

CULTURAL POLITICS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS: A STUDY OF NORTH INDIA

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ABSTRACT

There are continuous historical transformation in society, politics and culture. In this regard, the historical struggle for social equality, self-respect and social dignity by socially marginalized castes, is seen as to democratizing the Indian social and cultural relationship that have manifested this into new trends and form in Indian social political and cultural life across India especially north part of India. Question arises here is that whether construction and evolution of this kind of social and identity movement through politics, assertion and cultural symbolism of Dalit castes, have led them to get rid of inferiority complex, humiliation, low socio-psycho confidence, social stigma and demeaning identity if so, up to what extent social transformation occurred. Where, society is not merely divided on line of caste and sub-caste but culture too with association of power, status, social respect and self dignity with greater and lesser degree. So proposed paper will be an attempt to explore and examine the efficacy of social transformation through of social and identity formation movement of deprived caste Do Identity formation of caste reshape their ascribed self and public images of caste or does it increase or decrease caste and sub-casted differences within Dalit and caste system. Have the transformation of old identity into new identity changed social perception and prejudices of Upper caste. Do the struggle for social justice, power, identity and dignity by lower caste lead social structural transformation or it is only positional changes in social hierarchy.

Key words: Human Dignity, Empowerment, Social Transformation.

INTRODUCTION

India as a country is riddled with caste, sub-caste, religious and linguistic cultural diversity. There were four castes (Varna System) in ancient Indian but later with evolution of human society, It is resulted in thousands numbers through long historical, political and social construct. Caste and sub caste in its nature are heterogeneous and based on sharp social and cultural division and differences among the

caste and within sub caste too, for instances Dalit (Scheduled caste), backward caste and even upper caste also. In Indian social and cultural life, society has played very sever role in individual as well as social life of particular caste group because so called hierarchy placed one and its caste group and its members in a position of status, dignity, social superiority. Being borne in this pre exised social structure as members of one's caste or sub-caste (sub -jatis) decides deferent meaning of the social

and cultural life. Members of a caste group alone as well as in group have felt sense of inferiority, injuries, and painful experiences, story of past and victims of being born in lower caste group.

According to Jaspal, caste persists as an important social and psychological phenomenon in various spheres of Indian social life that is also a fundamentally psychological constructⁱ. Member of the Caste group position themselves, psychologically, in relation to the caste system (consisting of their caste in-group and caste out-group) Moreover, it is likely that, in many cases, caste identity or caste group affiliation may serve particular psychological functions for the self-conceptⁱⁱ.

Emergence and evolution of Dalit and caste social movement in the Hindi heartland of North India were initially targeted for redressing the injustices, Caste discrimination and grievances of the lower caste people perpetuated by upper strata of the social group in feudal relationship. In the last three decades, in state like UP, Bihar and Panjab, social movement can be well seen fitted into this new paradigm of social and psychological revolution, this kind of movement has come into being in almost every state across Indian laser and larger extent, but the paper area of studies is limited to state like UP and Bihar. Last two decades have proved the emergence of new forms of collective action in line of caste in evolving participatory democratic culture as have emerged with hopes and aspiration for search of meaning and identity of life. The grievances and mobilizing factors tend to focus on cultural and symbolic issues that are linked with issues of identity rather than on economic grievances that characterized the working-class movement (Melucci 1985, 1989). They are associated with a set of beliefs, symbols, values, and meanings related to sentiments of belonging to a differentiated social group with the members' image of themselves and with new socially constructed attributions about the meaning of every-day lifeⁱⁱⁱ.

What is significant for sociologists and researcher in this relation is to need to be clearly understood weaken, nature and efficacy within the socio religious and historical context of analysis. In

the study of movement, the problem of the sociologist and researcher has often been seen that of understanding the economic or class base of the movement or at least some set of discrete interests and sentiments, such as social status, identity and culture that characterize a caste group in the social structure must be taken into account. Here, caste and sub-caste based movement could then be seen as a response to a felt sense of injustice, absence of social respect and dignity which tend as the ideology for Dalit and became force and basis for mobilization. This new social movement and its mobilization involved a commitment with the ideas and goals and its program. It further focuses on the strains and conflicts in social structure as the sources of movement formation, dissent, and protest activity^{iv}. This movement has been working with different sets of ideology and aspiration with passage of time. When dealing with existent organized groups, Then New movements he observed- "identity seeking movements^v Its relevance has been highlighted by the process of delegitimization of major social, cultural and political hegemony of upper caste.

What is the historical factors caused movement and what has been problem being a member of one caste group? What does matter to be lower and higher caste. Why does it need change? Why does some caste group have problems in annihilation of this caste system while other caste group wants to maintain as it is. The entire problems lie in it because at a time when castes were considered legitimate in function of society but later with passage of time it was arbitrary constructed, reconstructed and manipulated and legitimized according to vested interest in society. Who have created these so many castes and when. It is assumed that according to Indian Historian Britisher created by 'Divide and Rule Policy' whereas Dalit and backward movement believe that was done by Brahmin. The defining characteristic, status, and social images of particular caste were reshaped by other and it is made functional by religious legitimacy. In which some caste are placed on top position in social hierarchy with the possession of high degree of social power, status and dignity but

on the other hand, some caste (especially Dalit, in order) were/are denied human dignity and social value and proper recognition in the society and even denied basic human rights. So power, status, social respect and value are arranged in hierarchical manner in society in vested interest.

Here, defining self and public of caste means, self of Dalit is supposed to be what member of caste group own images. It is his subjective consciousness of self. How does he perceive see himself in the society and his caste group? .What other non-dalit caste and member from outside, conceive and interpret his identity and how does religion shape meaning and identity and undermine in socio cultural status. According to Max Weber, the search for meaning which according to Max Weber saw as the essence of the human condition.

