublesome journey, the Brahmin makes just on time for the function. While making the payment to Polaiah, the Brahmin recognizes him to be Dalit and pronounces blasphemy. He goes on to implicate Polaiah saying that he willfully agreed to give him a ride just to defile him. Soon upper caste villagers adapt this tune and sing the same song. Instead of paying him the fare, the Brahmin attempts to physically abuse the Dalit. Suddenly, the village head interferes and tries to ascertain the caste and religion of the Dalit. A ray-of-hope appears in Polaiah's mind and immediately he utters "I am a Christian, I have taken up Conversion". Suddenly, the villagers and Brahmins come to a stand still. Punishing a Hindu Dalit is different from punishing a Christian Dalit. As the Hindu Dalit belongs to the Hindu religion, the religious practitioners and heads are bestowed the authority to treat the Dalits as they liked, no one would question as it is a Hindu religious matter. What about punishing a Christian Dalit? Who would answer the church? Immediately, Polaiah is set free. The villagers disperse as if nothing has happened before their eyes. The Brahmin gives twice the amount he promised the Dalit along with good food and requests him not to mention about what has happened to any one. Polaiah muses to himself, "might be this was what the Pastor meant when he asked me

to take up Christianity!" Polaiah embraces the religion, which saves him from abuse. Ever since, the Brahmin used to walk with his head and eyes away from Polaiah wherever he confronted him.

Okka Pidikili Chaalu (One Punch Would Do) by Rajgopal too portrays Dalit suffering and pain similar to other Dalit stories but ends on a different theme. This story captures the transformations in Dalit consciousness through Guravayya. Guravayya works as a bonded slave at the village landlord's estate. He was forced to work there by his parents as a part of debt-relief settlement with the landlord. Guravayya takes up the task but is sensitive to the inhuman treatment meted out unlike the other Dalits. He even goes to the extent of not marrying as he is afraid that the same future would haunt his off springs too. All the three, Guravayya, his father and mother work in the landlord's estate. One day while Guravayya and his parents were busy with their work, the landlord approaches his mother and fondles with her breasts. Guravayya's mother resists this and the landlord goes away threatening her that he would not be deterred by any protests and that he is giving her time to yield voluntarily to his desires. Young Guravaya observes this and he finds it delicate to talk about this to his father thinking that it would result in a big clash. On the contrary he learns that his father has observed this as a mute spectator, helpless and humiliated. The constant sexual harassment of his mother by the landlord results in his parents committing suicide in a very violent way. They both die violently in front of Guravayya, by stabbing each other with a crow bar used for digging the earth. This disturbs the young boy

and he waits for a chance to take his revenge. After few years, the landlord comes home scowling and hurling abuses at Dalits and kicks Guravayya mercilessly in his ribs. He says that some Dalit youth were teasing upper caste girls on their way to the college. Guravayya thinks that this is the right opportunity and he soon grabs the crow bar that tasted the blood of his parents and kills the landlord. But the landlord gets a fatal grip on Guravayya's neck which he maintains till he dies killing Guravayya in the process. The news of landlord's death spreads like wild fire and soon Guravayya becomes a Dalit hero. Many Dalits praise him for what he has done and say that his death would be remembered for he showed them the way to freedom, the path to liberation from chains.

Another story *Atmahatya* (Suicide) by Venugola Rao juxtaposes the Dalit upper caste relations. While the Dalits committed suicide accepting defeat at the hands of upper caste exploitation, the story portrays an upper caste death which Dalits call a 'suicide'. The general theme of this story is based on caste feuds where the Dalits show their unflinching loyalities to their landlords despite threats to their lives. While the factional wars are ripe in the village, Naidu, an upper caste landlord falls sick. His children are too involved in the violence to take any notice of Naidu's condition. His loyal Dalit slave takes him to the nearby town hospital where the doctor diagnoses that his kidneys were spoiled and need to be replaced. While the Dalit offers his kidneys to Naidu for free, the upper caste rejects the offer. The Doctor insists that a decision has to be made quickly in order to save Naidu's life.

Naidu firmly refuses the Dalit's offer and dies by the next day. When Naidu's son arrives and inquires the doctor about his father's death, he learns that it was a suicide as confirmed by the Dalit. The Dalit goes on to tell the readers that Naidu choose to die rather than to live with the blood and flesh inside his body which he tortured and exploited all his life.

Most of the stories written between 1960s and 1980s portray Marxist consciousness and formation of early political ideology. Due to the reason known to the freedom fighters and peculiar to the agreements of the Indian National Congress representatives with the colonial British, communist revolutionaries were always the first to be banned by any democratic formation in Independent India. Most obvious ground of banishment is the violent nature of the revolution organized by the communists. Many Dalits after realizing that the upper castes feared violence and that through violence they could avenge their misfortune joined the revolutionary left movement, which provided the necessary infrastructure. Most of the Dalits who joined the movement had only one goal – to kill the landlord who exploited their ancestors. The organizations they joined were either banned already or were in the process of banishment politically; therefore, their involvement with such organizations was always kept as a secret. Most of the Dalit stories dealing with this theme justify the active participation of Dalits in these movements and appeal to the society to change its social fabric/ structure to put an end to this kind of violent movements. Most of the active militant communist

movements were described to have originated in the Telangana movement of the 1949 in Andhra Pradesh.

Reactionary Katha (Reactionary Story) written by Chiranjeevi follows a stream of consciousness technique. The story moves to and fro within a time frame between 1949 and 1970s. While the narrator of the story ponders over the social conditions of 1970s, a real story from 1949 disturbs his thoughts. The story goes on to say that caste politics are present within the left parties and are being actively exploited by the Government. The story also maintains that there are people within the Government who help such movements to sustain. This story portrays the Dalit loyalties in a different light. A loyal Dalit, despite obvious pressures, remains loyal to his basic ideology – the liberation of Dalits. If he shares his loyalties with a banned political organization, he continues to protect the organization to the extent possible to keep the movement alive. The narrator shifts to the voice of Ashirvadam, an Inspector of Police in 1949 Guntur, who gets tip off about a meeting of banned communist leaders. The caller unaware of the inspector's loyalties to the communist movement passes on sensitive information. He goes to the suspected venue and understands that it is the house of a poor washer man family with two old parents and a young son working as a schoolteacher. On his return to the police station, he meets the D.C.P who shares same information and identifies the caller as a person within the communist party who has differences of opinion with the party organizers. The inspector is instructed to raid the venue in the midnight and arrest the banned leaders. On

the contrary, the next morning Ashirvadham goes to the suspected meeting place and informs the members that there would be a police raid that night and walks out. Promptly, with the help of full police force, he raids the suspected meeting place as per the D.C.P orders. To the surprise of the police, neither did they find any communist leader nor did they find any revolutionary literature. And when they searched every corner for some incriminating documents, scorpions stung some policemen. The story immediately springs up to 1970s where the narrator ambiguously talks about the loyalties and the necessities of such a discursive practice.

Except the above, most of the other stories towing the Marxist line fall under one general category where the Dalit is convinced of the idea that he/she is taking care of the social evils in a better way where the Government machinery's failure is evident through corruption and nexus with the rich upper castes. The initiation into this revolutionary militancy most often takes place in the colleges and universities. Some other stories that adhere to the theme of militancy, portray helpless Dalit parents being harassed by state machinery to hand over their wards who have joined revolutionary struggle. Left by their wards to fend for themselves and grilled by the police to reveal the unknown destiny of their children, these parents anxiously wait for their death. Some other stories talk about how innocents are implicated in violence by the upper caste in revenge against the elusive militant Dalits.

The stories written on the theme of Dalit consciousness during the period 1980-1998, display political formation of Dalit democrat and his/her contribution to the development of Dalit community. Borrowing extensively from the Ambedkarite philosophy and making use of the constitutional opportunities, Dalits began to participate in the political formations in modern India. However, the stories do not describe the Dalit behaviour exclusively with reference to the clash between Dalit conscience and the political party they are affiliated to. It is an open secret that most of the political parties have rich, powerful upper caste people as their party heads and party executive with very few exceptions. In the absence of an exclusive political front for Dalits in India, most of them had to contest elections from different political parties like the Congress, BJP, CPI, CPM, RJD, etc. until the formation of parties like BSP and SP It is ironic that while the Dalits are united by a conscience across the nation, they also have to contest against themselves as members from different political parties.

The stories written about the Dalit initiation into the political process portray Dalit as a 'scape-goat' politician. Stories like *Mathadu Goppodu* (Mathews, the Great) written by Krishna Reddy in 1983, etc. are based on this theme. Despite the reformations and constitutional amendments, the rural Dalits continue to live in ignorance of their rights and work as bonded labour at the village landlords. There is a small change in the political formations in the villages of modern times. One might generalize that while the rural India up to 1970's saw few contestants, usually two or at most three from each

village, who come from rival factions and boast of Dalit loyalties and vote banks, modern Indian villages witness people from the same family contesting for various political parties that criticize each other at the national and regional levels. The mandatory constitutional provision of Dalit political formation effected the rural caste structure in a strange and paradoxical way. Mathadu, is a bonded labourer in the house of Pardesi Reddy, the landlord of the village. Pardesi Reddy is the unopposed political figure of the village. He is known for his subtle and prudent nature of manipulating and executing appropriative politics. Pardesi Reddy's family kept Gandhi's photograph besides the Temple diety of the village when Gandhi died and conducted bhajans for a month. The same process was repeated after Nehru's death. People know his family as nationalist and Gandhian followers. He is held by every Dalit in the village as a good man while, Pardesi Reddy himself confesses to the upper castes that it is his mask that the people see and not the real face behind it. The concept of reservation for Dalits results in allocating the Dalit quota to Pardesi Reddy's constituency. Immediately, Pardesi Reddy chooses his Dalit slave Mathadu as the Dalit political representative despite his protest. Mathadu is elected and sent to the state legislature. Pardesi Reddy, gives his son Gandhi Reddy, in adoption to Mathadu fearing that if Mathadu gets married, he might become an independent man. Mathadu unknowingly accepts the adoption and educates Gandhi Reddy in the city. Gandhi Reddy enjoys the status of a Minister's son and as the years pass, he Mathadu takes up several social developmental activities in the village. Gandhi Reddy becomes a collector, thanks to political influence of Mathadu and the

reservation facility for his caste people. Mathadu visits the village on this occasion and a big function is held to celebrate the achievement of Gandhi Reddy. The next morning villager's find Mathadu's dead body in the public well. Pardesi Reddy weeps with the public. The village Dalit community takes the body out and cremates. Gandhi Reddy shifts his residence from town to the village, triggering major developmental activities like laying of roads, constructing hospitals, etc. Gandhi Reddy and Pardesi Reddy organize a condolence meeting where they condole the death of Mathadu. The village public blindly accept their grief while the narrator questions the reader, why should Mathadu die? We could explain that while Mathadu was enjoying political supremacy, he was constantly treated by Pardesi Reddy as his bonded slave manipulating him for his personal needs and his son became a collector, he no longer required the support of Mathadu as the same could be achieved through his son. In fact the narrator mentions that Pardesi Reddy kicked Mathadu, just the day before he committed suicide.

This theme of exploiting the Dalit for political purposes is most common theme in the stories of this period. We can trace a change in Dalit political construct as we move closer to 1990s. The manipulated Dalit gradually realizes the games played by the upper castes and tries to keep away from such influences. Instead of committing suicide to indicate Dalit failure, the Dalit politician made public the Machiavellian politics of the upper castes and asked the Dalits to fight against it. Most of the short stories like *Peddollu* (Elites), *Segamantalu* (Flames), *Veta* (Hunting), *Vekuva* (Awakening), *Ukku*

Padam (Iron Feet) deal with political participation of Dalit and the formation of Dalit political identity. *Peddollu* narrates the plight of Lakshmaiah, a village Dalit who contests and wins elections. Despite his political identity, villagers continue to treat him as a Dalit. The only visible change he sees in the upper caste behaviour is that they no longer abuse him publicly, but still their looks convey the usual meaning that is accessible to any Dalit. The Dalit contemplates thinking that his political growth is nothing compared to the 'Elatedness' of the upper castes. While *Vekuava* talks about the economic and intellectual exploitation of Dalit politicians, *Ukku Padam* talks about the importance of primary identity over the secondary identity – which in case of Dalits primary being Dalit and secondary being the political or educational or religious or economic identity in reversal to the non-Dalits where the economic or political or intellectual identity transgresses their primary identity of caste. All these stories gradually move towards the assumption that the existing political parties are not favourable for the Dalits and they need a separate and alternative platform exclusively for themselves that would give them more power to fight for Dalit identity. Economic and educational exploitation of Dalit politician is also visible in these stories.

Cheppulu Kuttevadu (The Cobbler) is another story which describes the lawlessness of Government Agencies. This story narrates the suffering of a cobbler and his wife. It is common to find cobblers sitting in small corners on pavements (foot paths) in public places mending shoes and the like. The cobbler of this story identifies a small corner on the pavement of the village

market place and sits there every day waiting for customers. Being the most active place in the village, he some how manages to make enough money to feed two persons. Suddenly, one fine morning a policeman kicks him out of the pavement and asks him never to return to that place. As no other street in the village is as popular and as not many people get their shoes mended or repaired every day, the cobbler begs the policeman in vain to allow him to return to the main street. Finally the cobbler dares to offer some paltry amount of fifty paise as bribe to the policeman. Angered by this move, the policeman kicks the cobbler in his ribs with his shoes. The cobbler falls ill and his wife takes up his profession to earn some bread for the family. Soon she develops lung cancer and dies as the roads were highly polluted and she was not used to sitting for long hours beside the dirty roads. The narrator says that several cobblers in several villages might be victims to the infection of lungs and subsequent death as they too sit on the dusty roads inhaling the pollution of civilized society for hours together.

