In search of Alternatives of Caste Oppression: Constructing Violence in Contemporary India

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Abstract
This paper aims to present the overview of the Indian caste system and its structured social violence. The oppression of the lowest caste by the upper caste is legitimized by the civil society which gives birth to strong resistance movement. Therefore, emergence of the Naxal movement gets immense support from the lower caste/class people. However, both the oppression and resistance creates violence; the paper explains each aspect minutely and its significance in the society. The paper emphasizes on the different aspect of caste oppression which creates violence in the society and the sudden emergence of the resistance movement cannot have justified against these oppressions. Hence this violence will be controlled through the positive approach against this resistant group. Otherwise, violence is not a solution to violence.

Keywords: Discrimination, social exclusion, oppression, resistance, caste system, violence

Paper type: General Review

Introduction

In India, violence cannot be seen in isolation from the broader socio-political and economic forces where caste is embedded in its structure. The nature of its origin reflects the oppression and resistance that take place in society over a period. Violence has been understood physical and psychological aspects, hence defining caste violence necessarily involves not only physical but the symbolic aspect too. In some ways, symbolic violence is more powerful than the physical violence. Bourdieu discusses the symbolic violence is the imposition of thought and perception on the prevailing social agents. Therefore, the study tries to establish the relationship between both oppression and resistance are equally contributing to create violence, and none of them can be justified under any circumstances.

World report on violence and health defines (WHO,2002) violence as ‘the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against group or community that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.’ It is an aggressive act having a goal of
extreme physical harm (De Wall et al., 2011). Moreover, this paper is divided into two parts to understand the violence in the Indian context. One is oppressive, and the other is resistance force, both the form creates violence in the society. The first section will discuss the three important factor of violence in Indian society is caste, class, and gender and how all these together interlinked with each other. Therefore, in the other section will discuss the resistance form of violence, which can be seen in the context of the emergence of naxalbari movement in India. The literature on naxalbari will explore the ideas of violence and how it succeeded in their goal to end the oppression of caste/class leading the state. Moreover, the literature shows the Naxal or Maoist movement is the alternative to the oppressive force. But the motives behind this resistance is to gain power which creates chaos in the society. There are so many works have been done which is either justified it or blame the state response of the origins of this violent resistance force. Here paper will explore the different shades of the Naxal movement, basically their impact on the society after it a violent form of struggle.

Conceptual framework

This is what Arendt (1969) said in the process of resistance to gain power violence is instrumental. Though violence can use to gain power, in spite violence is not power. However, the priority of power over violence is not absolute: power needs violence to maintain itself (Peters, 2008). However, there are other forms of violence do exist simultaneously, which is sometimes a direct expression of discrimination or sometimes indirectly exclude the individual or group. Galtung (1990) finds that the prevailing beliefs and attitudes which justify the structured injustices and exploitation built into a social system to make it natural are a form of cultural violence. Therefore, it is important to understand the caste system and how it naturalized the violence through its dominant culture. Many scholars (Thorat, Sen, Gopal Guru, Parekh, Rodrigues, V.Geetha) define it regarding discrimination, exclusion, humiliation, separation, etc. by their appearance caused differential treatment. The physical appearance of the individual or groups differentiates them from the majority group. Sometimes they voluntarily exclude themselves or sometimes forced to do so, from the mainstream society. There is end number of reason to the exclusion of the individuals or groups which may realize them as inferior to the rest of the society. Social exclusion has defined as a process which denies the equal opportunities to the certain social groups in multiple spheres of the society, which results in the inability of individuals from excluded groups to participate in the basic social, economic and political functions of the society. In the Indian context, the social inequality is centered in or around the caste and class (Shah, 2006). There is the situation where some people kept out, and some are included, describes it the unfavorable exclusion and unfavorable inclusion (Sen, 2001). The process of exclusion which excludes peoples having different norms, culture, and behavior while others are included in certain conditions. So there are two dimensions of exclusion of the group that is fully and partially excluded from the participation in the society due to their identity, one is their ‘societal relations’ which caused exclusions, and their ‘outcomes’ caused deprivation. Sen defines it active and passive exclusion which focuses on the deliberate exclusion from the opportunities through government policies
while other is not deliberate but excluded due to circumstance. Parekh (2009) saw humiliation as an institutionalized form of violence in the context of slavery, racial segregation, hierarchical status, and untouchability in the caste system. For him “humiliation involves disrespecting and demeaning others, damaging their self-respect, and causing them hurt and pain” (Guru, 2009). In the caste system in India untouchability is the form of humiliation, which is a violent form of expression of power. So the exclusion, discrimination, and humiliation can be applied in the Indian context where caste and untouchability have been practiced from centuries ago, and it’s changing from time to time.

