



Efficacy of political mobility viv-a-vis Dr. Ambedkar mission and vision

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Abstract

The components of political mobility and the decline in atrocities that lead to greater social mobility will be examined in this study. Social mobility fosters "effective political participation" and noble occupations. The Constitution recognizes the existence of scheduled castes, which are part of the Dalit community. Despite the abolition of the caste system in India through constitutional provisions, political and social movements, and legal measures, scheduled castes still face discrimination and bias within the nation. This paper aims to comprehend the evolving meaning of traditional beliefs such as the formation of shudras from feet, being a "servant of another," and having the ability to be banished at will. We will also evaluate the function and significance of political mobility in granting entitlement to law ownership, self-respect, empowerment, and sociopolitical leadership. A noteworthy matter that requires our attention is the exploitation of the impoverished and disadvantaged members of their own caste by the wealthy segment of the scheduled castes, or the elite class.

Keywords: Caste atrocities, legal framework, democracy, Hinduism, reservation

Introduction

When it comes to a current free democracy, it is incomprehensible why Dalits are vilified and pushed to violence owing to the fact that they belong to a lower caste. Within the constitution, the term "Dalit" is not defined. Individuals who self-identify as belonging to the lowest social scale in India are known as Dalits. Historically, they were regarded as untouchables. It is written in the Constitution that there are scheduled castes. These scheduled castes are included in the Dalit group. Even though the caste system in India was abolished by the constitution, political and social movements, and legal framework, scheduled castes continue to be subjected to discrimination and prejudice inside the country. Changes have been made to the lives of scheduled castes as well as the sociopolitical and economic activities that they participate in. There have been many real endeavors and big actions taken to improve their circumstances. The fact that certain people are slipping behind in terms of development, progress, and upliftment is a cause for worry. One component of the political system is the state. Social order is governed by the state. The goal of all political activities is to make use of this unit in order to create a society that is peaceful. Comparing human civilization to animal society is a common practice among thinkers. Human societies are distinguished from other societies by the moral framework and philosophical direction that culture provides. The fact that society is based on the dignity and respect of the person is what allows humanity the ability to form political, civic, and social units. Both high and low levels of social turmoil, as well as sociopolitical stagnation, were created by the absence of balance in civil society. Since the days of its inception, the human society evolved the norm of stratification for fulfilment of its needs^[1] and the need of its constituting units. It gives rise to several socio-political groups^[2] like primary groups, secondary groups and reference groups for the sake of mobility and advancement. Some of the groups had traditional bondage and "linked with occupation depending on individual skill borrowed by birth-a particular position in local hierarchy of case^[3]."

Over time, the forces of change exert strain on the established structure of society. The phenomenon of change is an inherent principle of nature, and it is an undeniable fact that time is neither fixed or unchanging. As time progresses, it brings about changes in the lives of individuals. Regarding the political mobility seen among scheduled castes, it is necessary to retrospectively examine the factors that have contributed to political stasis. Was this procedure a consequence of atrocities inflicted against the lowest strata of society, namely the scheduled castes? The objective of this research is to uncover the veracity of whether the acts of violence were perpetrated in the context of caste, justified by religious mandates. The objective is to investigate the political inclinations of both State actors and non-State players. This article aims to explore the historical occurrences of atrocities and their socio-political impact, focusing on the magnitude, scope, and limitations of these acts. Furthermore, we endeavor to comprehend the current trend of politically rising influence and its effects on the political existence of scheduled castes, resulting from protective discrimination and distributive justice. This has led to increased mobility and positive transformations. This article explores whether the empowerment of scheduled castes via pollicisation has been effective in reducing or eliminating acts of atrocities perpetrated against them. This study will analyze the elements that contribute to political mobility and the reduction of atrocities, leading to increased social mobility. Social mobility promote occupation nobility and "effective political participation". It will be within the ambit of this paper to understand the changing concept of old precepts like creation of shudras from feet and "servant of another"^[4] and "to be expelled at will"^[5]. We will also assess the role and contribution of political mobility as a means of providing the self respect, empowerment and socio-political leadership and particularly entitlement to law ownership^[6]. Another significant issue drawing our attention is that the affluent section of scheduled castes that is to say elite class is exploiting poor and deprived people belonging to their own caste.