Dappugodite Saraspati Chinduleyyala (Saraswathi Should Dance to Drumbeat), *Navabu Gurranni Natyamadinchina Daruvu* (The Tune that Made the Royal Horse Dance!) are two stories, which boast of the Dalit artistry of Madigas. Madigas treat two instruments as very important to their lives – tambourine and battle-axe. The axe is used to cut the beast, (cows and cattle) skin and tan it to make foot-wear, while the tambourine is the most traditional instrument accompanying Dalit songs. The upper castes make use of the musical skills of the Dalit communities during their festivities including

marriages and deaths. These two stories lament that for centuries Dalits have been using these instruments and treating them as an integral part of their cultural heritage, while the modern Dalits hardly know how to use these instruments. This story boasts about the talents of the past and urges the Dalits not to ignore their traditional values.

4.2.5 Gender Issues and Configuration of Woman

Almost all the stories have women characters and invariably, all the stories portray them as equal to men. In no story are they portrayed as dominated by men. This characterization of women is exclusive to Dalit literature. Domestic violence is common in the Dalit families, as the women have to perform extra duties compared to their men. Unlike the upper caste men, Dalit women, historically are self-sufficient and earning members of the family. They work along with men in the fields and they do not differentiate between 'male work' and 'female work' when it comes to sheer physical labour. However, few professions are exclusive to the male like pottery, tapping Toddy and the like which requires a worker to climb tall trees. Apart from these, Dalit women are as competent as men in any other field. Apart from working outside the house, they also cook, wash, clean and take care of the children, while a male member of the family goes around totally drunk. Most of the family disputes revolve on these lines where the Dalit women accuses the Dalit man of not sharing the burden of the family responsibility and wasting money on liquor. Though, wife-abuse by drunken husband is

common, there are few instances where wives beat-up their husbands in retaliation and several instances of scuffles where women try to match their husbands. This apart, a Dalit woman is regarded as the fulcrum of the family. She plays active role in decision making of the family. While most of the non-Dalit fiction portrays Dalit woman as promiscuous, Dalit writers present this problematic as a question of freedom.

Let us build the description of a Dalit women from the short stories. As a child, the Dalit girl is on par with Dalit boy, hardly dressed at all. As there is no problem of dowry and related evils, both the girl child and boy child are treated equally. The girl child starts sharing the domestic responsibility right from the age of five, where she tries to learn from her mother in the kitchen. By ten, a Dalit girl is capable of cooking a basic meal. In some instances where the Dalit mother becomes a victim to landlord's sexual assault and commits suicide, a girl as young as seven takes up the responsibilities of kitchen. Poverty and lack of hygiene makes the girl child the worst victim of bad health as she remains at home most of the time, while her brother goes about loitering the streets if he is below ten or goes to work with his father if he is past ten. Several stories talk about death of Dalit girls before they reach the age of thirteen. A Dalit adolescent girl starts to work in the fields or accompanies her mother to work right from the age of ten. They attain puberty around the age of thirteen and they are free to have affairs with the men of their choice. However, there is some secrecy about such affairs of love and sex, which in most cases culminates in marriage at a very young age.

Almost all the stories, right from 1910 to 1998, dealing with young Dalit women depicted her in astonishingly similar way. Unlike the upper caste young lady who is fragile, fair skinned and delicate, a Dalit woman is the symbol of life and energy. A Dalit young lady has well formed physique with well-built muscles and bones, symbolic of strength. Often this strength is equated to the strength of a man that is required to tame an arrogant powerful bull. This lady has well formed breasts and buttocks that are rock hard. Again this is a deviation from the traditional description of an upper caste beauty with well-developed bosom and hips which are soft as silk. The concept of power and energy is used in the description. The description of intimate details of Dalit women in other stories substantiates our claim that she is the source of life and energy to a Dalit youth. Most of the landlords, the stories say, in fact, wait for the daughter of their Dalit slaves to attain puberty in anticipation of sexual intercourse. This is the age when Dalit women are exploited sexually by the upper castes triggering mass suicides or humiliating submissions or violent revolts.

The next stage is the making of a Dalit bride, which a women cherishes to preserve in her memory. This stage in her life is directly dependent on the success of her youth. Most often, sexually exploited women find it difficult to find a partner as the upper caste propaganda is very active and effective. Most often, if the exploited girl chooses to live, she continues to be exploited again and again despite her marriage and other changes in life.

A Dalit pregnant mother works almost till the time of delivery. There are several instances in the stories where a Dalit mother delivers in a field, or on a haystack or in the cattle-shed, etc. while attending to her work. Most of the Dalit women die at the time of delivery and if they survive, almost within a week they are back to their work schedule. As a mother, a Dalit women struggles even more as the male member of the family refuses to take up parenting or domestic responsibility.

Widow remarriage is common in Dalit community. The widow stage of Dalit women has its own peculiarities. While eligible Dalit suitors try to convince the widow, landlords see this stage of Dalit women as most advantageous for sexual exploitation. Old Dalit women, who are very few, help in cooking and bringing up children, telling them stories of Dalit exploitation and suffering from their own lives.

Harijana Samasya (Harijan Problem) of Chalam, deals with the problematic of elopement in the background of nationalist movements of Dalit emancipation. Chalam says that material prosperity attracts Dalit women very easily as they do not have access to basic necessities young women dream of. This aspect is exploited by rich upper castes, who successfully elope with beautiful Dalit women to cities and disappear leaving them after satiating their sexual drives. The upper caste happily returns to the village to search for a new victim, while the Dalit woman clueless falls victim to flesh trade.

Almost every short story mentions a line or two about the sexual abuse of Dalit women by the upper castes. The abuse ranges from verbal to physical, often in front of their husbands. More than twenty-four short stories deal with the problem of Gender and Dalit women as subject. In *Pasuvula Kottham* (Cattle-shed), Penchali, a Dalit woman is raped by Rayudu, the upper caste landlord. When she threatens to expose the landlord's diabolic act to the society, he successfully convinces her would-be husband about her immorality and sets him against her. The foolish Dalit youth beats up Penchali, once again confirming his loyalties to the landlord ignoring his beloved's pleas. The story ends with Panchali madly running about the village in rags screaming violently, inviting the dogs to bite and bulls to horn her. *Madiga Ammayi* (Madiga Girl) talks about the forcing into prostitution of innocent Dalit women by village upper caste women. Seetalu is a Dalit young lady with typical Dalit features of power and energy. Upper caste men of the society scheme with the help of a prostitute and succeed in deceiving the Dalit lady. Stories like *Rudhira Madhanam* (Churning of Anger) describe the extent to which the landlords went to rape the Dalit women. The land lord's first attempt to rape his slave's beautiful wife is thwarted by Polaiah and the Dalit couple leave the village the same night to escape similar problems. But the landlord's carnal obsession hunts down the Dalit beauty to a nearby village. When the landlord tries for the second time to molest his wife, the Dalit attacks him with a stick and breaks his skull.

The development of Dalit consciousness in a similar fashion as seen above can be traced in these stories also. The passive sufferer of sexual abuse, who initially tries to commit suicide, later tries to flee for life and gains confidence to put up a fight; and actually fights on all several planes constituting a discursive formation – physical, religious, literacy, political, socio-economical. The physical fight is graded from minor scuffles to vengeful murder. On the religious front, the fight is reflective of the mass conversions into non-Hindu religions, especially, Christianity. Education is treated as a powerful weapon to combat exploitation. The traditional narratives are read, reread and rewritten to create a unique Dalit discourse. On the political plane, the fight is evident from active Dalit participation in democratic movements and formation of exclusive political parties based on Dalit ideology.

End Notes

1 This poem is translated by Shanta Gokhale and is cited from *Poisoned Bread* edited by Arjun Dangle; Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1992, p. 56. The poem continues as follows:

Will someone tell me his name
And the branch where he makes his home?
Or are you all, like me, starngers?
Have you, like me, lost your light?
At least my hut holds its warmth
Perhaps I could give him some,
Put embers in his voice.

2 However, the same discourses, like those of Mallikharjuna of Kakatiya Kingdom (early 11th & 12th Centuries) critically accused counter-Hindu religions like the Buddhism and the Jainism for breeding disorder in the society thus leading to the brutal execution of several followers of Buddhism and Jainism. If one wonders as to who constituted the majority of the followers of Jainism and Buddhism those days, they were obviously people from the lower castes of the society and prostitutes and 'dasis.' While the 'Veera Saivam' discourses made a mock appeal for the alleviation of castism on one hand, works like *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabha Raya on the other hand, demonstrates very clearly that the lower caste people were not Hindus. The reasons sited by him are that the lower castes do not practice the religious rituals and death rites of the upper caste Hindus; they are obsessed with magic and stunts; and they worship pagan, local demi-gods and deities like 'Kakatamma,' 'Ekaveera,' 'Mailarudeva,' 'Musanamma,' 'Muhuramma,' etc. Commenting on the status of lower castes during the early 10th and 11 the centuries (A. D.) K. Satyanarayana in his *Andhrula Samskriti – Charitra 2* ('The Study of

History and Culture of Andhras, Part 2") says that they are degraded, downtrodden and demoralized to the extent that they resigned to their fate and did not even think about fighting for social equality.

[1] Sisir Kumar Das. 1991. *A History of Indian Literature* Sahitya Akademy; New Delhi; pg. 106-7.

[3] Sisir Kumar Das. 1991. *A History of Indian Literature* Sahitya Akademy; New Delhi; pg. 22.

[5] Gennette Gerard. 1982. *Palimpsested* Quoted in *Encyclopedia of Literary Critics and Criticism.* Ed. Chris Murray. Vol 1. pg. 441.

[6] This story is translated into English from a Telugu version by the researcher.

[7] Paula Richman. Ed. *Many Ramayanas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia.* Delhi: OUP, 1992.

[8] Thapar Romila. "The Ramayana Syndrome" *Seminar.* No. 353 January 1989.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Orlando Patterson. "Slavery as Human Parasitism." In Martin Bloomer and John Solomos (Eds) *Racism.* Oxford: OUP, 1999; pg.91

[11] Quoted in Orlando Patterson.

[12] Partha Chatterjee. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World.* Delhi: OUP.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] A. Gramsci, 1978. *Selections from Political Writings (1921-1926)*, tr. Q. Hoare, London: Lawrence and Wishart; pp. 197, 12. cited in *Language and Symbolic Power* by Pierre Bourdeu; Oxford: PolityPress, 1991; p. 174.

[17] Pierre Bourdieu. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Oxford: Polity Press, p. 175.

[18] Ibid. p.186.

[19] Ibid. p.188

[20] Ralph Ellison. 1953. *Twentieth Century Fiction and Black Mask of Humanity*. Quoted in Claude Tate, 1998, Psychoanalysis and Black Novels, Oxford: OUP, p. 3.

[21] Adapted from Toni Morrison. 1992. *Playing in the Dark*. Quoted in Claude Tate, opt. cit. p. 3.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

> *It seems universal that every creature which cannot contain itself or draw itself together in its own fullness, draws itself together with its own fullness, draws itself together outside itself, whence, for example, the elevated miracle of formation of the word in the mouth belongs, which is a true creation of the full inside when it can no longer remain in itself.*
>
> *F. W. J. Schelling*

For a dalit deprived of linguistic expression—the written word– what is problematic is the question of the writing self. That is to say, how does a dalit represent the interchange of expansion and contraction, externalization and internalization of dalit experience? How precisely does the written word discharge the tensions of the subject? Schelling's hypothesis[1] might help us to understand this problematic. The self remains muted till it finds the required strategy – writing – to be able to express. Deprived of the written word, it waits for its formation; once it is formed, it expresses through the dialectical process that consciousness executes on itself. That is, in his/her search for an alternative identity, the dalit writer makes effective use of what Foucault calls history of counter-memories, as a necessary opposition to traditional history. In his *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Michel Foucault claims that:

> The traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled ... Effective history deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature ... [and instead] deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations. An event, consequently, is ... the reversal of a relationship forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of vocabulary turned against those who had once used it, a feeble domination that poisons itself as it grows lax, the entry of a masked 'other'.[2]

The developmental phase of dalit literature conveys immediate sorrow, shock and anger through autobiographical narratives written mostly from the victim's perspective. The next phase of dalit literature achieves a different perspective relying on multilayered narrative and a multi plot structure in order to create a response not of the visceral engagement encouraged by the earlier works, but of interrogation, treating the readers not as passive or empathetic consumers but as active, questioning participants making them regard the dalit writings with critical eyes. Readers of these narratives are made to realize that history is a collection of subjective experiences that can be rewritten and reinterpreted from a distant spatio-temporal dimensions; from the contexts of other kinds of narrative, such as folkloric archetypes; or from many different subjective sites. Through out this sequence of changing perspectives, several kinds of thematic continuity are evident. Apart from the obvious theme of caste discrimination and exploitation (commenting on death, destruction, terror, loss, etc.), in particular, dalit literature manifests a skepticism and distrust of authority. Collective memory of a torturous past is narrated through retrospectively in linear, direct and limited ways. Most

of the dalit writers did not resort to special literary devices to convey the intensity of the suffering or the grotesque condition of dalits and their ruined selves. Instead the direct portrayal of the dalit subject in the narratives may result in emotionally shaking the reader.