Thus we find that the conflict arises from the structured arrangements of caste which is forced to follow their norms among the social system or organization. Change and conflicts are interlinked, so if there is change it gives birth to conflict. The conflict arises between the groups which violate the social norms and values caused hurt to others. This hurt is not physical only but social, psychological, biological. So any hurt which is painful for individual or groups defined as violence. Thus violence arises between the groups resisting change and trying to maintain the status quo from those demanding change in the social system or organization.

Caste and its structured form of violence

Caste system is a unique feature of stratification which found in India. There are no other institutions found anywhere which is more complex and rigid systems of caste in India (Dirks, 2011). There are differences between the caste, Varna, and Jati which is defined by different social scientists, but one commonality among all three is a closed status group. Caste has a traditional occupation, endogamy- which means the member may eat together but possess a different name (Bouglé, 1968). These units of the division are called ‘jatis’ and are numerous in number in different regions. While Varna is the synonyms of the hierarchical division of Hindu society. The ancient Hindu society had been divided by chatur-varna system. In order of ascendancy these were four, and later five are mutually exclusive, hereditary, endogamous and occupation specific...Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Sudras (those engaged in menial, lowly jobs, that later split into those doing most despicable menial jobs, Ati Sudra or the former ‘untouchables’ (Deshpande, 2008). Rather than the Varna that neatly divides caste into four broad groupings, it is the real operating category of jati that defines the complexity of caste. Jatis are too numerous, region-specific and more ambiguous in that it is often difficult to find ‘one to one correspondence between Jati and Varna. Even a broader category of ‘Brahmin’ is defined by numerous region-specific sub-castes that are continuously disputing each other.

A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the sense that a member of the large circle but within the circle, there are usually some smaller circles each of which is also endogamous. Which implies endogamy is crucial to maintaining the status quo within the caste group (Jaspal, 2011). Gupta defined the caste system as “a form of differentiation wherein the constituent units of the system justify endogamy by putative biological differences which are semaphored by the ritualization of multiple social practices” (Gupta, 2000). Which means the individual loyalty sustained towards their own caste members rather than any
fixed hierarchical power structure. So hierarchies may then develop are an expression of politico-economic power and may change therein with alteration. He denies the universal demarcation of differences in the role of caste. Each caste has their own story of losing the power and comes under the lowest category. They don’t believe that it is due to their karma but the infidelity of their close ones. So there is still hope to gain higher status in the caste hierarchy. Gupta (2000) argued that caste exist earlier then comes hierarchies. He has discussed multiple hierarchies. There is a hierarchy within castes. Brahman does not mean all brahmans are having equal status and endogamous group, as Kanyakubj brahman or Chitpawan brahman or barendra, brahman all are subcategories who follow hierarchy within the group. The same subcategories hold among the Rajputs, Kayastha, jats, and all other castes. Here it shows that there is no vertical division of caste, it is horizontally divided, and there is a scope of interchangeability of their status and forms a stronger bond with the nearest caste member.

Dumont argued that hierarchy is an essential character of the caste system which separated people by purity and pollution. According to him, caste divides the whole Indian society into a larger number of hereditary groups based on purity and pollution which distinguished themselves by continued hierarchy, endogamy, and occupation. His analysis is based on a hierarchical ritual system where the opposition underlies on the superiority of the pure and inferiority of impure. The people who are performing religious rituals are superior because their work considered as pure rather than the Shudra’s cleaning work which is polluted. But his occupational definition of caste is very rigid in the present scenario there is no clear-cut demarcation in caste system by their work occupation. Berreman, a social anthropologist, felt that Dumont’s view of caste was biased towards the Brahmanical interpretation and did not take into account other points. Dirks (1987) and Quigley (1993) emphasized that it was not the Brahmanical ideology but of the Kshatriya who was the keystone of the hegemonic caste system. This point indicated the displacement of the Brahmanical ritualistic ideology of purity and established political superior king. So there is no clear-cut division of caste superiority by purity and pollution. Moreover, the Caste system maintains a relative social, political and economic power (Berreman, 1967). The dominant caste is exercising power to maintain the status-quo. This system is functioning by mutual consent or by consensus. But there is a conflict when some of these groups formerly suppressed, changed the power relations with the consequent attempts.