Nexus between social disabilities and discrimination

The term scheduled castes have nowhere been defined in the Dharma Shastras nor any religious interpretation. It has been described as a group of persons who has been changed in menial occupation and supposed to be created from the feet of the Brahma. It attached status and role to such people as of servitude as determined by birth. These people were engaged in slavish work. The Hindu social order classified some groups as “unapproachable and untouchable [7].” They had acquired the status of Shudra will all indignities and disgrace with no self respect. This system of inabilities was based on “hierarchic caste, hereditary priest craft, endogamy, untouchability and karma [8].” The so-called shudras have suffered from social stigma and political oppression and denied basic civil and human rights. They were associated with occupational impure works like involving in butchering, removal of rubbish and filth. They had to remove human and animal wastes; they worked as labourers cleaning latrines and Sewers. “Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individuals and this pollution was considered to be contagious [9].” The Shudra had been “segregated and banned from full participation in Hindu social life [10]. These people i.e., Shudra were not allowed to let the shadows fall upon dwija cast members. They were required to sweep the ground where they walked to remove the contamination of their footfalls [11]. The modern scheduled caste people, known as Dalits, were forbidden to worship in temples or draw water from the same well as upper caste Hindu did [12]. This inhuman situation was responsible for germination of untouchabilities. “Violation of strongly established normative structure invited atrocities [13].” The Shudras or scheduled caste people were relegated to the most inhuman task “as menial scavengers”, “removers of dead animals”, “leather workers”, “street sweepers and cobblers.” The ancient social order had permitted many disabilities to be imposed upon these people like using same roads, wells and tanks. The imposition of social disabilities included the sitting on a common floor “where clean caste people need to sit, inter-dining, Admittance into kitchen, touching metal pots and participating in social festivals along with upper caste people. They were not allowed to come in close contact with latter [14].” The most significant disability imposed by the system was relating to the denial of availability of fresh and pure drinking water. They were denied to obtain “water from a common source along with the rest upper castes.” The social history of ancient caste system with the notion of impurity and defilement, shows that the shudras were “compelled to satisfy their water needs from stagnant pool or may share the filthy and contaminated water with cattles [15].” “The shudras were denied any justice.” “Because of discrimination in the society with their low caste status which was tied with their birth, they toiled and have been forced to accept for ages servility with humility [16].” These people had been plunged into ignorance of worth of human live with dignity. They “sung into ignorance, poverty and contempt, branded as untouchables or unapproachable, treated as serfs and reduced to a state of moral degradation through the contempt and ill treatment that they were received [17].” At the hand of upper castes in case of violation of social code, they were condemned to live a life of misery and distress [18].” There is enough material to realise “The shame, the sorrow and humiliation.” Emanated from the behaviours of superior castes meted out

to the lower strata, they were “treated as they were undesirable.” And certainly it was not allowed by the time spirit of Hinduism. These shocking traditions were opposed to the fundamental doctrine of Hinduism which desires unity of Atma with supreme soul. Many Hindu sages gave sermon and worked to do away with “injustice of treatment meted out by the upper caste to those below them [19].”

If anyone attempted to infringe the strictly rigid caste oriented duties arbitrarily imposed upon Shudra, they were intimidated, terrorised and severely punished and ostracized by the dwije Hindus. Most of the scheduled caste people were subjected to insult, humiliation, social oppression and psychological depression. And if tried to show courage against the social disabilities they were made subject to atrocities and cruelties. Most of the Dalit men, who indulged in marrying superior caste women were murdered. The purpose for such socio-economic disabilities and consequently atrocities give way to inferiority losing honour, grace, dignity and respect. These people were compelled to believe that their woes were due to destiny and fate. They accepted the caste based social orders without any resistance or they were used to it [20].”