The colonial educational policies and literacy programmes undertaken by reformist movement of India complemented by Gandhian system of vernacular education made it possible for dalit literary articulation in more codified form. Education is regarded as symbolic power as it was the school teachers and immigrant educated liberal youth of cities who nurtured and encouraged the dalit communities to voice their protest and fight for equality. To reproduce in challenging discourse the fetishizing of the dominant language which actually takes place in society, the dalit writer, in the initial stages, should borrow the writing instruments from the already established discourse. The acquired language is thus constituted as the absolute norm of all linguistic practices, which then can only be conceived in terms of the logic of deprivation. Conversely, ignorance of what popular and educated usage owe to their objective relations and to the structure of the relation of domination between castes, which they reproduce in their own logic, leads to the canonization as such of the language used. In this sense, like the sociology of culture, the sociology of language is logically inseparable from sociology of education. As linguistic products are strictly subject to the verdicts of the guardians of legitimate culture, the educational market is strictly dominated by the

linguistic products of the dominant castes and tends to sanction the pre-existing differences in capital. The combined effect of low cultural capital and the associated low propensity to increase it through educational investment condemns the least favoured castes like the dalits to the negative sanctions of the scholastic market. That is, the dalits are subjected to exclusion or early self-exclusion induced by lack of success and competence in the educational market. The initial disparities therefore tend to be reproduced since the length of inculcation tends to vary with its efficiency: those least inclined and least able to accept and adopt the language of the school are also those exposed for the shortest time to this language and to educational monitoring, correction and sanction. This process of education continues right from school to the university level and the dalit product of this educational system makes use of the training to extend the fight for equality to the scholastic planes. The process of dalit education in the pre-Independent India was almost negligible or very rare. But the constitutional reforms of the Independent India made it possible for dalits to participate in education, not without resistance from the upper castes in the initial stages. The short stories sketch the path of educational curves and graphs in a very clear way – the pre-Gandhian period forcing the dalit to abandon the idea of primary schooling is replaced by the access to education with some difficulty in the Gandhian era. Dalits found more opportunities to educate themselves in the Ambedkarite period but few could afford it due to the practice of merit-based-system of academic institutions. This phase was replaced by the

modern system of reservation policies, which made it possible for dalits to enter colleges and universities. However, non-availability of scholarships and social rejection by the upper caste students, made it difficult for a dalit to educate himself/herself. Through out these different phases of educational process, the dalits were constantly burdened by economic deprivation and their positioning in the lower stratum of the market-economy.

The 1930's phase in dalit literature saw the effective use of militant violence to counter upper caste exploitation. Communist revolutionary ideological influences like, "Comrades you are the people. A patriot does not fear the people. Mao Dze Dong, the friend of the people, has said: 'The people is an ocean in which the patriots are the fishes. A fish cannot survive a day without water.' Today, hungry and thirsty, we fight for the people", drawn from Mao is interpreted on caste basis. The general assumption was that upper castes needed dalits for their survival while the dalit is denied of his immediate survival by these upper castes. The same sentiment is echoed on the religious domain too – "What do you want to obtain from a God and a religion which steal the fruit of your work in order to fill someone else's belly?" This bred parallel contempt towards Hinduism, the main proponent of caste system. The act of religion as an institution became the act of communication, but of a particular kind. It signifies to someone what his/her identity is, but in a way that both expresses it to the subject and imposes it on the subject by expressing it in

front of every one and thus informing the subject in an authoritative manner of what the subject is and what the subject must be. It is through the effect of statutory assignation that the ritual of religion as an institution produces its most real effects – the person instituted feels obliged to comply with his/her definition, with the status of his/her function. The designated subject is recognized and treated as such by the whole group, beginning with his family, and this different and distinctive treatment can only encourage the subject to fulfill the configured role in the community. All the subjected groups entrust the body, treated like a kind of memory, with their most precious possessions, and the use made of the suffering inflicted on the body by the rites of institutionalization is understandable if one realizes, as numerous psychological experiments have shown, that people's adherence to an institution is directly proportional to the severity and painfulness of the rites of institutionalization. The work of inculcation through which the lasting imposition of the arbitrary limit is achieved can seek to neutralize the decisive breaks that constitute an arbitrary cultural limit. From analytical history, it is a verifiable fact that Brahminic discursive development was inextricably woven into the complex process of differentiation, stratification and power relations. The Vedic discourse of caste might have played the crucial role, probably as the coercive instrument in transforming and organizing people for various labour processes in ancient India. But this led to the formation of social organizations deriving from the ethical didactics of the dominant discourse stemming from the discursive elements of Vedic, Puranic and Sastric texts.

It was an extremely intense process of reification that filled the discursive domain, offering prescriptions, explanations, meaning and legitimacy to the variety of rights, ranks, positions, privileges, entitlements and obligations binding the hierarchical social relationships. The most potent discursive element that stabilized the relations of production was caste, accommodating in its fold a variety of economically stratified functionaries of hereditary trades/professions. The role of caste in the integration of the agrarian society whose mechanisms of appropriation were based on extra-economic coercion, was extremely crucial. The realm of ideology, on the whole, became enormously complicated through reification and discourse production catered to the changing functional requirements of the expanding dominant society. The resultant social structure was a hierarchy with upper caste landlords at the apex and in the center of the discursive formation and the primary producers who are lower caste dalits at the bottom and in the margins of the formation. Separating these two are the large number of upper caste poor whose function was to exploit the dialectics of slavery for their own betterment. The conditions of subjection together with the objective reality of the producers being stripped off their produce constituted the major contradiction in the system. Perpetuating relations of domination through the reproduction of contradictory dynamics, the discursive regime became distinct by the emergence of alternative discourses like Buddhist, Jainist, Veerashaivite, Bhakti, etc., influencing dalits from time to time. The Bhakti movement of the 6^{th} – 7^{th} century south India can be seen as a

precursor to the present day Dalit movement. As a new religious sensibility, it gradually appeared in the invocatory stanzas of the heroic anthologies before being institutionalized through hymns. The Bhakti movement mirrored the way the subject and the exploited lived, the relation between themselves and objective conditions of their experience, which is also one of the major themes of Dalit literature. It glossed over the material reality of the conditions of domination by inventing other-worldly explanations for the social contradictions. This discourse provided psychological basis for social acceptance of the explanation of the plight of the oppressed in the ancient society. The psychological basis took the form of a cult of complete surrender at the feet of God as the final refuge, acting as an illusory solace to the miserable. Within the mystifying discourse of Bhakti, voices of dissent against the hegemonic were not precluded. Since it was a social formation of contradictory relations involving the tensions of subjection and exploitation, voices of protest were inevitable. The hegemonic discourse was so imposing that the elements of protest and dissent could be articulated only through its discursive practices that neutralized them through the strategy of containment. A defiant attitude to the religion will absolve the subject of any pre-configured status and hence the need for an alternative religious identity is felt strongly. Ambedkar who openly denounced the Hindu religion by burning a copy of Manusmriti and embracing Buddhism vehemently propagated this idea. The newly found religious identity

helped the dalits to break away from the dominant religion but paved the way for new frames of confrontation triggered on religious grounds.

This search for alternative religion and religious identification of the dalits can be traced through another interesting aspect of dalit literature – naming convention or character names. We find that the pre-Gandhian phase has names, which are more ethnic in nature like Polaiah, Paidaiah, Ankadu, etc. for men and Neeli, Maachi, Sarasa, etc for women. These names are not usually used by Hindu upper castes. The list of Hindu gods and goddesses, with reference to several Puranic, Vedic and epic texts forms the Hindu names database. The dalit names of the pre-Gandhian period are outside this database with a rare exception here or there. The Gandhian concept of Harijan and minimal entry into the temple, resulted in right wing nationalist activities and several dalits used the Hindu database of names for their purposes. Names like Ramulu, Gopadu, Venkatappa, Subbulu, Lachimi, etc. are colloquial forms of the Hindu Gods like Ram, Krishna/Gopal, Balaji/Venkateswara, Subha. Lakshmi, etc. The causitic remarks of Ambedkar on Hindu religion and burning of 'Manusmriti' quickly relocated the dalit religion into non-Hindu fields. According to him, the dalits may choose any religion but Hinduism, as caste system is integral to Hinduism and it is difficult to fight against it from within it. This gave three choices to a Dalit – Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. While few Marathas could adopt Buddhism, which in Modern Hinduism is disputedly regarded as its variant, most of the Indian dalits embraced

Christianity, which quickly proclaimed that it is the religion of equality as there was no draconic caste system at its backdrop. The stories of post-Ambedkarite phase sketch names like Mattiah (Mathews), Yakub, Pal (Paul), Mari (Mary), etc. There are few stories which also expressed the practice of caste in born again Christianity in the meeting places of converted upper castes and converted dalits. What next? But, this was not as brutal as the traditional Hindu practice. Therefore, Christianity remained the alternative religion and gave a new religious identity to the dalit. The Indian constitution has a clause which treats Christian converted scheduled caste and scheduled tribes as Backward castes thus enabling a movement upward in the caste hierarchy. But the political formation of such a concept is very complex as it invites discussion of reservation policies of Indian Government and dominant political parties along with attitudinal factors of dalits and upper castes, which has the scope for further research.

The concept of freedom and facility of constitutional security made it possible for dalits to actively participate in political democratic processes. Ideologies owe their structures and most specific functions to the social conditions of their production and circulation. We must remember that ideologies are always doubly determined, that they owe their most specific characteristics not only to the interests of the castes, but also to the specific interests of those who produce them and to the specific logic of field of production. A properly ideological function of the field of

ideological production is performed almost automatically on the basis of the structural homology between the field of ideological production and the field of caste struggle. This discourse is a structured and established order which is evident from the available socio-political history. The unequal distribution of the instruments of production of an explicitly formulated representation of the social world means that political life can be described in terms of the logic of supply and demand. That is to say, the political field is the site in which, through the competition between the agents involved in it, political products, issues, programmes, analyses, commentaries, concepts and events are created. The boundary between what is politically sayable or unsayable, thinkable or unthinkable, for a social group is determined by the relation between the expressive interests of that group (caste) and the capacity to express these interests, a capacity which is secured by its position in the field of cultural and political production. The political awareness and the opportunity for political participation made it possible for the Dalits to reorient their militancy programme to a better synthetic democratic agenda interrogating the basic lapses in the constitutional implementation. Dalit literature describes the political formation of dalit subject in a very comprehensive way. It portrays the unassuming dalit subject to be appropriated by the political will of the dominant castes during the early years of independent India. Recognition of political exploitation of the Dalits made it possible for them to learn the intricacies of growing democratic political process. This results in the fight for fundamental rights of the Dalits on the political

front. Lack of congenial atmosphere to put up these fights from the existing political formations, the Dalit groups formed their own political parties or joined the political parties that are organized exclusively for dalit purposes.

In the formation, reformation and deformation of Dalit identity as an articulated position in Dalit writing, one notices that in spite of the historical disruptions, some stability has been accomplished. The 'mute' Dalit has finally been 'voiced'. This voice is no more mimetic, it is self-reflexive that actualizes the selfhood at various levels of socio-political matrix. The Dalit writing of today asserts a position in which the Dalit is no more an object – (s)he is a fully developed subject. The subject continues to confront but the voice will never die. This voice will continue to reinforce the process of reading, writing and rewriting.

Endnotes

[1] Quoted in "Selfhood as such is spirit: F. W. J. Schelling on the origins of evil" by Slavoj Zezek in *Radical Evil*, edited by Joan Copjecc; London: Vesro; 1996, p. 3.

[2] Michel Foucault. 1977. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews/Michel Foucault.* Ed. Donald, F. Bouchard. Ithaca: Cornell UP. Pp. 153-4.

Select Bibliography

Primary Sources

(All the Primary Sources are in Telugu, a detailed list of short stories with their titles translated is given in the Appendix)

Enoch Kolakaluri and K. Lakshminarayana. 1998. Eds. *Dalita Stree Samsyala Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 2.* Hyderabad: Usha.

Enoch Kolakaluri and K. Lakshminarayana. 1998. Eds. *Varna Vivaksha kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 5.* Anantapur: Rama Pub.

Lakshminarayana, K. 1998. Ed. *Ardhika, Rajakiya Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 4.* Anantapur: Rama Pub.

Lakshminarayana, K. 1999. Ed. *Asprusya Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 3.* Anantapur: Rama Pub.

Reddy Chandrasekhar, R. and K. Lakshminarayana. 1996. Eds. *Dalita Kathalu.* Hyderabad: Visalandhra.

Sudhakar Yedluri. 1999. Ed. *Mallemoggala Godugu.* Hyderabad: Dandora Pub.

Theory

Ambedkar, Baba Saheb. 1987. *Writings and Speeches: Riddles in Hinduism.* Vol. IV. Education Department: Government of Maharashtra.

Arvind P. Nirmal. 1990. *Towards a Common Dalit Ideology.* Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute.

Attridge Derek. 1992. Ed. *Jacques Derrida: Acts of Literature.* Routledge: New York & London.

B. Bernstein. 1972. "Social class, language and socialization", in P. P. Giglioli (ed) *Language and Social Context.* Hammondsworth: Penguin.

Bleich David. 1978. *Subjective Criticism.* Johns Hopkins UP: Baltimore& London.

Booth, Wyne C. 1961. *The Rhetoric of Fiction.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Crtique of the Judgement of Taste.* Routledge & Keagan Paul: London.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Tr. R. Nice. Cambridge: CUP.

Brian K. Smith. *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual and religion.* New York: 1989.

Copjec Joan. 1996. Ed. *Radical Evil.* London: Vesro.

Culler Jonathan. 1974. *Flaubert: The Uses of Uncertainity.* Paul Elek.

Cyrus Hoy. 1930. *Civilization and its Discontents.* Chatto and Windus.

Derrida Jacques. 1967. *Of Grammatology.* Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Johns Hopkins UP: Baltimore.

Docherty Thomas. 1983. *Reading (Absent) Character: Towards a theory of characterization in Fiction.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Eagleton, Terry. 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction.* Basil Blackwell: Oxford.

Elliott Anthony. 1996. *Subject to Ourselves.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Escarpit, R. 1971. *The Sociology of Literature.* Tr. E. Pick. London: Cass.

Foucault Michel. 1970. *The Order of Things.* London: Tavistock.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Allan lane: London.

Gareth Stedman Jones. *Languages of Class.* New York: CUP. 1983.

Gennette,

Goldmann, L. 1964. *The Human Sciences and Philosophy.* Tr. H.V. White and R. Anchor. London: Jonathan Cape.

Goldmann, L. 1975. *Towards a Sociology of the Novel.* Tr. A. Sheridan. London: Tavistock..

Holland Norman. 1975. *5 Readers Reading.* Yale UP: New Haven & London.

http://www.hrw.oreg/reports/1999/India/India994-04.htm

International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

Iser Wolfgang. 1976. *The Act of Reading.* Routledge & Keagan Paul: London & Henley.