**Violence against Caste Oppression**

Although the caste is very ambiguous this structure itself is violent due to their practices which make one section vulnerable. This particular section is known by different names like Shudra/ Untouchables/Dalit/ Downtrodden or the Schedule Castes (Constitutional terms define the list of castes comes under this). There is end number of cases registered all over the country which shows how the upper castes brutally exploit the Dalit community. Even after the 68 years of independence and introduction of some constitutional measures still, the Dalits are not able to share equal social, political and economic space. This oppression is not physical always but symbolic. When they used the different language and gesture for
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this particular community, to make them feel humiliated. Guru (2009) has explained this humiliation and its psychological impact which is more brutal than the physical hurt.

However, the caste tensions occurred regarding changes in the traditional pattern of social status within the Hindu community (Mukherjee, 1951). The high caste people attempting to defend their privileged status while low caste people attempt to achieve higher status. Thus, it is known as the movement between Brahmin and non-Brahmin (Omvedt, 2006). The emergence of BSP in U.P is also to fight against Brahmins and unite all the non-brahmins to gain the political power.

In the study of two villages in Uttar Pradesh discuss the basic cause of conflict between Thakurs (upper caste) and lower caste. The study finds that both castes want to claim their rights on land, thakurs attempts to maintain the status quo and lower castes refuse to follow traditional order, upper caste enforcement if obedience regarding work, wages and conditions of employment while lower castes refused to work and demanding better working conditions, higher wages etc. which seems that the real cause of social conflict and violence between the upper caste and lower caste is due to the fact that the upper caste want to retain the economic, political and social superiority while the lower castes and other backward castes demand social economic and political equality (Singh, 1967). To get equality in the society lowest one try to achieve equality with the help of violence. While upper caste tries to suppress them to maintain their dominance over them with the help of violence. In the caste system, there is a systematic ranking and unequal access to resources like wealth, income, prestige, and power.

Pandian finds in Tamil Nadu the violence is a desperate acknowledgment of the Dalit reality and the inability of the intermediate castes to exercise caste power over them as in the past (Pandian, 2013). Hence, there is a conflict between the upper castes and Dalits to maintain power relations. It is not the matter of Tamil Nadu only but all over the India. The caste conflict has discussed through the social mobility (Ram, 1977). He has thrown light on the relationship between the social mobility of the scheduled castes and inter-caste conflicts in some villages of Uttar Pradesh. There the change in attitudes of Harijans towards the upper castes led atrocities on the Harijans. These changes are a refusal to follow the age-old customs such as doing the filthy job, paying respect to high caste people and non-utilization of public places (Ram, 1977). However, the economic issues like the refusal of bonded labor on low wages, dispossession of land and houses, etc. led to atrocities between upper castes and Dalits.

Caste and its nature are also constringent in politics, economy and other factors. It interacts with these socio-political realities to manifest its contextual characteristics. Kothari (1995) says the role of caste in Indian politics is very important. Through the political power, some lower castes achieved their status in the society, and they got aware of their constitutional rights of equality in the society which creates conflicts between upper castes and Dalits. Rajni Kothari is of the view that the ‘Acts of brutality and terror continue to be part of the atrocities perpetrated on the Dalits and other lower classes, so the more they become conscious of their rights and begin to assert themselves.’ And due to this consciousness the Dalits do not depend on state response on the issue of caste violence they themselves work
as an agency. This is a positive sign of development where Dalits become the active participant in the society.

