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**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES :
A CASE STUDY OF TWO RESERVED ASSEMBLY
CONSTITUENCIES IN U. P. 1977-1991**

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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DECLARATION

Certified that the thesis entitled, "Political Participation of Scheduled Castes: A Case Study of Two Reserved Assembly Constituencies in U.P. 1977-1991 submitted by Subedar Singh Arya for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University. This is his work and this has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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*Dedicated
to my respected
elder brother
late Shri Ram Prasad*

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ABBREVIATION

BAMCEF	: Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation
BJP	: Bharatiya Janata Party
BJS	: Bharatiya Jan Sangh
BKD	: Bharatiya Kranti Dal
BLD	: Bharatiya Lok Dal
BSP	: Bahuja Samaj Party
CPI	: Communist Party of India
CPM	: Communist Party (Marxist)
DMKP	: Dalit Mazdoor Kishan Party
D-S ₄	: Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti
INC	: Indian Nation Congress
IND	: Independent
JNP	: Janata Party
JNP(S)	: Janata Party (Secular)
OBC	: Other Backward Class
PSP	: Praja Socialist Party
RPI	: Republican Party of India
SJP	: Samajvadi Janata Party
SSP	: Sanyukta Socialist Party
SC	: Scheduled Caste
ST	: Scheduled Tribe
SWT	: Swatantra Party
U.P.	: Uttar Pradesh

PREFACE

The Scheduled Castes have been suppressed and discriminated for centuries together. They are not allowed to mingle and interact with the rest of the society. The constitution of India provides various safeguards to protect their interest and also reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the legislatures, educational institutions and Government employment. The Central and State Governments have spent several crores of rupees for the upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But we do not notice any significant change or improvement in the socio-economic condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even today these sections are living under abject poverty.

The present study is an attempt to analyse the participation of Scheduled Castes in the electoral politics of Uttar Pradesh which includes their level of participation and role in the politics of Jalesar and Agra West reserved Assembly Constituencies. This study covers the five election periods from 1977 to 1991. The Jalesar Assembly Constituency is predominantly a rural assembly segment in Etah district, while Agra West is an urban assembly segment in Agra city of Uttar Pradesh. The area for study has been selected by keeping in view the changes in the nature of politics in Jalesar and Agra. The Jalesar assembly

constituency was a stronghold of ruling Congress Party. The Jatavs Congress party, who constituted a very powerful section dominated the local politics since independence. However since 1977 the Jatavs faced serious challenges from other sections of the Scheduled Castes. The Jatavs were replaced by other castes like, Nut, Agaria and Dhobi etc. On the other hand, Agra West assembly segment elected representatives of opposition parties like RPI and BKD, when it was a general seat before 1974. After the declaration of Agra West as a reserved assembly constituency, the political power was captured by the Congress Party till 1985. The political power in Agra West Assembly constituency has always been in the hands of one dominant Scheduled Caste, Jatav. The other minority Scheduled Castes like Kori, Balmiki, Khatik, Dhobi, etc. are neglected by all the political parties.

The study is aimed at investigating the reserved assembly constituencies as an electoral institution, the role of different political parties, caste and groups, the performance of Scheduled Caste leaders and their dependence on upper castes, inter party and caste based factionalism and the level of political consciousness of the Scheduled Castes etc. It has also been tried, to find how political parties select the Scheduled Caste candidates in reserved constituencies. Beside these, the role of BSP in Jalesar and

Agra region is also under the purview of the study.. It is in the light of the above that I have made an attempt to explore the political consciousness and development of the Scheduled Castes in these reserved assembly constituencies.