Jauss Robert Hans. 1982. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.* Trans. Timothy Bahti. Harvester Press: Brighton.

Joshi R. Barabara. 1986. Ed. *Untouchable! Voices of Dalit Liberation Movement.* London: Zed Books.

Kambhampati Satyanarayana. 1982. *Andhrula Samskriti-Charitra 2.* Hyderabad: Hyderabad Book Trust. (in Telugu)

Kamble, B. C. 1982. *Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar and the Movement of Untouchables, Volume 1.* Bombay: Government of Maharashtra.

Kamble, B. C. 1987. *Samagra Ambedkar Charitra, Part 7* Bombay: Kamble.

Kavanagh, Thomas M. 1973. "The Vacant Mirror: A Study of Mimesis through Diderot's *Jacques le fataliste*" in *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century.* Ed. Theo Besterman, Vol. CIV. The Voltaire Foundation: Banbury.

Lynch, Owen M. 1969. *The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lyotard, Jean F rancois. 1988. *Perigrinations*, New York : Columbia UP.

Marx and Engels. 1970. *Manifest of the Communist Party.* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

McKim Mariot. 1958. Ed. *Village India.* Chicago: Chicago UP.

Michel Foucault. 1977. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews/Michel Foucault.* Ed. Donald, F. Bouchard. Ithaca: Cornell UP. Pp. 153-4.

Namboodaripad, E. M. S. 1986. *A Brief History of Indian Freedom Struggle.* Trivendrum: Social Scientist Press.

Nath Trilok. 1987. *Politics of the Depressed Classes.* Delhi: Deputy Publications.

Omvedt Gail. 1976. *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India, 1850-1935.* Poona: Scientific Socialist Publications.

Oxford Reader on *Racism* edited by Martin Bulmer and John Soloms. 1999.

Parmaji, S. 1985. *Caste Reservations and Performance.* Warangal: Mamata Publications.

Phillip Corrigan and Derek Seyer. 1985. *The Great Arch: English state formation as cultural revolution.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Rao, M. B. 1976. (ed) *Documents of the History of Communist Party of India.* New Delhi: People's Publishing House.

Scott Joan. 1988. *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Sharma, K. L. 1994. *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Sheik Mallika. 1984. *Mala Udhwasta Vhayachaya.* Bombay: Majestic Books.

Smelser, N. J. 1962. *Theory of Collective Behaviour.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Srinivas, M. N. 1996. Ed. *Caste: Its Twentieth Century Avatar.* New Delhi: Viking.

Whorf, B. L. 1956. *Language, Thought and Reality.* New York: Wiley.

Williams Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature.* Oxford: OUP.

Williams, R. 1965. *The Long Revolution.* Hammondsworth: Penguin.

Williams, R. 1976. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* Glasgow: Fontana.

Williams, R. 1983. *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays.* London: New Left Books.

Williams, R. 1963. *Culture and Society: 1780-1950.* Hammondsworth: Penguin.

Wilmsen, Edwin N. and Patrick McAllister. 1996. Ed. *The Politics of Difference.* Chicago: U of Chicago P.

Wittgenstein Ludwig. 1968. *Philosophical Investigations.* Blackwell: Oxford.

Woddis Jack 1972. *New Theories of Revolution.* New York: International Publishers; 1972.

Young, Robert J. C. 1996. *Torn Halves: Political conflict in literary and cultural theory.* Manchester UP: Manchester & New York.

Dalit Bibliography

Abbasayulu, Y. B. 1978. *Scheduled Caste Elite.* Hyderabad: Centre for Harijan Studies, Osmania University.

Abbasayulu, Y. B. 1979. *Sociology of depressed Groups.* Hyderabad: Centre for Harijan Studies, Osmania University.

Agarwal, L. B. 1934. *The Harijans in Rebellion.* Bombay: Taraporewala and Sons.

Agarwal, Partap C. and Ashraf, M. Siddiq. 1976. *Equality through Privilege: A Study of Special Privileges of Scheduled Castes in Haryana.* New Dehli: Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations and Human Resources.

Agrawal, S. P. and Agarwal, J. C. 1991. *Educational and Social Uplift of Backward Classes: A t "at Cost and How? Mandal Commission and After Part* 1. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co.

Ainapur, L. S. 1986. *Dynamics of Caste Relations in Rural India.* Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Aiyappan, A. 1965. *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village: A Study in Cultural Change.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Alexander, K. C. 1968. "Changing Status of Pulaya Harijans of Kerala," EPW, July, Special Number, pp. 1071-75.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1925. *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables.* Bombay: Thacker & Co.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1943. *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables.* Bombay:Thacker & Co.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1946. *Who Were The Sudras? How They Came To Be The Fourth Varna in Indo-Aryan Society.* Bombay: Thacker and Co.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1948. *The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables.* New Delhi: Amrit Book Co.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1957. *The Buddha and his Dhamma.* Bombay: Siddharth College Publications.

Ambedkar, B. R. 1990. *Annihilation of Caste: An Undelivered Speech.* Edited by Mulk Raj Anand. New Delhi: Arnold Publishers.

Anand, J. H. 1995. "Dalit Literature is the Literature of Protest" in Bhagwan Das and James Massey, eds. *Dalit Solidarity.* Delhi: ISPCK.

Anand, Mulk Raj; and Zelliot, Eleanor. eds. 1992. *An Anthology of Dalit Literature. New*Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

Anant, S. S. 1979. "Changing Caste Hindu Attitudes Towards Harijans: A Follow Up After Four Years," in G. R. Gupta, ed., *Main Currents in Indian Sociology - III. Cohesion and Conflict in Modern India.* New Delhi: Vikas.

Anon. 1986. "Scheduled Castes and Marginalization, *Social Action,* vol. 36, no. 2, p. 137-194.

Aranha, Celine; Fernando, Peter; and Mahale, Prabha. 1991. *Beyond The Fire Line. Perceptions of Eight Tribal Women.* New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Atal, Yogesh. 1968. *Line Changing Frontiers of Caste.* Delhi: National Publishing House.

Ayrookuzhiel, A. M. Abraham., ed. 1990. *line Dalit Desiyata: The Kerala Experience in Development and Class Struggle.* Delhi: ISPCK.

Bailey, F. G. 1957. *Caste and the Economic Frontier: A Village in Highland Orissa.* Manchester: University of Manchester.

Bailey, F. G. 1960. *Tribe, Caste and the Nation.* Bombay: Oxford University Press.

Bailey, F. G. 1963. *Politics and Social Change in Orissa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar. 1994. "Caste, Class and Politics in Colonial Bengal: A Case Study of the Namasudra Movement of 1872-193 7, " in K. L. Sharma, ed., *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Barik, R. 1985. "Caste System and Economic Backwardness of Orissa," *Social Science Probings,* vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 254-62.

Basu, S. K. 1968. "Agrarian Problems of Scheduled Castes and Tribes of West Bengal," *Bulletin of Cultural Research Institute,* Vol. 7, nos. 1-2.

Benjamin, Joseph. 1989. *Scheduled Castes in Indian Politics and Society.* New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications.

Bernard, Jessie. 1965. "The Future of the Backward Classes: The Competing Demands of Status and Power," *Perspectives, Supplement to the Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol.* 11, no. 1, pp. 1-39.

Berremen, Geraid D. 1962. "Caste in India and the United States", *American Journal of Sociology, vol.* 10, pp. 386- 394.

Berremen, Geraid D., ed. 1979. "Self, Situation and Escape from Stigmatized Identity," in *Caste and Other Inequities.* Meerut Folklore Institute.

Beteille, Andre. 1972. *The Society and Social Change.* Delhi: Oxford University Press. Beteille, Andre. 198 *1. The Backward Classes and the New Social Order.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Beteille, Andre., ed. 1965. *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Beteille, Andre., ed. 1969. *Caste: Old and New.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Beteille, Andre., ed. 1969. *Social Inequality.* Penguin Books.

Bhagwat, Vidyut. 1995. "Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives - Some Critical Reflections," in P. G. Jogdand, ed., *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. p. 1-7.

Bhagwat, Vidyut; and Rege, Sharmila. 1993. "Towards a Gender-Sensitive Sociology," paper presented at *University Grants Commission (UGC) National Seminar, March.*

Bhai, P. N. 1986. *Harijan Women in Independent India.* New Delhi: B. R. Publishing. Bharat Sewak Samaj. 1958. Slums of Old Delhi. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons.

Bhatt, Anil. 1970. ""Caste and Political Mobilization in Gujarat District," in Rajni Kothari, *ed., Caste in Indian Politics.* Delhi: Orient Longman.

Bhatt, Anil. 1975. *Caste, Class and Politics: An Empirical Profile of Social Stratification in Modern India.* Delhi: Manhohar Book Service.

Bhattacharya, Amit. 1982-83. "Tanning and Leather Workers in the Providence of Bengal." *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies,* vol. xxii, no. 2.

Bhattacharya, S; and Almeida, Fleur. 1986. "The Caste System and Discrimination in Historical Perspective," *New Frontiers in Education,* vol. 16, no. 2, p. 25-32.

Blunt, E. A. H. 1993. *Caste System of Northern India.* London: Oxford University Press.

Bose, N. K. 1951. "Caste in India," *Man in India,* 31: 107-123.

Bose, N. K. 1969. *The Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Their Present Conditions. B. C. Mazumdar Memorial Lectures.* Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Bose, Pradip Kumar. 1985. "Social Mobility and Caste Violence: A Study of the Gujarat Riots," in Desai, ed., *Caste, Caste Conflict and Reservations.* Centre for Social Studies. Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Bougle, C. 1971. *Essays on the Caste System.* Cambridge.

Breman, Jan. 1974. "Mobilization of Landless Labourers: Halpatis of South Gujarat," EPW, vol. 9, no. 6-8, Feb.

Briggs, G. W. 1920. *The Chamars.* Calcutta: Association Press (YMCA).

Briggs, G. W. 193. *Doms, and Their Near Relations.* Mysore: The Wesley Press and Publishing House.

Carsten, F. L. 1967. *The Rise of Fascism.* London: Methuen and Co.

Chamanlai, B. 1962. *Gypsies: Forgotten Children of India.* New Delhi: GOI, Publications Division.

Chanana, Karuna. 1993. "Accessing Higher Education: The Dilemma of Schooling Women, Minorities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Contemporary India." *Higher Education,* vol. 26, no., p. 69-92.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1994. "Caste and Subaltern Consciousness," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI: Writings on South Asian History and Society.* Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 169-209.

Chauhan, B. R. 1969. "Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes," *EPW,* January, pp. 257-63.

Choudhary, K. 1990. "Reservation: A Systematic Compulsion," *Mainstream,* vol. 28, no. 19, p 23-25.

Cohan, B. N. "Changing Conditions of a Low Caste in Traditional India," *Journal of American Folklore,* vol. 21

Cohan, B. N. 1955. "The Changing Status of a Depressed Class," in McKim M, ed., *Village India: Studies in the Little Community.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cohen, S. P. 1969. "The Untouchable Solider: Centre, Politics and the Indian Army," *Journal of Asian Studies, vol.* 1 8, no. 3, pp. 453 - 68.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1955. "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste," in McKim Marriott, *ed., Village India: Studies in the Little Community.* Chicago: The university Of Chicago Press.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1958. "Changing Tradition of a Low Caste," *Journal of American Folklore,* vol. 21, July.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1961. "Chamar Family in a North Indian Village: A Structural Contingent," *Economic Weekly,* vol. 13, nos. 27, 28 and 29, pp. 1 05 1 -55.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1962. "Review of M. Marriott, 'Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan,'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* vol. 82: 425-430.

Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. 1978-9. *Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes.* New Delhi: Government of India.

Dalit Panthers. 1973. *Dalit Panthers Manifesto.* Bombay, in Joshi, R. Barbara. ed. 1986.

Damle, Y. B. and Karve. 1963. "Note on the Position of Scheduled Castes and Their Position in the Village," in *Group Relations in a Village Community. Poona:* Deccan College, Post-Graduate and Research Institute.

Dangle, Arjun. ed. 1992. *No Room for the New Sun.* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Dangle, Arjun. ed. 1992. *Poisoned Bread. Translations from Modern Marathi Dalit Literature.* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Das, Bhagwan. 1995. "Socio-Economic Problems of Dalits," in Bhagwan Das and James Massey, eds. *Dalit Solidarity.* Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK).

Das, Man Singh. 1976. "A Cross-National Study of Inter-Caste Conflict in India and the United States," *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology,* " vol. 13, nos. 3-4, pp. 261-77.

Department of Social Security, GOI. 1967. *Report of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.*

Desai, Haribhai G., and Uchat, D. A. 198 1. " Self concept of Harijan Students and Attitudes of Other Students Towards Them," *Indian Educational Review,* vol. 16, no. 3, p. 44-50.

Desai, I. P. 1973. *Water Facilities for the Untouchables in Rural Gujarat: A Report.*

Desai, I. P. 1976. *Untouchability in Rural Gi---aral.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Desai, I. P. 1985. "Anti-reservation Agitation and Struggle of Gujarat Society," in Centre for Social Studies, ed., *Caste, Caste Conflict and Reservations.* Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Deshpande, Vasant. 1978. *Towards Social Integration: Problems of Adjustment of SC Elites.* Pune: Shubhada- Saraswat.

Deshpande, Vasant. 1983. *The Mhaisal Untouchables.* Pune: Dastane Ramchandra & Co.

Dewan, R. P. 1979. *How to Erase Untouchability.* New Delhi: R. P Bookwala.

Dictrich, Gabriele. 1988. "Women, Ecology and Culture," paper for the *IV National Conference on Women's Studies,* Andhra University.

Dictrich, Gabriele. 1992. "Dalit Movements and Women's Movement," *in Reflection on the Women's Movement in India.* New Delhi: Horizons India Books.