From the pages of history of scriptures we came to understand that the hierarchical caste system contained two thronged approach to study the origin, evolution and patterns of caste and related disabilities giving rise to atrocities. One had been Limb theory and the other Functional theory. “The particular Limbs associated with these divisions and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in the society of the time [21].” It is clear that in this particular account “divine justification sought to be given to their functions and status” [22] interpreting the caste hierarchy theologically we come to across the disabilities divinely prescribed as the Shudra had no right to perform any of the important sacraments, [23] even his marriage was not a sacrament as he had no right “to kindle the sacred fire.” In Hindu socio-religious order “the initiation ceremony opened the door to the study of Veda, the Shudra had been debarred from that study and even he was not allowed to hear Vedic enchantment. History reveals that a Brahmin could not accept the food given by a Shudra, if he did; it was regarded as a sin to be expiated. Even a snataka could not be accepted given by a Shudra [24]. History also gives other side of picture of enhancement of the status and role of Shudra. Sumitra, one of the wives of Raja Dashratha was a Shudra. Annals of history also contained the events of Samrat Chandragupta who, also, was a Shudra.

Another important religious and sacred text, namely, Bhagwada Gita prescribed Functional theory based on Guna it contained that “the creator is said to have apportioned the duties and functions of four castes according to inherent qualities and capacities of the individual [25].” This a Paradigm-shift relating to caste origin paving the way for lessening social disabilities and atrocities, thereto.

We noticed that many thinkers and social reformers always blamed Indian ethos and history while referring social disabilities and atrocities of Indian social order. We found in the mythological description an important event defying the social ranking based on high and low status. The ancient sage, Vashishth, the Guru of Shri Ram Chandra ji, “was the first to defy the meaningless and ever multiplying social barriers by marrying Arundhati, an untouchable [26].” This shining example of Indian cultural mythology reveals that there was no social stigma against low-caste people as their

marriage is deemed as ideal marriage and it had attained the pride of "Sapta Rishi ^[27]." Even today newlywed Hindu couples, irrespective of their caste and position, worship this eternal couple for continued conjugal happiness ^[28]." When we talk of traceable Indian political history we find "one period in Indian history which is a period of freedom, greatness and glory. That is period of Mauryan empire. Where atrocities on depressed classes had found no mention. People were treated all equally without any social stigma attached with any social group.

Impact of political mobility on caste rigidity

The Indian society was stratified into rigid caste hierarchical social order and classified into lower impure segment and developed higher social groups ^[29]. There had been no room for myriad change in the rigid social system. The only process directed to bring social change and mobility thereof was the technique of "sanskritisation," so succulently coined by M.N. Srinivas ^[30]. The mobility had been noticed though slowly, through aspiratorial spirit in the context of reference. It was not possible to move from one caste to the other caste, but one could aspire to adopt the social norm borrowed from superior castes. Mobility denotes one's ability and capability "to move easily from one place, social class or job to another. Mobility can be understood as moving towards a social position either in "ascending scale" or "descending scale." The vertical mobility involves "upwardly mobile lifestyle." Horizontal mobility is being understood as the process of social change in straight way and level with the line prevailed in a given social code. Another way to feel social change is in "descending scale" emerged through the transformation of feudal society into industrial one based on availability of labour and capital under the pressure of poverty and paucity of resources. The abolition of zamindari system brought changes in the political, social and economic life of many people- some moved upwardly to a higher position and others went down, erupting changes over a period of time. "Hinduism with all its rigidity is, sufficiently elastic to sanction, at least tacitly, a slow process of evolution by which the pancham caste- for there are many castes even among the untouchables- gradually shake off to some extent, the slow of 'uncleanliness' and established some sort of relations even with the Brahmanism ^[31]."

Here we intend to throw light on the socio-political developments. The purpose is to assess the role and contribution of several political efforts made by individuals and divine spirit saints and social thinkers. Firstly we shall appraise the contribution of social movement contesting the social evil of untouchability prevalent in 19th century and secondly from the beginning of 20th century till its end including post independence-era.