The closeness and rigidity of the caste system detain the social mobility of the individuals, who are prevented from moving up in the caste hierarchy. This results in dissatisfaction among the individuals who are feeling deprived in the society, and they wanted to achieve the equal status which gives birth to the phenomena of protest and conflict. This caste tensions increased in the social structure largely due to social mobility which is discussed by Srinivas as a process of Sanskritization. A large number of social scientists believed that the incidents of caste tension increased due to Sanskritization, between the locally dominant castes and lower castes. According to Srinivas (1995) the particular local caste dominant is due to a sizeable amount of land, numerical strength, relatively high position in the local caste hierarchy, greater influence in local or regional power equilibrium, and educational benefits. Biedelman (1959) discussed in his study of Rampur that the ritual rank operated independently of economic and political determinants. A large number of sociologist has been reported in his studies that incidents of caste tensions occur in rural India. Rowe (1968) had reported in his field study of Sonapur village (U.P.) that when lower castes of Noniyas started wearing sacred thread “affronted kshatriya landlords beat the noniyas, tore off the sacred threads and imposed a collective fine on the caste. A similar kind of caste violence has been reported (largely as a result of Sanskritization by low caste Harijans and the dominant caste of Kallars) by Hutton from the Ramanand district of south India.

This protest later converts into a conflict between two castes groups either for the traditional issues discussed above or modern issues like reservation facilities provided to certain castes or the introduction of land reforms. The land reform measures like abolition of Zamindari, the imposition of the land ceiling, tenancy act and other political reforms like Panchayat Raj, etc. resulted incapacitate the domination of upper caste in socio-economic sphere. This became the threat to the status quo of the upper castes or dominant castes and classes. Consequently, there is a change in the social structure, the traditional feudal classes became weak, and the new classes come into existence. There was a clash between old and new classes to retain their lost status or compete for the resources to protect their interests. There emerged a new class war between different categories. Such conflict is between the landlords belonging to the upper and middle castes and the landless agricultural laborers belonging to SCs, STs and OBCs and allied activities. They struggle to work at low wages. Their struggle revolves around land, wages, and respect in society. And their resistance often resulted in violence and killing of agricultural laborers by landlords. Above discussions show that the reason behind the caste violence is to gain power by the lower castes and to regain the power by upper castes. This violence is not limited with power relation. The power is mostly seen regarding political and economic sphere. Their participation can measure this power but what about the social inequality which is rooted in the caste system. The social status for the Dalits is not only to dominate the power for them it is to the enhancement of power. In the traditional society, power shows the superiority over others and with the help of it they can access the resource like land, agriculture, health facility, constitutional benefits, etc.
Emergence of Class in Caste Violence

Some sociologists assume that gradually caste is losing its original character and possessing class like feature (Bailey, 1963). The class represents the economic status of the particular community, and there the role of caste is strictly followed (Rudolph & Rudolph, 1960). In agriculture society like India, the class is measured by the landholding. As much land acquired by the individuals or communities show they're economically higher in status. Sen (1993) argues on relational deprivation defines the landlessness as a part of it. In the agrarian society, the land is the means of production which is important to generate the economy. In India caste has an important role in the assessment of land. The high-status group acquire more land and holding the power of income generation which caused the inability of the lower caste to generate economically and engaged themselves in the labor market. This gap caused conflict between the two groups those having all the accessibility try to maintain their status quo while the others don't have power want to acquire those.

Barik (2006) says that the caste conflicts have been arising between upper caste and Dalits since the permanent settlement introduced by the British. In which a large amount of land went in the hand of zamindars that are mostly upper castes. But there is a slight change in agrarian structure after the land reform movement introduced, the new intermediary castes Kurmis and yadavas become powerful. These new intermediaries’ caste was not less exploitative than the upper caste; even they were the more feudal in nature. The social norms and values have always obstructed the political development. The phenomenon of casteism has been much pronounced in Bihar in the other states of India. Pre-independence period of Bihar politics has been dominated by the upper caste, till the Lalu Prasad Yadav came in power.

In Bihar also the same thing is going on, the traditional caste feature has changed with the class relation. Prasad (1982) has discussed the changing patterns of caste influenced by the modernization. Economic development, political participation, mass uprising, literacy and education, caste/class consciousness, all are simultaneously developing in societies, are facing a traumatic phase because new norm and values are passing on it. These distribution of development in societies are not equal throughout the state. There is marked unevenness in the profits of the different social segments of the society. The result of this modernization and mass awakening is conflict and violence. There is the transformation of caste society into the class under the impact of new economic force like industrialization, urbanization, etc. to challenge the social hierarchy and they demand reservation.