Doshi, Harish. 1974. "Use of Public Places and Facilities by Bhangis in Surat," *Journal of Social and Economic Studies,* vol. 2, no. 1,

D'Souza, Victor S. 1962. "Changing Status of Scheduled Castes," *FPW,* vol. 16, no. 48.

D'Souza, Victor S. 1967. "Caste and Class - A Reinterpretatiort " *Journal of Asian & African Studies,* vol. 2, no. 3-4.

D'Souza, Victor S. 1975. "Scheduled Castes and Urbanization in Punjab: An Explanation," *Sociological Bulletin,* vol. 24, no. 1

D'Souza, Victor S. 1977. "Does Urbanism Desegregate Scheduled Castes: Evidence From a District in Punjab," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (New Series), vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 219-39.

Dube, S. C. 1955. "Ranking of Caste in Telangana Villages," in D. N. Majumdar, ed., *Rural Profiles.* Lucknow: The Ethnographic and Folk-Culture Society. pp. 54-62.

Dube, S. C. 1955. *Indian Village.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Dubois, Abbe. 1983. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.* New Delhi: AES. Reprint.

Dumont, Louis. 1970. *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications.* London: Paladin, Granada Pub. Ltd.

Dunn, Dana. 1993. "Gender Inequity in Education and Employment in the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of India," *in Population Research and Policy Review,* vol. 12, no. 1, p.53-71.

Dushkin, Lelah. 1979. "Backward Class Benefits and Social Class in India, 1920-1970," in *EPW,* April 7th.

Emmett, P. B. et. al., --. *The Malas and Madigas. Religious Life of India Series.* Calcutta: Association Press.

Engineer, Asghar Ali., ed. 199 *1. Mandal Commission Controversy.* Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Epstein, T. S. 1962. *Economic Development and Social Change in South India.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Epstein, T. S. 1973. *South India: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.* London: Macmillan Press.

Fisherman, A. T. 1941. *Cultural Change and Underprivileged. A Study of Madigas in South India. Madras:* Under Christian Guidance.

Freeman, James M. 1979. *Untouchable : An Indian Life History.* CA: Stanford University Press.

Fuchs, S. 1951. *7he Children of Hari: A Study of the Nihar Balahis in Madhya Pradesh.* Ahmedabad:

Fuchs, S. 198 *1. At the Bottom of Indian Society.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Pub.Pvt. Ltd.

Galanter, Marc. 1961. "Equality and Protective Discrimination in India", *Rulger's Law Review,* 16: 42-74.

Galanter, Marc. 1963. "Law and Caste in Modern India," *Asian Review,* vol. 3, no. 2: 3 544- 59.

Galanter, Marc. 1969. "Untouchability and the Law," EPW, annual no., January: 131-70.

Galanter, Marc. 1984. *Competing Inequalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India.* CA: University of California Press.

Gandhi, M. K. 1954. 7he *Removal of Untouchability.* Ahmedabad: Navjivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. K. 1954. *For Woj,*ers A~t Untouchability.* Ahmedabad: Navjivan Publishing House.

Ganesan, L. 1991. *Relevance of Reservation.* Madras: Valentina Publications.

Gangadbaran, K. K. 1970. *Sociology of Revivalism: A Study of Indianisation, Sanskritisation and Golwalkarism.* New Delhi: Kaimakar Prakashan.

Gangrade, K. D. 1975. "Social Mobility in India: A Study of Depressed Class, *"Man in India, vol.* 55, no 3 :248-72.

Gangrade, K. D. 1976. "Adult Suffrage and Social Change: Changing Status of a Depressed *Caste," Social Change,* vol. 7, nos. 1 and 2.

Ghurye, G. S. 1950. *Caste and Class in India.* Bombay: Popular Books.

Ghurye, G. S. 196 1. *Caste, Class and Occupation.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Glen, M. and Johnson, S. B. 1979. "Social Mobility Among Untouchables," in G. R. Gupta, *ed., Main Currents in Indian Sociology - III. Cohesion and Conflict in Modern India.* New Delhi: Vikas.

Gnanadason, Aruna. 1990. "Dalit Women - The Dalit of the Dalit," in Arvind P. Nirmal, *ed., Towards A Common Dalit Ideology.* Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute, p 109- 120.

Gobineau, Count. 1853. *The Inequality of the Human Races.*

Gopal, Guru. 1985. "Casteism in the South," *Mainstream,* vol. 23, no. 47, p. 20-22.

Gordon, Childe V. 1926. *The Aryans.* Reprinted 1970. New York.

Gorhe, N. 1995. "Social Development and Dalit Women," in P. G. Jogdand, ed., *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Pub. House in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune.

Gough, Aberle E. K. 1959. "Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India," *Men in India,* vol. 39, pp. 5-26.

Gough, Kathleen. 1955. "The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village," in Mckim Marriot, ed., *Village India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gough, Kathleen. 1973. "Harijans in Thanjavur," in Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma, *ed., Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia.* New York: Monthly Review Press.

Government of India. 1957. *Report of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of the Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.*

Government of India. 1969. *Report of the Committee on Untouchabiliiy, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents* (Elayaperumal Report).

Govt. of Karnataka. *Report of the Second Backward Classes Commission, vol.* 1. Bangalore, 1986, p. 26.

Goyal, Bhagat Ram. 198 *1. Educating Harjans.* Haryana: Academic Press.

Gupta, Dipankar. 1979. "Understanding the Maharashtra Riots - A Repridiation of Eclectic Marxism, " *Social Scientist,* vol. 7, no. 1 0.

Gupta, Dipankar. 1984. "Continuous Hierarchies and Discrete Castes," *EPW,* vol. 19, nos. 46-47, 48. pp. 1955-58; 2003-2005; and 2049-53.

Gupta, S. K. 1985. *Scheduled Castes in Modern Indian Politics: Their Emergence as a Political Power.* New Delhi· Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

Gupta, Shanti S. 199 *1. Varna, Castes and Scheduled Castes: A Documentation in Historical Perspective With a Classified Index to Scholarly Writings in Indian Journals (1890-1990).* New Delhi: Concept Pub Co.

Gupta, Shiva K. 1980. "Harijan Legislation: Their Alienation and Activism: A Case Study of Harijan Power," *Indian Journal of Political Science,* vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 457-70.

Gurukal, Rajan. 1994. "The Formation of Caste Society in Kerala," in K. L. Sharma, ed., *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Halbar, B. G. 1986. *Lamani Economy and Society in Change: Socio-Cultural Aspects of Economic Change Among the Lamani of North Karnataka.* Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Hardgrave, Robert L. Jr. 1965. *The Dravidian Movement. Bombay:* Popular Book Depot.

Hardgrave, Robert L. Jr. 1966. "Varieties of Political Behaviour Among Nadars of Tamil Nadu, "*Asia Survey,* vol. 6: 614-621

Hardgrave, Robert L. Jr. 1969. *The Nadars of Tamilnad.* Bombay: Oxford University Press.

Harper, Edward B. 1968. "Social Consequences of an Unsuccessful Low Caste Movement" in James Silverberg, ed., *Social Mobility in the Caste System in India.* The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Harrison, Selig S. 1956. "Caste and the Andhra Communists," *line American Political Political Science Review, vol.* 1, no. 2, pp. 3 78-404.

Henninger, F. *The Bhangis.* Calcutta: Religious Life of India Series.

Heredia, Rudi. 1986. "Minority Rights and Reservation Policy: Towards Coherence and Consistence, *New Frontiers in Education,* vol. 16, no. 2, p. 60-63.

Hocart, A. M. 1950. *Caste.* London: Mathew and Co.

Horsey, Anita. 198 1. "Conditions of Scheduled Castes and Tribes," *New Frontiers in Education, vol.* 11, no. 2, p. 1-36.

Hutton, J. H. 1946. *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins.* 3rd Edition. London: Cambridge University Press.

Iman, Mohammed. 1966. "Reservation of Seats for Backward Classes in Public Services and Educational institutions," *Journal of Indian Law Institute,* vol. 16: 441-49.

Irschick, Eugene T. 1969. *Politics and Social Conj7ict in South India.* LA: University of California Press.

Isaacs, Harold R. 1965. *India's Ex-Untouchables.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Ishwaran, K. 1966. *Tradition and Economy in Village India.* Bombay: Allied Publications.

Ishwaran, K. 1968. *Shivpur: A South Indian Village.* London: Routledge.

Jaiswal, S. 1977. "Studies in the Social Structure of the Early Tamils," in R. S. Sharma, ed., *Indian Society: Historical Probings.* Second Edition. New Delhi.

Jayagopal, R. 1986. "Occupational Mobility Among A Special Group of Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu: A Survey," *Indian Journal of Adult Education,* vol. 47, no. 1, p 8- 1 2.

Jayaraman, R. 1975. *Caste Continuities in Ceylon.* Bombay.

Jeevaratanam, A. G. 1973. *Political Implications of Untouchability.* Hyderabad: Kondaveedu Press.

Jha, D. N. 1977. "Temples as Landed Magnates in Early Medieval South India (c. A.D. 700- 13 00), " in R. S. Sharma, ed., *Indian Society: Historical Probings.* Second Edition. New Delhi. pp. 202-216.

Jha, Hetukar. "Lower Caste Peasants and Upper Caste Zamindars in Bihar (1 921-192 5): An Analysis of Sanskritization and Contradiction Between the Two Groups," in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* vol. xiv, no. 4.

Jogdan, Prahlad G. 199 *1. Dalit Movement in Maharashtra.* New Delhi: Kanak Publications.

Jogdand, P. G. ed. 1995. *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune.

Johnson, Glen and Bose, Sipra. 1978. "Social Mobility Among Untouchables," in G. R. Gupta, ed., *Cohesion and Conflict in Modern India.* New Delhi: Vilas.

Joshi, Barbara R. 1982. *Democracy in Search of Equality: Untouchable Politics and Indian Social Change.* Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Co.

Joshi, Barbara R. ed. 1986. *Untouchable! Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement.* London: Zed Books.

Joshi, Barbara. R. 1977. "The Buddhist Movement of Western Uttar Pradesh." Mimeographed Paper, March 27.

Joshi, Barbara. R. 1987. "Recent Developments of Inter-Regional Mobilization of Dalit Protest in India," *South Asia Bulletin,* vol. 7.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1979. *Religion as Social Vision: line Movement Against Untouchability in 20th Century Punjab.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1988. *Religion Rebels in the Punjab: 7'he Social Vision of Untouchables.* Delhi: Ajanta Pub.

Kadetotad, N. *Religion and Society Among Harijans.* Dharwar: Karnatak University.

Kakade, S. R. 1990. *Scheduled Castes and National Integration: A Study of Marathwada.* New Delhi: Radiant Pub.

Kamble, J. R. 1979.,Rise *and Awakening of Depressed Classes in India.* New Delhi: National Publishers.

Kamble, N. D. 198 *1. Atrocities on Scheduled Castes.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Kamble, N. D. 1982. *The Scheduled Castes.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Kamble, N. D. 1983. *Deprived Castes and their Struggle for Equality.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Kamila, Banu Behari. 1985. "A Study of Attitude of Students Towards School of Harijans and Tribal Welfare Department High School of Orissa," *Journal of Education and Psychology,* vol. 43, vol. 3-4, p. 187-92.

Kananaikil, Jose. 1984. *Constitutional Provisions for the Scheduled Castes.* New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Kannibaran, V., and Kannibaran, K. 1991. "Caste and Gender: Understanding Dynamics of Power and Violence," *EPW,* Sept. 14).

Kanshi Ram. 1982. *The Chamcha Age: An Era of the Stooges.* New Delhi.

Karickar, M. 1982. "Some Perspectives on the Employment of Scheduled Castes Women," *Social Action,* vol. 32, p. 292-302.

Karve, Irawati and Damle, Y. B. 1963. *Group Relations in Village Community. Poona:* Deccan College.

Karve, Irawati. 1961. *Hindu Society: An Interpretation.* Poona: Sangam Press.

Kaul, Rekha. 1993. *Caste, Class and Education: Politics of the Capitation Fee Phenomenon in Karnataka.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Keane, A. H. 1920. *Man, Past and Present.*

Ketkar, S. V. 1909. *History of Caste in India.*

Khan, Mumtaz Ali. 1980. *Scheduled Castes and their Status in India.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Khan, Mumtaz Ali. 1994. *Identity Formation and Self-Identity Among Harijan Elite. New* Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Khan, Mumtaz Ali. 1994. *Reservation for Scheduled Castes: Gaps Between Policy and Implementation.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Khan, Mumtaz Ali. 1995. *Human Rights and the Dalits.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Khare, R. S. 1984. *line Untouchable as Himse@f. Ideology, Identity and Pragmatism Among the Lucknow Chamars.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Khurana, G. 1979. "Education Facilities for Scheduled Castes," *Education Quarterly, vol.*3 nos. 3 and 4, pp. 31-35.

Kosambi, D. D. 1956. *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Kosambi, D. D. 1975. Introduction to the Study of Indian History. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. Kriesberg, Louis. 1968. "Abolition of Untouchability in Andhra Pradesh," *Social Welfare, vol.* 15, no. 2.

Kosambi, D. D. Caste and Class in India. Mimeo.

Kshirsagar, R. K. 1994. *Dalit Movement in India and Its Leaders (1857-1956).* New Delhi: MD Pub. Pvt. Ltd.

Kulke, H. 1976. "Kshyatriyaization and Social Change: A Study in Orissan Setting," in Pillai, S. D. ed., *Aspects of Changing India: Studies in Honour of G. S. Ghurye.* Bombay. pp. 398-409.

Kumar, Dharma. 1965. *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labour in Madras Presidency During the Nineteenth Century.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Kurien, C. T. 1982. "Economic Conditions of Scheduled Castes," *Yojana,* vol. 26, no. 19, 13-17.

Lakshmanna, C. 1973. *Caste Dynamics in Village India.* Bombay: Nachiketa Publications.

Lakshmanna, C. 1974. *Ihe Study of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe High Students in Andhra Pradesh.* ICSSR Report.