The era of emancipation of depressed castes, constitutionally and legally known as scheduled castes and begun with the advent of Western education and ideals of liberty, equality and human fraternity, human dignity and Justice ^[32]. These human values tried to regain the loss of a sense of self-respect and dignified life ^[33] of so-called dalits. The emancipation process was begun by removing stark ignorance of well to do Indians and illiteracy from lower strata. Some Indians imbibed with western social values started to resist the stigma of untouchability prevailing in the graded Indian society. And the struggle had taken the shape for the social emancipation and political mobilisation of the Dalits or scheduled castes.

The aim of British education introduced in India had been to establish egalitarian social order. Some benefits were received by illiterate castes. "It gave rise to social reform movement aiming at elimination of caste disabilities and other social evils ^[34]." In 1851, Jyoti Rao Phoolé, started a primary school for untouchables. In 1856, Mahar boy was refused admission to the government school at Dharwar ^[35]. The Government of Bombay, though had not interfered in the administration of private schools yet it was held that the Governor-in Council, "reserved to himself the full right of refusing the support of the government to any particularly aided school," in which the admission has been refused to persons of an account of caste and it was stated that "all schools maintained at the sole cost of government shall be open to all classes of its subjects without distinction ^[36]. Even much before the beginning of Congress movement in last phase of twentieth century, Jyotiba Phule, in 1873, founded the Satyashodhak Samaj "with the object of redeeming the scheduled castes" and depressed classes, reckoned in scheduled castes, from the influence of Brahmanic culture ^[37]. Because of lack of financial resources, it did not solve the problem, "but still it had the distinction of serving the cause of untouchables in the villages." In 1876 The Arya Samaj, was founded by Dayanand Saraswati, who worked hard to uproot the evil of untouchability and other socio-religious disabilities. The samaj believed that such inhuman practices had not been Vedic in nature, pattern and concept. They also believe that caste- status was not determined by birth but it was caused due "to kind of life he led" including character, association and good or bad Sanskars (tendencies) ^[38]." The founder of Arya Samaj pleaded for elimination of all disabilities backed by social customs cropped upon Hindus' way of life. Establishing concrete example for attempting to remove all discriminations the founder, "himself accepted the food offered to him by Barber ^[39]." In the year of 1867, another, movement came to the surface, namely, Prarthana Samaj. Its sister organisation showed concern for the social development and enhance of scheduled castes, known as Dalits at that time. Its leader, Keshabchandra Sen, in 1870 addressed the members of this samaj and asked to do practical work to enhance the social status of the people belonging to lower castes. To impart education to illiterate dalits was deemed significant function. The Prarthana Samaj established "Night Schools", some of them were opened for the children of Dalits and depressed classes. In 1891, a prominent personality emerged in Prarthana Samaj, namely, Damodar S. Wala who led the educational activities among depressed classes in Bombay.

Though these two organisations work hard marvellously but no significant awareness had been created among Dalits. Beside some psychological influence, no concrete planning was offered. Apart from these organisations, Swami Vivekanand, founder of Ram Krishna Mission, was a power sage who combated against caste based purity and pollution customs. He emphatically denounced the practice of untouchability and Hinduism new philosophical orientation. Here, mention can be made for the contribution of Brahmo Samaj to annihilate the caste based notions and customs. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who began the movement against caste and untouchability. The members of Brahmo Samaj had practiced what was preached by the ideology of the Samaj. They favoured inter- caste dinners, inter caste

marriages and employed cooks and other domestic helps irrespective of caste^[40].

Above-mentioned socio-religious movement of 20th century^[41] succeeded instilling sense of dignity and self respect and created hopes of advancement and development. They promote education among depressed classes and remove social disabilities. It gave rise to a sense that the populace of depressed sections could fight against notion of inferiority and indignity. This movement created frame of mind to struggle for elevation sense of personal pride. These liberal movements led by prominent personalities of superiors gave rise to the process of social demoralization of entire Hindu populace giving way to “the upliftment of the depressed classes in the social scale.”