Chakravarty (2001) analyses the significance of caste for explaining a person’s location in the agrarian class structure. He argues that the groups determined by the access or denial of land which is the principal means of production. He explains the agrarian class relations of Bihar where caste is embedded in the society because whether one can access the land or not is conditioned by that person’s caste status. Because of this two phenomena (i.e., caste and class) have led to violence in the state. The massacre of men, women, and children of the underclass perpetrated by militias of dominant caste, as a significant proportion of the underclass is Dalits and caste constituting the lower stratum of the other backward classes. From time to time there was a conflict between underclass and dominant castes. Here the function of caste is not limited to the religious plane of pure and impure. Caste would also
perform certain crucial economic functions by determining access to land, control over the labour process and the form of exploitation.

Beteile (2012) argues that power changes the dignity of Caste and class. Power can be defined as the device which influences and rule over the decision and opinion of people. Here power means economically strong which influenced the political power as well and there their caste doesn’t matter at all. In his observation, he found that how the structure of village divided the people by class. In this book, he has shown that the power changes the class but not the caste. Through this power, non-Brahmins can compete with Brahmins. In this study, the author shows the social, economic and political aspect of the life of the upper caste and lower caste in the village. Tanjor district, in particular, has been known for the rigidity and complexity of its caste structure. In the village, a structure not only divided the population into a section of unequal ritual status but also dominated economic and political life. So the condition of is not different than the other place. The state also has an impact of colonial rule which creates almost similar kind of structural change in the caste system.

Sahay (2004) argues that a single hierarchy doesn’t work and there is no occupation fixed with the caste. It is the economic benefit of profit and loss attached with the occupation. There is no ashamed due to caste even they are proud of their ideology and same they used to co-operate and conflict among the other caste members. They are not only engaged in the violent conflicts but also to compete for political power. So still Dalits fight within them to break the traditional/ritual barriers of caste rigidities through their participation in the economic and political sphere. One is an occupation which makes them vulnerable not due to nature of job but of the low-income attached with these services which don’t ’ring any changes in their vulnerability. Now-a-day Dalits are fighting for the discrimination in the economic sphere. For that, they started fighting from the basic education. If some of them able to reach in good educational institutes from there they can get better job opportunities and can detach them from their traditional occupation. But again they got not equal opportunity to get placed in higher income services. Thorat & Attewell (2007) study shows that the discrimination in the placement of higher educational institution doesn’t allow them to get a better opportunity. They either not selected or fired by the private company which throws them in the most vulnerable situation. Some of them tried to start their own business to dissociate themselves from the traditional occupation. Jodhka (2010) states that there is discrimination going on between Dalits and upper classes and they are trying to remove this inequality as if they don’t want to be a slave anywhere. Hence, that they started their own business, which gives them freedom, strength as well as self-respect and confidence. All these efforts of Dalits to bring changes in their social status creates violent conflicts in the rural as well as in urban area too.

**Gender in Caste Violence**

In the process of violence, the women are the worst sufferer in the society. Nussbaum (2000) argues that women face special problems all over the world due to their sex. There is lack of essential support for them. Even in the democratic state like India, which ensured equality to everyone is stated only on the paper and women are still treated as second-class
citizen. Because there are multiple identities attached to an individual like caste, class, religion, race, ethnicity, etc. have an important role in the society. So the women in general and any other identity attached with women, in particular, become the most exploitative group in the society. Here, research emphasizes on the lower caste identity of women make her most vulnerable. Consequently, one may argue that the Indian women do not constitute a homogenous category. Caste and class create a different quality of life, social status due to which having different experiences of oppression, exclusion, and marginalization of the Dalit women which take primacy over the wide-ranging experience that women share being ‘women.’

Caste and gender are intrinsically linked in the replica of systematic inequalities in the society. According to Rege (1996), gender was and is crucial to the maintenance of the reproduction of caste inequalities. Although the Dalits have been historically excluded and exploited by the upper castes, the Dalit women constitute the most exploited, vulnerable and marginalized segment of the society. Jogdanand (1995) also finds that the Dalit women are suffering from dual depression, i.e. first is of being women they share the gender-based inequalities and subservience and second being Dalit remain socially, economically and culturally marginalized group.