Lakshmanna, C. 1977. *Harijans and the Social Discrimination: A Study of Some Telangana Villages.* Hyderabad: Osmania Univeristy, Department of Sociology.

Lal, Sheo Kumar and Nabar, Umed Raj. 1990. *Extent of Untouchability and Pattern of Discrimination.* New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Lal, Shyam. 198 *1. Caste and Political Mobilisation: The Bhangis. Ja~: Panchsheel Prakashan.*

Lannoy, Richard. 1971. *The Speaking Tree.* London: Oxford University Press.

Leach, E. R. ed., 1960. *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Leopold, Joan. 1970. "The Aryan Theory of Race," *IESHR,* pp. 270-97.

Liddle, J., and Joshi, R. 1986. *Daughters of Independence: Gender, Caste, and Class in India.* NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lynch, Owen M. 1969. *The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Changein a City oflndia.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lynch, Owen M. 1970. "Political Mobilisation and Ethnicity Among Adi-Dravidas in a Bombay Slum," *EPW,* vol 9, no. 39,:1657-68.

Mahapatra, L. K. 1978. "Gods, Kings and the Caste System in India," in B. Misra and J. Preston, eds., *Community, Self and Identity.* Hague-Paris.

Mahar, Michael J. ed., 1972. *The Untouchables in Contemporary India.* Tueson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.

Mahar, Pauline M. 1960. "Changing Religious Practices of an Untouchable Caste," *Economic Development and Culture Change,* vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 279-87.

Mailik, Suncila. 1979, *Social Integration of the Scheduled Castes.* New Delhi: Abhinay.

Majumdar, D. N. 1958. *Caste and Communication in an Indian Village.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Malik, S. C. ed., 1986. *Determinants of Social Status in India.*

Malkani, N. R. 1965. *Clean People and an Unclean Country.* Harijan Seva Sangh.

Mankidy, Aruna. 1979. "Inter-generational Mobility Among the Scheduled Castes," *Social Change,* vol. 9, nos. 1-2,:10-17.

Mann, K. 1987. *Tribal Women in a Changing Society.* Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Marriott, Mckim. 1959. "Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking", *Man in India,* vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 92- 107.

Marriott, Mckim. ed., 1955. *Village India: Studies in the Little Community.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Marriott, Mckim. ed., 1965. *Caste Ranking and Community in Five Religions of India and Pakistan.* Poona: Deccan College.

Marulasiddaish, H.M. 1971. "Caste, Consolidation, Social Mobility and Ambivalence: A Case Study of Caste Hostels in Mysore State," *Indian Jourmi of Social Work,* vol.31, no. 4, pp. 391-399.

Massey, James. ed. 1994. *Indigenous People: Dalits - Dalit Issues in Today's Theological Debate.* Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK).

Mathew, Joseph. 1986. *Ideology, Protest and Social Mobility: Case Study of Mahars and Pulayas.* New Delhi: Inter India Publications.

Mathew, P. D. 1983. "The Law on Abolition of Untouchability Theory and Practice," in J. Kananaikil, ed., *Scheduled Castes and Their Struggle Against Inequality.* Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Maw, Martin. 1990. *Visions ofIndia. London:* Vertag Perer Lang.

Mayer, Adrian C. 1956. "Some Hierarchical Aspects of Caste," *South Western Journal of Anthropology,* vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 144-45.

Mehta, Sushila. 1971. *Social Conflicts in a Village Community.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Co.

Meillassoux, Claude. 1973. "Are There Castes in India?" *Economy and Society, vol. 2.*

Menon, K. P. Subramanya. 1961. *The Shame of Free India: A Study of the Social and Economic Disabilities of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.* Communist Party of India Publication.

Meyer, Mark J. 1982. *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement Against Untouchability in 20th Century in Punjab.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Minz, Nirmal. 1990. "Dalit-Tribal: A Search For Common Ideology," in Arvind P. Nirmal, *ed., To-wards a Common Dalit Ideoloi,,v.* Madras: Guruk-ul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute.

Mishra, Ajay M., et al. 1983. "A Study of Attitude Towards Learning of Science Among Scheduled Caste Students," *Journal of Education and Psychology,* vol. 43, no. 3, p.112-116.

Mishra, N. 1978. "Studies on the Scheduled Castes in Bihar", *Journal of Social Research.* vol. 2. no. 2:47-70.

Mitter, Sara S. 199 *1. Dharma's Daughters: Contemporary Indian Women and Hindu Culture.* NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Moffatt, Mchael. 1975. "Untouchables and the Caste System: A Tamil Case Study, *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* New Series, vol. 9, no. 1.

Moffatt, Michael. 1979. *An Untouchable Community in South India: Structure and Consensus.* NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mohan, P.E. 1993. *Scheduled Castes: History of Elevation, Tamil Nadu, 1900-1955.* Madras: New Era Pub.

Mohanty, Manoranjan. 1984. 'Social Roots of Backwardness in Orissa: A Study of Class, Caste and Power," in *Social Science Probings, vol.* 1, no. 2, June, pp. 184-228.

Mohanty, Manoranjan. 1985. "Arguing with Bailey by Proxy," in *Social Science Probings,* vol. 2, no. 2, June, pp. 263-67.

Monga, Veena. 1967. "Social Mobility Among the Potters: Report of a Caste Conference," *EPW,* vol. 2:1047-1055.

Mukherjee, Prabhati. 1988. *Beyond the Four Varnas.* Shimia: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies.

Muller, F. Max. and Oldenberg, H. Translators. 1891-97. *Vedic Hymns. 2 Vols. Sacred Books of the Past,* vols. 39 and 46. Oxford: OUP.

Muller, F. Max. Translator. 1921. *Thirteen Principal Upanishads.* Oxford: OUP.

Murthy, A. S. N. 1985. "Social Backwardness Among the Harijans of Andhra Pradesh, South India. " Paper Presented at *All India Seminar on Backwardness,* held at University of Madras, from 23rd to 25th February.

Murthy, B. S. 1969. *The Glimmer in Darkness.* Secunderabad: Lakshmi & Co.

Murthy, B. S. 197 *1. Depressed and Oppressed - For Ever in Agony.* New Delhi.

Murugkar, Lata. 199 *1. Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra: A Sociological Appraisal.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Nagaraj, D. R. 1993. *The Flaming Feet: A Study of the Dalit Movement.* Bangalore: South Forum Press.

Naidu, A. Nagaraja. 1985. "Harijans in Semi-feudal Set-up: A Case Study of Karamchedu," *Social Science Probings,* vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 450-58.

Naidu, A. Nagaraja. 1994. "Caste and Land in Colonial South India," in K. L. Sharma, ed., *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Nair, Janaki. 1986. "Fighting for Backwardness: Venkataswammy Commission Report and After," *EPW,* vol. XXI, no. 42, pp. 1837-38.

Narayana, C. 1974. "Emerging Elite in Scheduled Castes", in *Secular Democracy,* vol. 7, no. 19.

Narayanan, M. G. 5.; and Veluthat, K. 1987. "The Bhakti Movement in South India," in D. N. Jha, ed., *Feudal Social Formations in Early India.* Delhi. pp. 348-75.

Narayanan, R. 1978. "False Concern for the Harijans," *Main Stream,* vol. 16, no. 24.

Nargolkar, V. S. 1969. "Removal of Untouchability: Goals and Attainments," *Indian Journal of Social Work,* vol 30, no. 3.

Nataraj, V. K. 1990. "Backward Classes and Minorities in Karnataka Politics," in Ramashray Roy and Richard Sisson, eds., *Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics: Division, Deprivation and the Congress. Vol.* 11. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 170-186.

Nath, Trilok. 1987. *Politics of the Depressed Classes.* Delhi: Deputy Publications.

Nelson, Stuart. 1969. "Caste and Untouchability and Gandhi," *in Gandhi Marg,* April.

Nesfield, J. C. 1885. *Brief View of the Caste System of the North- Western Provinces and* Oudh. Allahabad.

Nirmal, Arvind P. ed. 1990. *Towards A Common Dalit Ideology.* Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute.

Nye, Robert, 1973. *Conflict Among Harijans.* NY: Springer Publications.

O'Malley, L. S. S. 1974. *Indian Caste Customs.* Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Omprakash, S. 1989. *Development of the Weaker Section: Problems, Policies and Issues.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Omvedt, Gail. "Development of The Caste System in South Asia: Notes Towards a Theory". Mimeographed.

Omvedt, Gail. 1976. *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahmin Movement in Western India - 1873 to 1930.* Bombay: Scientific Socialist Education Trust.

Omvedt, Gail. 1991. *Theories of Violence.* New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Omvedt, Gail. 1995. "Dalit Women and Communalism," in P. G. Jogdand, ed. 1995. *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. P. 135-145.

Omvedt, Gail. 1978. "Class Struggle or Caste War," *Frontier,* Calcutta. vol. 2, no. 8--. Sept. 30, pp. 30-40.

Omvedt, Gail. 1994. *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India.* New Delhi: Sage.

Omvedt, Gail. 1982. *Land, Caste and Politics in Indian States.* Delhi: Authors Guild Publications.

Oommen, T. K. 1968. "Strategy for Social Change: A Study of Untouchability," *EPW,* June 22, pp. 933-36.

Oommen, T. K. 1970. "The Concept of Dominant Caste: Some Queries," *Contribution to Indian Sociology,* vol. 4, December, pp. 73-83.

Oommen, T. K. 1980. "Sources of Deprivation and Styles of Protest: The Case of Dalits in *India", Contributions to Indian Sociology,* New Series, vol. 18, no. 1, January-June.

Ornvedt, Gail. 1995. *Dalit Visions: The Anti-Caste Movement and the Construction of an Indian Identity*. New Hyderabad: Orient Longman.

Pandey, Gyan. 1983. "Rallying Round the Cow: Sectarian Strife in the Bhojpuri Region, c. 1888-1917," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies II*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Pandya, B. V. 1959. "Trends and Patterns of Indebtedness Among Harijans", *Journal of the Cultural Research Society*, vol. 2 1, pp. 99-115.

Pantawane, Gangadhar. 1986. "Evolving a New Identity: The Development of a Dalit Culture," in B. Joshi op. cit. 1986, p 79-87.

Paranjpe, A. C. 1970. *Caste, Prejudice and the Individual*. New Delhi: Lalvani Publishing House.

Parmaji, S. 1985. *Caste Reservations and Performance*. Warangal: Mamata Publications.

Parvathamma, C. 1968. "The Case for the Indian Untouchable," *United Asia*, vol. 20, no. 5, pp. 279-86.

Parvathamma, C. 1973. "Ambedkar and After: The Position and Future of Indian SC Masses," *Eastern Anthropology*, vol. 26.

Parvathamma, C. 1984. *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes: A Socio-Economic Survey*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Parvathamma, C. 1986. *New Horizons and Scheduled Castes*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Parvatharnma, G. *1989. Scheduled Castes at the Cross Roads*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Pathy, Jaganath. 1982. "Politics of Reservation in India: Case Study of Political Agitation in Bibar and Gujarat," *Philosophy and Social Action*, vol. 8, no. 2.

Pathy, Suguna. 1985. "The Untouchables - Protectors Fail," *in State and Society, vol.* 5, no. 3, July-Sept., pp. 37-44.

Patil, Sharad. 1979. "Dialectics of Caste and Class Conflict," *EPW*, February.

Patil, Sharad. 1989. "Mobilizing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes," *EPW*, col. 24, no. 35-36, p. 2002-06.

Patnaik, Nitayananda. 1969. *Caste and Social Change: An Anthropological Study of Three Orissa Villages*. Hyderabad: National Institute of Community Development.

Patwardhan, Sunanda. 1968. "Social Mobility and Conversion of Mahars", *Sociological Bulletin, vol.* 7, no. 2: 187-202.

Patwardhan, Sunanda. 1973. *Change Among India's Harijans: Maharashtra a Case Study*, New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Phule, Jotiba. 1990, *Samagra Wanghmay*. Bombay: Government of Maharashtra.

Pillai, D. ed., *Aspects of Changing India: Studies in Honour of G. S Ghurye*. Bombay. pp. 398-409.

Pimpley, Prakash N. 1976. "Politization Among the Scheduled Castes Students of Punjab," *Social Action*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 138-61.

Pinto, Ambrose. 1992. "Caste Conflict in Karnataka," EPW. July. Vol. XXVII no. 28.

Poliakov, Leon. *The Aryan Myth*. NY: New American Library.

Prabhakar, M. E. 1995. "Dalit Education and Youth," in Bhagwan Das and James Massey, *eds., Dalit Solidarity*. Delhi: ISPCK. p. 94-124.

Prabhavathi, M. 1995. "Dalit Women in Contemporary Indian Situation," in P. G. Jogdand, *ed., Datit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. p. 82-92.

Prabhu, P. N. 1955. *Report of the Seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability*. Bombay: Indian Conference of Social Work.

Pradhan, A. C. 1986. *The Emergence of the Depressed Classes* Bhubaneswar: Bookland International.

Prasad, Pradhan H. 1978. "Caste and Class in Bihar," *EPW*, annual number, February.

Premi, Kusum K. 1976. "Scheduled Castes and Educational Opportunities" *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol. 37, no. 3.

Premi, Kusum K. 1984. "Education Equality and Economic Opportunities: A Comparative Study of Scheduled Castes and Non-Scheduled Castes," *Journal of Higher Education,* vol. 9, no. 3, p. 363-72.

Programme for Scheduled Castes. 1994. *Dalit Organizations: A Directory.* Second Edition. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Pullapilly, C. K. 1976. "The Izhavas of Kerala and Their Historic Struggle for Acceptance in the Hindu Society," *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* vol. 2, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 24-46.

Punaickar, S. P. 1975. "Harijans of Eastern U.P. Region: A Profile on Marginality," The *North-Eastern Research Bulletin,* vol. 6, pp. 30-40.