Political equipments

It is noticeable from the above analysis that some Indians belonging to same segment of the society including prominent personalities of Hindus of superior castes struggled against the deplorable state of affairs of down-trodden dalits. The emancipation of the dalits through reform movement did not attain speed, though consequences had been remarkable. In political field, events had taken concrete shape to mitigate the social disability in case of injustice of treatment offered to low caste-people^[42]. These elements had been favourable to the growth of cause and mission of elevation of dalits and depressed classes. When we look at the political consequences of the movement of 19th century, we have acknowledged that “off measures began to be taken only after the reforms of 1910.” “The census report of 1910 giving separate importance to untouchables as a result acquired a new political dimension^[43].” In 1917, the Congress party gave a call for the establishment of justice and righteous^[44] by “removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon depressed classes. It was Maharaja of Mysore, 1918 who constituted Miller committee to find out the nature, pattern and extent of the disabilities and to recommend steps for the enough representation of downtrodden non- brahmins in the services of the State, which was made available by the decree of Maharaja to such people who had been deprived the States’ benefits.

Politically speaking, it was Montague-Chelmsford Award which caused systematic approach for the welfare of depressed classes. It divided the society of Bombay into several categories. “The last tier included the untouchables.” It laid down certain qualifications to gain the right to vote. Under this scheme of political representation a big chunk of scheduled castes or depressed classes was kept out of the framework of restricted franchise.

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar who started political mobilisation of scheduled castes have effectively highlighted the “inhuman treatment” meted out to depressed classes, in the name of religious philosophy. Dr. Ambedkar argued before the “Southern- Borough” committee and asserted that “A community may claim representation” because every community enjoy separate interests “which require protection” from tyrannical behaviour of superior castes. Dr. Ambedkar campaigned for the separate representation of untouchables castes in the Legislative Council, so that they can fight for the redress of their grievance^[45]. The Montague-Chelmsford Committee recognised this line of thought and “preferred nominations for depressed classes to the Legislative Council.”^[46]

To make the people of different strata to intermingle and associate with each other. The Madras legislative council in 1925, passed the resolution “throwing open all public roads, streets or pathways giving access to any public office, well, tank or place of public resort, to all classes of people including the depressed.”^[47] The British Rulers who were imbued with the doctrine of equality and fraternity, thought for the advancement of the untouchables. In 1928, the Government of Bombay set up a Committee, chaired by O.A.B. Starte. This Committee had to identify backward classes and make recommendations for the upliftment and welfare. It did so. This committee submitted its report in 1930 and identified backward classes as “depressed class, Aborigines and Hill Tribes.” During this period the Scheduled Castes movement of political powers gained ground. The Round Table Conference, in 1930 gave indications of devolution of political from British rulers to the native Indians.”^[48] During the deliberations of the conference Dr. Ambedkar took the stand and argued for separate electorate for the depressed classes.

The impact of political mobility during 20th century is peculiarly visible on Sikh scheduled caste of (West) Punjab. The main plea of the movement was that the untouchables constituted a *quam* – a distinct religious community,”^[49] and that “their *quam* existed in India from time immemorial.”^[50] It was observed by Mark Juergensmeyer that “the untouchable castes were capable of mobilizing for their own benefits, and of organising in ways that permitted them to compete under the condition that governed the socio-political area at large.”^[51] This situation emboldened Dr. Ambedkar for his persistent demand of separate electorate for scheduled castes. In Second Round Table Conference in 1931, Gandhiji stubbornly refused the demand of Dr. Ambedkar. However, in 1932 after Third Round Table Conference, British Government sanctioned “Communal Award” which made room for special constituencies for Scheduled Caste to be filled up their own votes. Gandhiji vehemently opposed this step of dividing Hindus and observed fast unto death against the Communal Award. The compromise came in the form of Poona Pact, between the schedule castes, better known as depressed classes at that time and Gandhiji. After this pact, some disgruntled elements of depressed classes expressed their angst against the Poona Pact and held that they were “politically cheated.” The Government of India Act, 1935 came into limelight giving recognition to depressed classes as scheduled castes which was first used by Simon Commission. After the establishment of constituent assembly, it passed a resolution in December 1946 to provide constitutional protections and reservation to the members of scheduled castes.