Thus, for a long time Dalit women issues were deliberately excluded or included with the issues of women in general. These issues were domestic violence, liberty of work, dowry death, maintenance of separated wife, inheritance property, working condition which is the problems of the upper caste women. The issues of sexual exploitation of Dalit women were the main concern which was ignored or legitimized by the Brahminical society. Though Dalit women should talk for themselves and differently (Guru, 1995).

Mangubhai & Lee (2012) also try to analyze the cause of the violence against Dalit women. Here they try to elaborate the functions of violence in terms through the exploration of structural form which reinforces caste, class and gender norms and other being symbolic which penalizes those who transgress this norm. They suggest the main reason for violence against Dalit women is that the caste and gender norms deeply rooted in the social and political institutions like family, panchayat, municipality, police, and judiciary, etc. Due to this, they cannot access the basic entitlements of land, livelihood, food, as well as victim survivors, are not able to access justice. All of which results in the crime against Dalit women are continued in the society.

They are not only culturally oppressed but also exploited economically. It is the economic necessity of the Dalits, which is created by the upper castes through the monopolizing resources and both men & women forced to work outside their home. Therefore, the working outside of the Dalit women is regarded as the incapability of their men to have less control over their women’s body and sexuality, thus considered to be ‘emasculated’ (Geetha, 2007). Therefore, to exercise control over a woman body, she needs to be kept secluded inside the house as preached by the orthodox Hindu texts. It has been constructed by the upper caste Brahmins that once the woman is out of the house, she becomes defiled or easily accessible and available to all men. By this construction in the caste system, the Dalit women are considered inherently impure. Thus one can find that the vulnerable
conditions of the Dalit women in the rural areas are especially the violence perpetrated on them by the upper caste men. Chakravarty (2003) says that resource to violence is actually necessary to tame or break the resistance of men who need to be subordinated.

There are certain kinds of atrocities which are traditionally reserved for the Dalit women. These are the filthy verbal abuse and sexual epithets, naked parading, dismemberment, being forced to drink urine or eat feces, pulling teeth, tongue, nails including murder after proclaiming. The issues of Mirchpur, Khirlanji, Bhavana, etc. end number of cases many of them not registered due to the influence of upper caste explains the height of torture and exploitation of the Dalit women. The motive behind the exploitation is to enjoy the power over others through the oppression.

Hence, oppression and Resistance are two sides of the same coin, which results is violence (Sorensen, 2008). For a long time, it is considered that any oppressive force, physical or symbolically exploitation of a particular group of people comes to the violent behavior. In India majority of the people feels the violence once in their life due to caste, class, religion, ethnicity, and gender. Although Indian constitution claims the equality in front of law the people segregate one from another and minority always discriminated from the mainstream. The history of India shows the different culture, and the religious group made its uniqueness, but this doesn’t always talk about entire community, the always marginalized leftover.

**Origins of Resistance form of Violence Under the Flag of Naxal Movement**

Although these practices of caste and its exploitative behavior had a history to control the social system and to enjoy the economic and political power, it was not universally accepted all the Dalits. They tried to break this norms and fight for the equal rights in the society and somehow get some success. For example, the Phule social reforms movement and Ambedkar movements for equal constitutional rights. Although these were the great achievement of the Dalits movement then also they were not able to overthrow the oppression of the upper caste which was very absurd. Hence, they realized to fight back with these oppressive force, and it has started first in the naxalbari, West Bengal against the landlord’s oppression. Later, it has spread in other states Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Chattisgarh, etc. Though it becomes much popularized in the early 70s but didn’t achieve its goal due to their violent features. Still, their fight against the State is going on in different places in which the common people got targeted. Now, it has become the matter of prestige of the state who are not able to stop this and continuously both the party targeting the common people. Bihar is the perfect example where we can analyze both the oppression and resistance form of movement to understand the violence. In the semi-feudal structure of Bihar caste based private militia of landed class is killing Harijan agricultural laborers. The bloody trail of caste and class carnage continues unabated in Bihar, the cycle of killing and counter-killings continues. The major carnage against Harijan laborers has occurred at Dumariyan. (Bhojpur district) And Miapur village (Aurangabad district) Narayanpur, Shankarbigha (Jehanabad district) in the 2000s. The different faction of CPI(ML) had massacred landlords and rich peasants. There seems to be no end to this
bloody trail of killing and counter-killings which had started three decades ago in the late 1960's and early 1970's with the burning of Dalit agricultural laborers at Kargahar, Chhauranano, Gopalpur, Dharampura, and Belchhi. This politics of the brutal form of violence reflects upon the whole dynamics of the politics of development affects society as well as economy and democracy which requires careful analysis.