Punalekar, S. P. 1980. "Aspects of Class and Caste in Social Tensions: A Study of Marathwada Riots." Mimeo. Surat: Centre for Social Studies.

Punalekar, S. P. 1986. "Social Situation and Development Perceptions of Rural Poor in Western India." Mimeo. Surat: Centre for Social Studies.

Punalekar, S. P. 1995. "On Dalitism and Gender," in P. G. Jogdand, ed., *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. p. 8-17.

Purandare, C. K. 1995. "People of India: Some Prima Facie Inferences With Reference to Secheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes," in P. G. Jogdand, ed.. *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. p. 3 7-8 1.

Puri, Balrai. 1971. "Caste and Class and Party Polarisation," *EPW,* 6 (27):1317-18.

Radetotad, N.K. 1966. "Caste Hierarchy Among the Untouchables of Dharwar," *Eastern Anthropologist,* vol. 19, no. 3, p. 205-214.

Rajshekar, V. T. 1994. *Brahminism: Father of Fascism, Racism, Nazism.* Bangalore: Dalit Sahitya Akademy.

Ram, Jagivan. 1980. *Caste Challenge in India.* New Delhi: Vision Books.

Ramaswamy, Uma. 1984. "Preference and Progress: The Scheduled Castes," *EPW*, vol. 19, pp. 1214-17.

Ramaswamy, Uma. 1986. "Protection and Inequality Among Backward Groups," *EPW*, vol.31, no. 9 :3 99-403.

Ramu, G. N. 1968. "Untouchability in Rural Areas," *Indian Journal of Social Work*, vol. 25, no. 2.

Ranadive, B. T. 1982. *Caste, Class and Property Relations.* Calcutta.

Rao, Hanumantha G. 1977. *Caste and Poverty: A Case Study of Scheduled Castes in a Delta Village.* Mulikipuram: Savithri Publication.

Rao, Hemlata and Babu, M. Devendra. 1994. *Scheduled Castes and Tribes: Socio-Economic Upliftment Programmes.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Rao, M. S. A. 1978. *Social Movement and Social Transformation: A Study of Backward Class Movement.* New Delhi: MacMillan Press.

Rao, N. V. Kameswara and Raju, M. V. T. 1975. "Malas and Madigas: An Ethnographic Study of Two Scheduled Castes of Telangana," *Journal of Social Research, vol.* 1 8, no. 2, pp. 59-68.

Rao. Nandu. 1995. *Beyond Ambedkar: Essays on Dalits in India.* New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Rathnaiab, K. 1999 *I. Social Change among the Malas: An Ex-Untouchable Caste in South India.* New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House.

Ravindranatha, M.N. 1981. "Educational Problems of Scheduled Castes," *Educational Review*, vol. 87, no. 4, p. 69-74.

Rayappa, P. Hanumantha and Grover, Deepak. 1980. *Employment Planning for the Rural Poor: The Case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.* New Delhi: Sterling

Reddy, D. N. 1984. "Women in Economic Development: The Scheduled Caste Female Agricultural Labourers in India - A Target Group Approach," in Manohare, ed., *Women's Status and Development in India.* Warangal: Society for Women's Studies and Development. Pp. 40-5 1.

Reddy, Subha N. 1950. "Community Conflict Among the Depressed Castes of Andhra," *Man in India*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp.1- 12.

Rege, Sharmila. 1989. *Sati: A Critical Analysis.* Monograph, Women Studies Centre, Department of Sociology, University of Poona.

Rege, Sharmila. 1995. "Caste and Gender: The Violence Against Women in India, in P. G. Jogdand, ed., *Dalit Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.* New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, in collaboration with University of Poona, Pune. p. 18-36.

Rey Burman, B. K. ed., 1970. *Social Mobility Movement among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.* Registrar-General of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, GOI.

Risley, Herbert. 1908. *The People of India.* Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co.

Robb, Peter. 1993. *Dalit Movements and the Meanings of Labour in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Rudolph, Lloyd. I and Rudolph, Subsanne H. "The Political Role of India's Caste Associations," *Pacific Affairs,* vol. 3 3, pp. 5-22.

Rudolph, Lloyd. I. 1965. "The Modernity of Tradition: The Democratic Incarnation of Caste in India," *American Political Science Review.* vol. 59 no. 4, pp. 975-89.

Saberwal, Satish. 1972. "The Reserved Constituency: Candidates and Consequences," *EPW.* Vol. 7 No. 2, pp.71-80.

Sachchidananda and Iyer, Gopal G. 1969. "Caste Tension in India," *Eastern Anthropologist* Vol. 22 No. 3 pp.327-48.

Sachchidananda and Sinha, R. P. 1989. *Education and the Disadvantaged: A Study of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Sachchidananda. 1967. "Caste and Conflict in Bihar Village," *Eastern Anthropologist Vol.* 20 No. 2, pp. 143-50.

Sachchidananda. 1974. "Emergent of Scheduled Castes Elite in Bihar", *Religion and Society* Vol. 21 No. 3, pp.55-61.

Sachchidananda. 1974. "Research on Scheduled Castes With Special Reference to Change," Trend Report in *Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology,* IC S SR, pp. 276-310.

Sachchidananda. 1976. *The Harijan Elite: A Study of their Status, Networks, Mobility and Role in Social Transformation.* Haryana: Thompson Press.

Sahay, K. N. 1975. "Eradication of Untouchability and the Caste System," *Journal of Social Research, vol.* 18, no. 2, pp. 1-8.

Saradomoni, K. 1973. "Agrestic Slavery in Kerala in the Nineteenth Century," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (IESHR), vol. X, no. 4, December.

Saradomoni, K. *Emergence of a Scheduled Caste: Pulayas of Kerala.* New Delhi: People's Publishing House.

Sarkar, J. 1984. *Caste, Occupation and Change.* Delhi: B. R. Publishing Co.

Satyanarayana. 1982. "Educational Problems of Scheduled Caste College Students in Karnataka, "*Journal of Higher Education,* vol. 7, no. 3, p. 253 -60.

Schweitzer, Albert. 1980. *Indian Thought and Its Development.* Bombay: Wilco Publishers.

Searle-Chatterdee, Mary; and Sharma, Ursula. 1994. *Contextualising Caste: Post-Dumontian Approaches.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers/Sociological Review.

Shah, Ghanshyam. 1975. *Caste Association and Political Processes in Gujarat.* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Shah, Ghanshyani. 1975. *Politics of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.* Bombay: Vora and Co. Pvt. Ltd.

Shah,. Ghanshyam- and Chaturvedi, H. R. 1985. "Caste in Contemporary India," in Centre for Social Studies, ed., *Caste, Caste Conflict and Reservations.* Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Shankar, Jogan. 1990. *Devadasi Cult: A Sociological Analysis.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Sharma, B. D. 1994. *Dalits Betrayed.* New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.

Sharma, G. S. 1975. *Legislation and Cases of Untouchability and Scheduled Castes in India.* Bombay: Allied Publishers.

Sharma, K. L. 1974. *The Changing Rural Stratification System.* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Sharma, Rama. 1995. *Bhangi: Scavenger in Indian Society - Marginality, Identity and Politicization of the Community.* New Delhi: M D Publications.

Sharma, Satya P. 1983. "A Materialistic Thesis on the Origin and Continuity of the Caste System in South Asia: A Review Article," *Eastern Anthropologist,* vol. 36, no. 1, p. 55-77.

Sharma, Ursula M. 1976. "Status Striving and Striving to Abolish Status: The Arya Samaj and the Low Castes," *Social Action,* vol. 26, July-September.

Sharnia, K. L. 1994. *Caste and Class in India.* New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Sharrna, K. L. 1980. "The Harijans and Class Stratification," *in Essays on Social Stratification.* Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Sharrna, K. L. 1986. *Caste, Class and Social Movements.* Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Shaw, P. G. 1955. *Report on the Seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability.* Bombay: Indian Conference of Social Work.

Sheth, D.L. 1986. "The Problems of Reservations: Economic Backwardness or Social Injustice", *Indian Journal of Adult Education,* vol. 47, no. 5, p. g- 1 5; vol. 47, No. 6, p. 4-7. vol. 47, no. 7, p. 14-21.

Shetty, V. T. Rajshekar. 1978. *Dalit Movement in Karnataka.* Madras: Christian Literatuure Society

Shiyararnan, Mythily. 1973. "Thanjavur: Rumblings of Class Struggle in Tamil Nadu," in Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma, eds.,

Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Shukla, K. S. and Verma, B. M. 1993. *Development of Scheduled Castes and Administration.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Shyamala. 1981. *Caste and Political Mobilisation: The Bhangis.* Jaipur: Panchshil Prakashan.

Silverberg, James. ed. 1968. *Social Mobility in the Caste System in India.* The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Silversen, Dagfinn. 1963. *When Caste Barriers Fall. A Study of Social andeconomic Change in a South Indian Village.* London: Allen and Urwin.

Singh, Harjinder. ed., *Caste Among Non-Hindus in India.* New Delhi: National Publishing House.

Singh, K. K. 1967. *Patterns of Caste Tensions.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Singh, K. S. 1977. "A Study in State-Formation Among Tribal Communities," in R. S. Sharma, ed., *Indian Society: Historical Probings.* Second Edition. New Delhi.

Singh, Mohinder. 1947. *The Depressed Classes.* Bombay: Hind Kitab.

Singh, N. C. 1981. "State Politics in Bihar: A Crisis of Political Institution," *Indian Journal of Political Science,* XLH (4):45-64.

Singh, Pratap. 1983. "Caste as a Determinant of Rural Leadership: A Case Study of Haryana," *The Indian Political Science Review.* Vol. 17 No. 2, pp. 157-62.

Singh, S. N. 1987. *Reservation: Problems and Prospects.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Singh, Soran. 1977. "The Scheduled Castes and New Dimensions of Social Change," *Indian Journal of Comparative Sociology,* vol. 3, pp. 28-38.

Singh, T. R. 1967. "The Harijan Leather Worker: Some Aspects of Untouchability in Andhra Pradesh", *Voluntary Action,* vol, 9, no. 2.

Singh, T. R. 1969. *The Madiga: A Study of Social Structure and Change.* Lucknow: Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society.

Singh, Yogendra. 1968. "Caste and Class: Some Aspects of Continuity and Change," *Sociological Bulletin,* vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 165-86.

Sinha, Arun. 1977. "Class War, Not 'Atrocities' Against Harijans, *EPW,* vol. 12, no. 50, pp. 2037-40.

Sinha, Arun. 1986. "Caste and Faction in Bihar Politics," Times of India, July 9.

Sivaramayya, B. 1984. "Affirmative Action: The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes," paper presented at the International

Perspectives on Affirmative Action: A Bellagio Conference. NY: The Rockefeller Foundation, pp. 42-68.

Srinivas, M. N. 1952. *Religion and Society among the Coorga of South India.* London: Oxford University Press.

Srinivas, M. N. 1959. "The Caste of the Potter and the Priest," *Man in India,* vol. 39, no. 3, p 109-209.

Srinivas, M. N. 1959. "The Dormant Caste in Rampura," *American Anthropologist,* vol. 61, no. 1.

Srinivas, M. N. 1962. *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Srinivas, M. N. 1965. "The 'Untouchables of India." *Scientific American.* December.

Srinivas, M. N. 1966. *Social Change in Modern India.* New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

Srivastava, S.N. 1980. *Harijans in Indian Society: A Cultural Study of the Status of Harijans and Other Backward Classes from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Lucknow, U.P.: The Upper India Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Stevenson, Margaret S. 1930. *Without the Pale: The Life Story of an Outcaste.* Calcutta: Association Press (Y.M.C.A.)

Subrahmanyani, S. 1986. "Problems of School Dropouts: A Study with a Special Reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh," *Education Quarterly,* vol. 38, no. 3, p. 28-32.

Sumitra. 1988. *Pan on Fire: Eight Dalit Women Tell Their Story.* New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.

Sundaresh, Aruna. 1986. "Constitution Law and Reservations," *New Frontiers in Education,* vol. 16, no. 2, p. 33-40.

Swaminathan, M. S. 1982. "Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes," *Journal of Indian Education,* vol. 8, no. 1, p. 40- 55.

Thag, Bhagwan. 1 99 1. *ed Dalit Poetry T~: An Anthology of Dalit Poems Rendered into English.* Maharashtra: Jansabitya Prakashan.

Tharu, S; and Niranjana, *The Problems for a Contemporary Theory of Gender.* Hyderabad: Investing.

Thiagarajan, A.P. 1981. "A Study of the Scheduled Caste Students in Some Secondary Schools of Tamil Nadu," *Indian Education, vol.* 11, no. 5, p. 22-26.

Thurston, Edgar. 1907-9. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India.* 7 Vols.

Thurston, Edgar; and Rangachari, K. 1987. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume IV - K to M.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. Reprint.

Towards Equality. Report of the Committee on Status of Women in India. New Delhi: Ministry of India Publication.

Tripathi, R. S. and Tiwari, P. O. 1991. *Dimensions of Scheduled Caste Development in India.* New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

Tripathy, R. B. 1994. *Dalits: A Sub-Human Society.* New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.

Trivedi, H. R. *Scheduled Caste Women: Studies in Exploitation - With Reference to Superstition, Ignorance and Poverty.* Delhi: Concept Publishing House.

Vartna, R.P. 1984. "Education and the Disadvantaged: A Few Suggestions," *National Journal of Education,* vol. 6, no. 2, p. 1-6.

Vatsa, Rajendra Singh. Ed., *The Depressed Classes of India. An Enquiry into their Conditions and Suggestions for their Uplift.*

Venkateswarlu, D. 1990. *Harijan-Upper Caste Conflict: A Study in Andhra Pradesh. New* Delhi: Discovery Publishing House.

Verghese, Alexander V. 1984. "Education, Earning and Occupation of Weaker Castes", *Journal of Higher Education,* vol. 9, no. 3, p. 3 73-81.