The socio-political movements instilled new vision and confidence among scheduled caste people. The national freedom movement stood for the evolutionary rather than revolutionary mode of socio-political mobility. It had resulted into re- conciliatory and cooperative model for political mobilisation of untouchables.”^[52] These movements aim at disintegration of caste- structure lead towards decreasing commission of atrocities on scheduled caste. This created a mindset to oppose the “dehumanization of scheduled castes and thus to put them of ascending scale in Indian society. It can safely say that dalits have been freed from yoke of untouchability and yoke of clericalism that is to say, the tyrannical and despotic sway of religion^[53].”

Political glance at reservation

The social reform movement and political endeavours for seeking justice for bereft people have systematically paused the way for freedom of choice and equal chance of opportunity. In the heyday of the struggle for reservation, ground was prepared for constitutional protection and social welfare of the scheduled castes. The evolutionary process struggling for justice to depressed classes travelled a long distance and reached at the point of concrete desires in the form of "Reservation Policy" adopted during constitution making. The socio-political realities existed at the time of framing the constitution forced the founding fathers to adopt the reservation policy to provide empowerment and entitlement to the scheduled castes. "While the Indian Constitution has duly made special provisions for the social and economic uplift of the Dalits, comprising the so called scheduled castes and Tribes in order to enable them to achieve upward social mobility..."^[54] The Constitution of India framed "a historic and epoch making"^[55] norms imperatively "abolishing the stigma of untouchability associated with scheduled castes^[56]." And "its practice in any form is forbidden", its enforcement is made an offence punishable by the Courts^[57]." It was not deemed enough to enhance the socio-economic status of the scheduled caste. Therefore policy of protective discrimination or compensatory discrimination has been regarded as essential for amelioration of scheduled castes. Under this policy, "reservations were given in legislature, government jobs and in sphere of education^[58]." This is envisaged under Article 46 of the Constitution of India. This constitutional scheme brought revolutionary changes in populace of scheduled caste through liberty replacing servitude, perspective rules by equality before law, dynamic status and role in place of social-economic static position and removal of stagnation in social setup. The constitutional measure paved way where "functional differentiation in society underwent a noticeable change." Civil and religious disabilities and atrocities attached there with have gone with the wind. The implementation of policy of reservation in legislatures, jobs and education brought rapid changes in the ranks of scheduled castes "The rapid acceleration both horizontally and vertically in Jobs.... has been the outstanding feature of the Reservation Policy^[59]."

The political mobility cropped up as a consequence of this policy made scheduled caste people socially strong with the sense of pre-imminence supremacy and superiority and equipping them to fight against social disabilities and atrocities.

Legal norms against discrimination

The fundamental constitutional end is the recognition of "individual as an end in itself." Individual dignity, self-respect, emancipation and development are the motto and mission of the Constitution. Thus populace of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been in dire need of these human values. To translate these ethical values in practice and fulfil the constitutional provisions, the Indian government has enacted some legislations "preventing unequal treatment, oppression and atrocities" meted out to scheduled caste and tribes. One of the important legislation is the Protection of Civil Rights, Act of 1955 and various land reform laws to distribute land to the landless (large chunk of Scheduled Caste and Tribes). Later on some other Acts beneficial to Scheduled Castes were legislated, like

Bounded Labour (Abolition) Act, 1976. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993 and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989 and Rule 1995.)

These legal measures have been helpful for providing security to the so called dalits. As a result of these legislative devices the position of scheduled castes was uplifted in social scale. These laws removed "unevenness of life" by eliminating the idea of "spirit of arrogance" from the mind of the superior castes. These had been helpful in "improvement of quality of life."

The Constitution has played pivotal role to bring major shift from a closed society to open society free from inequality, exploitation, expropriation and caste based violence. "To remove the historical distortions of the social order", the constitutional approach is three fold:

1. Violence free social revolution removing social stigma imposed on a big chunk of citizens of India,
2. Providing compensatory justice making room of protective discrimination through reservation policy and financial assistance in the form of scholarships, and
3. Enactment of legislations uprooting the caste disabilities and atrocities.