Kunnath (2012) disclosed that the Dalit participation in the Maoist movement is not passive rather than active. They believe that Dalit is used as tools for this movement where they were killed in the forefront attack. Very few upper caste activists killed in the counter-attack. The Maoist movement has started as the resistance against the upper caste landlords by the middle uprising dominant caste or upper caste Brahmins. He finds that in the movement the poorest and backward community like Musahar and Dom are the most sufferer group whether other backward caste shifted from this movement.

Bhatia (2005) finds that the Naxalite movement in central Bihar has fought against oppressive landlords for dignity or honor. The movement has been effective in terms assertion of Dalits as human beings and individual entitled to equal rights. The important social right is protection from violence and harassment by the upper castes. Somehow they got success to eliminate the earlier forms of violence. But in this action no doubt the innocent people also suffered. In this process of retaliation and defense, violence breeds violence. On the name of protection, they justify violence. She suggested that this retaliatory violence might have been avoided. She finds that the continuous conflict reduced the democratic space for other forms of struggle. There is the achievement of the Naxalite movement which can be achieved through the non-violent means without the loss of human beings (Bhatia, 2006).

However, the inequality of land distribution is not the only reason of Naxal violence in India (Gomes, 2012). There are other reasons for inequality of social and economic distribution also leads the conflict. But the most focus is on the land revenue institutions which is the means of exploitation and oppression of the landless castes leads to conflict or Naxalite/Maoist violence. The way of conflicts has traced from the colonial introduction of land settlement which increased the gap between the communities. This gap was already there due to the caste division and land settlement also made it stronger. In the 60s the oppression of the upper castes was reached in its extreme form in every walks of life of the lower castes. This extreme form of oppression gave birth to the naxalbari movement in Calcutta, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the country. Accordingly, the origins of the Naxal movement in Bihar traced from the unequal land distribution (Chakravorty, 2001). Therefore, the agrarian structure of the Bihar is dominated by the upper caste landlords who are dependent on the landless lower caste but not having an equal share in the production. Hence, the struggle started against them due to their caste as well as class. The State is completely failure to wipe out the Maoist movement because of their ambiguous understanding of the movement and their support by the poor peasants and tribal (Hargopal, 2017). Though the government should first understand the caste structured problem of the society.
Conclusion

The caste system in India is very much structured in the society, which is the unit of stratification. Though there are differences between the jatis, caste, and Varna in practice, it is the unit of division either by colour or occupation to establish one superiority over other. Hence, caste is a hierarchical division of the society which maintains their hegemony through the close relationship between endogamy and concept of purity and pollution. Although there is no sharp division of purity and pollution but also this creates a marginalized group which is supposed to serve themselves to the society. That is the broadly known as Shudra/untouchables or recent terms Dalits. Dalits are extremely oppressed by the upper castes in every sphere of the society.

This oppression of upper castes was increased after the colonial rule and their land revenue policy. Earlier they were only culturally marginalized which turns into economically and politically excluded too. After the introduction of permanent settlement, the upper caste becomes more powerful when they got all the power on the land, and after independence, the abolition of zamindari and land ceiling acts the other dominant castes came into power. This new dominant groups were more exploitative and put there nothing has changed for the Dalits. Their condition becomes worst, and finally, they started a revolution against the upper castes dominance. This revolutionary movement is named as a Naxalite movement which is also violent. As if they believed that the power can be held through the barrel of gun and somehow they achieved few of their goals in some areas: curbing of feudal practices and social oppression, redistribution of surplus land, equitable access to village commons, increase in agriculture wages, etc. but it is a question mark on them that whether it could have achieved only through the violent means only. The struggle between the state and the Naxals become so violent that they forget their visions. Even in Bihar where it gave birth to caste army, and continuous war of killing and counter-killing shows that it was not the path of struggle when the human beings’ life has no value. Thus, the better way is the constitutional measures which Baba sahib Ambedkar shows through the affirmative action policy and grass route remedial action can bring better changes in the caste system. In both, the form of oppression and resistance form of violence is equally responsible for the loss of human beings, and none of them is justified in any context of the welfare society.

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