Verma, D. N., and Dixit, R. S. 1988. "Place of Women in Occupational Structure of Scheduled Caste Population in UP," in D. Maurya, ed., *Women in India.* Delhi: Chugh Publications. p. 181-188.

Vidyarthi, L. P. and Mishra, N. 1977. *Harijan Today: Sociological, Economic, Political, Religious and Cultural Analysis.* New Delhi: Classical Publications.

Viswanadhaarn and Reddy, Narashima. 1985. *Scheduled Castes: A Study in Educational Achievement.* Hyderabad: Scientific Services.

Washbrook, David A. 1975. "The Development of Caste Organization in South India, 1880 to 192 5, " in C. J. Baker and D. A. Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1880-1940.* Delhi.

Webster, John. 1994. *The Christian Dalits: A History.* Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (ISPCK).

Weid, Denis von der, and Poitevin, Guy. 1981. *Roots of a Peasant Movement: Appraisal of the Movement Initiated by Rural Community Development Association. Pune:* Shubhada-Sarswat Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Wiebe, P. D., and Ramu, G. N. 1975. "Christian and Hindu Harijans: A Study of the Effects of Christian Programmes in India, " *Eastern Anthropologists, Vol.* 2, n3: 215-30.

Wolf, G. 1992. *Re-inventing Tradition.* Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies.

Yadav, S. K. 1982. "A Study of the Scheduled Castes Awareness About the Schemes for their Educational Progress," *Indian Educational Review,* vol. 17, no. 1, p. 85-93.

Yadav, S. K. 1983. "Research Review on Implementation of Educational Schemes of Scheduled Castes", *Indian Educational Review,* vol. 18, no. 3, p. 11 2-22.

Yagnik, Achyut. 1981. "Caste Violence in Gujarat," *EPW,* March 28.

Zachariah, Mathew. 1986. "Policy Isssues in the Educatiion of Minorities: A Worldwide View," *in Education and Urban Society, vol.* 1 8, no. 4, pp. 487-499.

Zelliot, Eleanor. 1970. "Learning the Use of Political Means: The Mahars of Maharashtra," in Rajni Kothari, ed., *Caste in Indian Politics.* Delhi: Orient Longman.

Zelliot, Eleanor. 1992. *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement.* New Delhi: Manohar.

Appendix

1. Reddy Chandrasekhar, R. and K. Lakshminarayana. 1996. Eds. *Dalita Kathalu.* Hyderabad: Visalandhra.
(Dalit Stories)

Telugu Title	English Translation	Author
Saagara Sangamam	Oceanic Confluence	Sripada Subrahmanyam Sastry
Grukkedu Neellu	Gulp of Water	Banda Kanakalingeswar Rao
Maala-Daasari	Maala-Daasari	Veluri Sivarama Sastry
Polaiah	Polaiah	Karuna Kumara
Pakeedi	Scavenger Woman	Anisetty Subba Rao
Harijana Samsya	Harijan Problem	Chalam
Sarasanna Paapayi	Sarasanna's Infant	Adavi Bapiraju
Cheppulu Kuttevaadu	The Cobbler	Gopi Chand
Voorabaavi	Public Well	K. Enoch
Paapaniki Jeetham	Salary for Sin	G. Bhanu
Maarpuki Maargam	Path for Change	C. S. Rao
Siluva vesina Manushulu	Crucified Men	Ketu Viswanatha Reddy
Maala-Manishi	Maala-Human being	Kaluvakolanu Sadananda
Samidhalu	The Torches	Chilukuri Devaputra
Agnatavaasam	Fugitive Life	Madhurantakam Raja Rao
Mathadu Goppodu	Mathews the Great	Pulikanti Krishna Reddy
Bancharayi	Marked Stone	Boyi Jangaiah
Tondarapadi Oka Kodi Munde Koosindi	One Hen Cackled a Bit Early	Araveti Srinivasulu
Talli Matti	Mother Earth	Swamy
Jeevanaadulu	Pulse of Life	Santi Narayana
Agnigundam	Vortex of Fire	Kaaluva Mallaiah
Veli	Outcaste	Chitturi Koteswara Rao
Kothadari	New Path	Pinakapani
Bandi	Prisoner	B. S. Ramulu
Makara Mukham	Changing Face	Singamaneni Narayana

2. Enoch Kolakaluri and K. Lakshminarayana. 1998. Eds. *Dalita Stree Samsyala Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 2.* Hyderabad: Usha. (Stories on Problems of Dalit Women)

Telugu Title	English Translation	Author
Pasuvula Kotham	Cattleshed	Karunakumara
Maadiga Ammayi	Maadiga Girl	Chalam
Bangaramma Kamatham	Bangaramma's Estate	C. S. Rao
Muthyala Cheruvu	Pearl Lake	I.V.S. Achyutavalli
Pedapurugulu	Beware! Beatles Might	Kappagantula
Katestayi-Khabdar!	Sting!!	Mallikharjuna Rao
Suryudu Talethadu	Surya Raised his Head	K. Enoch
Sabbu	Soap	P. Krishna Reddy
Encounter	Encounter	Tirumala Sri
Iruku	Stifled	Chilakuri Devaputra
Manyulam	Laborers	P. Naasaraiah
Amma Nuvvu Navvoche	Mother! You too can Smile!!	C. Sujatha
Achuki	Clue	Gopi
Paridhulu-Prameyalu	Borders and Infringement	Daggumati Padmakar
Rudhira Madhanam	Churning of the Sea	G. Bhanu
Ankurarpana	Total Submission	P. Buchiraju
Antarani Prema	Untouchable Love	K. Vijayakumar
Prasantam	Tranquility	Swamy
Vilomam	Denomination	Ch. Devaputra
Domatera	Mosquito Net	M. Nagesh Babu
Puriti Neppulu	Labour Pains	Olga
Nalupu	Black	V. Chandrasekhar Rao
Tella Batta	White Cloth	B. S. Ramulu
Oka H. Saraswathi Katha	The Story of H. Saraswathi	Swamy
Siggu	Shame	Satish Chander

3. Lakshminarayana, K. 1999. Ed. *Asprusya Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 3.* Anantapur: Rama Pub.

Telugu Title	English Translation	Author
Maadigavaadu	Maadiga Man	Sri Leela Sarojini
Eeramma	Eeramma	Arava Venkataswamy
Ayyopapam	What a Pity!	Gottumukkala Mangayamma
Dharmatalli	Mother of Charity	Chunduri Ramadevi
Dhanya Jeevulu	Liberated Lives	A. Raamalakshmi
Maadigapalle	Maadiga Village	Sripada Subrahmanyam Sastry
Kayya-Kaaluva	Farm-Canal	Karunakumara
Mathayi Kooturu	Mathews' Daughter	M. Gokhale
Antarani Polam	Untouchable Farm	Muddu Krishna
Paschadbhumi	Wretched Earth	K. Enoch
Manishi	Human Being	K. Venkatratnam
Kutrallo Koolodu	Labour as a Victim of Conspiracy	Y. C. V. Reddy
Appavupilla Aatmaghosha	Wailings of Appavupilla's Soul	P. Krishna Reddy
Kituku	Trick	K. Mallaiah
Nembarrallu	Numbered Stones	P. Krishna Reddy
Chikati Nadi – Velugu Nethuru	Weak Pulse and Bright Blood	K. Viswanatha Reddy
Enduchepalu	Dry Fish	K. Dayanand
Chavukoodu	Death Meal	V. R. Rasani
Devudu	God	M. Suguna Rao
Jalaga	Leech	G. Jagadeeswar Rao
Sarisrupalu	Dinosaurs	V. Chandrasekhar Rao
Kulam	Caste	T. Jaganmohan Rao
Cheppulu	Shoes	Jimbo
Bathukubadi	School of Life	D. Ramachandra
Idi Katha?	Is this a Story?	Boyi Jangaiah
Nenu! Naa Boddinka!!	I ! My Cockroach!	P. Terish Babu
Muriki	Filth	O. Ramesh babu
Ventadina Avamanam	Haunting Insult	K. Pratap Reddy
Kanneellu	Tears	S. Jaya
Kotha Taram	New Generation	Neeli
Malle Teeta	Tapping Toddy	K. Prasad
Anubhanda Prasna	Supplement Question	P. Terish Babu

4. Lakshminarayana, K. 1998. Ed. *Ardhika, Rajakiya Kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 4.* Anantapur: Rama Pub.
(Economic and Political Stories)

Telugu Title	English Translation	Author
Kotha Jodu	New Pair of Shoes	Cha Ra
Yagnam	Fire Sermon	K. Rama Rao
Dhanadaaham	Consequences of	M. Koteswara Rao
Phalitam	Financial Greed	
Aarti	Offerings	K. Rama Rao
Aakali	Hunger	K. Enoch
Kotigadu Swatantrudu	Koti is a Free Man	P. Krishna Reddy
Ucchu	Noose	C. Narayana
Irukumaanu	Check-Nut	P. Krishna Reddy
Papam Kuntelugadu	What a Pity! It was Kuntelu	P. Krishna Reddy
Poddu Kunkindi	Sunset	P. Krishna Reddy
Pootu	Pain	B. Sankarraju
Elluva	Flood	Dadahayal
Purugu	Insect	Madhuchkaravarti
Antu	Untouchable	S. Venkatarami Reddy
Sri Ramachandra Murthy	Sri Ramachandra Murthy	D. Devadas
Gorlu	Sheep	B. Damodar Rao
Trikaala Vancha	Eternal Desire	K. K. Menon
Oodala Marri	Branching Banyan	Ch. Devaputra
Peddollu	Elites	B. Kurma Rao
Segamantalu	Flames	Dadahayal
Veta	Hunting	K. Sriram Murthy
Vekuva	Awakening	K. Ananda Rao
Ukku Paadam	Iron Feet	Santi Narayana

5. Enoch Kolakaluri and K. Lakshminarayana. 1998. Eds. *Varna Vivaksha kathalu: Dalita Kathalu Vol. 5.* Anantapur: Rama Pub. (Caste Discrimination Stories)

Telugu Title	English Translation	Author
Pullam Raju	Pullam Raju	Sripada Subrahmanyam Sastry
Pavulu Pamuluga Marina Vela	A Time When Pawns Turned Snakes	C. S. Rao
The Road	The Road	Kesava Reddy
Kommulu	The Horns	P. Krishna Reddy
Elige Peddollu Nalige Sinnollu	Rich become Richer and Poor become Poorer	P. Ramakrishna Reddy
Deepam Purugulu	Glow Worms	G. Ravi Krishna
Chiranjeevi	Eternal Life	G. Rama Krishna
Edi Gamyam	Where is the Destiny?	K. Enoch
Etti	Bonded Labour	B. Damodar Rao
Seppu Kinda Poolu	Trampled Flowers	P. Viswa Prasad
Okka Pidikili Chhalu	One Punch Would Do	T. Rajagopal
Aatmahatya	Suicide	B. Venugopala Rao
Kotha Cheppulu	New pair of Shoes	Karuna Kumara
Udharimpu	Reformation	K. Kutumba Rao
Puligundu	Tiger Hill	P. Krishna Reddy
Samskaranam	Transformation	K. Enoch
Veerajaati	Hunting Lash	V. R. Rasani
Avadhani Maranam	Death of a Brahmin	R. Sivasankar Verma
Reactionary Katha	Reactionary Story	Chiranjeevi
Maarpu	Change	K. Viswanatha Reddy
Narasadu	Narasadu	K. Dayanand
Yeti Pata	River Song	G. Gouru Nayudu
Peddarogam	Chronic Decease	K. Vijaykumar
Kanipakam Vinayukudi Saakshiga...	Swear on Kanipakam Ganesh ...	P. Krishna Reddy
Aushadam	Medicine	Ch. Devaputra
Inkana Ikapai Chelladu	It Will Not Work Any More	S. Jaya

6. Sudhakar Yedluri. 1999. Ed. *Mallemoggala Godugu.* Hyderabad: Dandora Pub. (Jasmine Umbrella)

The following stories are compiled by Sudhakar based on oral narration of elder members of Maadiga (dalit) community across Andhra Pradesh.

Telugu Title	English Translation
Jambavanthudu --Pichi Mama	Jambavant – Foolish Uncle
Dappukodite Sarspati Chinduleyyala	Saraswathi Should Dance to Drumbeat
Kodukuni Joodala	I Should See My Son
Goddallaki Paduna Pettala	Sharpen the Axes!
Navabu Gurranni naatyamadinchina daruvu	Drumbeat that Made the Royal Horse Dance
Manaki Goddiki Teda Yemundi Sudayya	What is the Difference between Us and the Beasts
Pedabodemmante Kusalagadu	It is not Easy with Old Bodemma
Banisa Batuku Bataka Balle	Life of Slavery
Doraki Topi	Hat for the Whiteman
Evudikante Takkuva	Unequal to Whom
Tegadempulu	Breaking the Bonds
Batukulu-Metukulu	Lives-Meals
Moogi Dunna	Dumb Buffalo
Kootiki Kulamuntunda	Is there any Caste for Food?
Revadi	Paddy Fields
Mayamandu	Magic Medicine
Achirale Ayudhalu	Words are Weapons
Gnudem Karmudu	Charitable Man of the Village
Karuvu	Famine
Valasa	Exodus
Era	Bait
Aaramjoti	Eternal Light
Jendapai Kukkalaraju	Dog-King on the Flag
Reppala meena Roopayi	Money in the Eyes
Seppulu Maa Kuladevatalu	Shoes are our Deities
Jathante Yaandi	What is Caste?
Godu	Suffering

BIO-DATA

Name:	MANTRI VENKAT RAGHU RAM
Date of Birth:	25 June 1967
Father's Name:	Dr. M. M. K. Murthy
Educational Qualifications:	M.A. English (Nagarjuna University) M. Phil ELT (Madras University)
Marital Status:	Married
Present Occupation:	Lecturer in English since 1996 CIEFL NE Campus, Shillong
Present Address:	Same as above
Hobby:	Computer Applications
Religious leaning:	Liberal

103614

NEHU LIBRARY 103614
13.8.07