The Constitution and other laws adopted corrective approach to avoid bloodshed in a violent revolution directed against age-old exploitation. But a word of caution, we have done politicization of reservation policy and using it for political benefits. Nowadays, there is paradigm shift as an elitist section has been emerged among scheduled castes depriving from reservation benefits to the general masses of scheduled castes and causing to remain it, a weaker section. The political mobility is discernible among the urban dwelling populace of scheduled castes with mitigation of atrocities. While picture of rural segment of this class is opposite to a greater extent, however, due to facilities provided to schedule castes they are coming forward to play an important role^[60] in social up-liftment of their own man and in nation building, too. The Constitution and legal norms directed for redressal of these, created hopes of advancement, emancipation and social democratization of entire population of India. Now, the days of vested interest to keep and maintain the custom of servitude have gone. Here, the fact that many Hindus belonging to upper caste professing advance liberal views^[61] played key role to solve the problem of the elevation of the depressed castes.

Socio-Political movements of pre-independence era and the constitutional measures to ameliorate living conditions have translated into practical reality, the principle of John Stuart Mill who "stress the right to develop one's individuality against demands of social conformity." In the context of political mobility of scheduled castes, the struggle has been to eliminate the violent tendency of so called superior caste people who tried to sustain social disabilities and atrocities inflicted on scheduled castes. The above descriptive discussion shows that cumulative effect of social and political reformative endeavours brought a situation where "descending scale of contempt" inversely evolved the pattern of "ascending scale of reverence" descramble in the social revolution emerging in India putting the erstwhile untouchable on the road of dignity, relative equality, prosperity and development. The vigour of intolerance and hate has been reduced to a reasonable extent and the

political mobility “washed off the dishonour” tolerated by the so-called untouchables.

What has been emerged from above discussion is that a notion of social revenge has been come to surface due to politicisation of reservations in legislatures and jobs.

Conclusion

The policy of reservation has been turned out to be counter-productive and increasingly leader of caste conflict. This policy remains ineffective in raising the socio-economic status of scheduled caste dwelling in rural India. Though there is conciliatory and human treatment given to scheduled caste yet one notices inhuman and Barons practices prevailing in the villages, where closed society still exists. The political movements launched during British regime vigorously attempted to eliminate social disunity, but politics in free India dividing society on the cast identification are creating disunion and social disintegration. The unending struggle between caste and caste for socio-political superiority has become a “source of constant ill-feeling in these days.” It is observed that another form of “caste prejudices” are emerging due to political skirmishes to draw political capital out cast-ridden election campaigns. We have seen some important changes in the society. The society as a whole rejected the domination of priestly class on social affairs. The political mobility prepared the ground for “throwing off the yoke of clericalism” traditional way to exploit, discriminate and expropriate the life of depressed classes. The constitutional prerogatives removed the tyrannical and despotic sway of the priestly class and their political authority thereof.

There is strong desire among the people of India including scheduled caste- to improve the status of dalits living in rural areas. There is an urge found among the populace of scheduled castes to achieve upward mobility. The Constitution, legal devices, political organisations and society as a whole want to see a society without atrocities.

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47. Ibid.
48. Sandanshiva, op. cit, 7
49. Mark Juergensmeyer, Religion as social vision: (198) as referred by J.K. Pundir, Social Movements in India, 11.
50. Ibid.
51. Mark Juergensmeyer, 80.
52. Parmanand Singh, Social Justice and Equality in India, 117.
53. OP Ralhan op cit, 12-13
54. RK Bakshi, Dalit and Human Rights, New Delhi, Akhand Publishing House, 10.
55. Kiran Preet Kaur. “ Reservation Policy and Scheduled Castes: A Profile”, in S. Bhatnagar, R.N. Soni & Raj Kumar, (eds) Social Justice and Equality in India, New Delhi, Ess Ess Publication, 1987.
56. Ibid.
57. Article 17 of the Constitution of India.
58. Kiran Preet Kaur, op. Cit, 18.
59. Id. at, 120
60. OP Ralhan, op. cit, p. xvii
61. Id. at, 232