So this paper will be an attempt exploring and explaining how historically located self and public of marginalized caste (Dalit) have changed through changing nature and goal of the movement in form of politics of identity, assertion, symbolism, culture, and preserving historical legacy etc. It is said that when politics decide and shape your destiny, you decide what kind of politic should be. this has happened in Indian society because it is very well fact that structure produce itself, The ideas of dignity, equality, liberty to have choice of identity, to be independent from other dependency constitute a very important ingredient of human and social life that have been missing in this society for dalit, and still it need to achieve and is being impelled by new emerged caste movement to achieve in democratic and identity politics in society.

IDENTITY POLITICS AND ITS IMPACT

The main reason for the emergence of Caste based movement in the social and political a even cultural sphere emerged in response to social oppression, discrimination and injustice to scheduled caste Jati This social and political manifestation in order to redress/retrieve to social grievances and also bring the process of delegitimization of major social

cultural and political hegemony of Upper caste by deferent methods and technique. Social movements demands to rights to identity and dignity of marginalized society. Apart from this, the effort and promises was taken for remedy and cure of these need of caste by constitutional guarantees through affirmative action and welfare scheme for the upliftment of these caste (Dalit) have failed to do so and have been limited in fulfilling their desire and aspirations, goals and manifestation. It is the about historically denial of basic rights, equality of opportunity, and social and economic justice have not fulfilled yet it from the daily social and the cultural social life of the deprived caste. Even passing law has not changed the social psyche of psyche toward the Dalit and caste are still living stereotypical with caste stigma which questions their placed existential position in hierarchy and caste identity as well as personal identity. Socio economic empowerment was/is not enough; they need psychological and mental development which can give rise at the level of dignity and self-esteem to them. For achieving the social justice in new dimension, Bahujan Samaj Party (hereafter BSP) with help of social movement has organized to fight against the socio economic injustice. In its evolution, social movement has turned into political party in order to get power to improve the socio economic status to them at larger scale. This criticism was required to awaken the Dalit Bahujan and make them aware of their low position in the Indian society before alternative theory could be propounded^{vi}. Second stage can be traced in late 1980s and early 1990s. Kanshi Ram and Mayawati based on idea of social justice made an attempt to build, in collaboration with the Backwards Castes, an alternative socio-political structure- BAHUJAN SAMAJ which would give the Dalit-Bhujan their rightful socio-economic and political position in the Indian society^{vii}. The third stage experienced the translation of the ideology into practice during the brief period when the party was in power in 1996 and 1997. In 2007, the BSP came to power with full majority through the strategy of SARVAJAN abandoning BAHUJAN and Social Engineering^{viii}. while achieving socio economic ingredients of

empowerment which have not yet proved enough to raise their social dignity and mental empowerment because a society where high degree of dignity and social respect and sense of social superiority of caste identity is consumed and enjoyed by few caste while other Dalit and backward caste lacked this combination. So these castes are now with help of social and political in search of identifying themselves with some identity. According to Amartya Sen the functioning of identity as a positive role in human behavior is played by recognition of identity^{ix}. Therefore, these emerged caste politics, sub -caste politics and state politics, are manifestation of expression of frustration of historical injustice and injuries of the human dignity of lower caste in society.

It can be argued that due to lack of adequacy of law, affirmative action and lack of social morality, religious rationality, it was bound to emerge such as caste movement in seeking identity and power. The old caste identity ascribed to Dalit and Backward caste by social construct which is being reformulated and reshaped by revolting these historical construct of caste identity by Brahminical Hindu identity. This active assertion and claims has emerged to be called as politics for assertion, politics for social justice, politics for identity, politics of culture and symbolism, politics of social equality, politics of name and fame etc.

This movement is to be called seeking search for identity, power and social respect by various caste of in many state. Dalit and backward caste have formed political party. In north Indian, dozens of Multiple Political party, in UP and Bihar are participating in electoral politics. For example, Samajwadi Party (SP) (contested 397 seats[citation needed]) Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) (incumbent) (contested 403 seats[citation needed]) Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Indian National Congress (INC) (pre-election alliance with RLD[8]) Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD) (pre-election alliance with INC) Rashtriya Parivartan Dal Akhil Bhartiya Loktantrik Congress United Democratic Front Bharatiya Jan Shakti, Jan Morcha, Rashtriya Swabhimaan Party.^x Apana Dal, Mahan Dal, Peace Party, Kaumi Ekata Dal, Samata Party, RLD, Ekata

Manch, Bharati samaj party, Phulan Sena, janwadi party, Millat Council, etc caste, and sub -caste based party, it brought the democratic cultures across states, region and constitute the bases of political culture and formative elements of public opinion.^{xi}

NEW TRENDS AND METHODOLOGY

State politics is basically result of caste expression of social frustration which constitute the political and social culture of the state politics in UP. Dalit is 21.5 % of total population (Source: For SC/ ST and Muslims (Census 2001). BSP as party of Dalit have oscillated its Tactic and method at deferent point of time in bringing justice to Dalit and constructing identity new identity to them through physical and cultural symbolism. Sometimes it has focused on material empowerment of Dalit while sometimes on psychological. Cultural symbolism has revitalized the Dalit consciousness in day to day life. That is used to greet each other within Dalit community and fraternity. It has expended huge public fund on construction of statue, memorial and Park and Dalit icon (like Elephant, Kashi Ram Ambedakar, Ramabae Ravidas, etc) representing Dalit community. The money was expanded almost 14000 crore.^{xii} celebration are organized, rallies are held, booklet and pamphlets narrating their legend in the form that fits for the political ideology of the party are distributed and other methods of identity construction of community takes place through these method is often successful in swaying the community to vote in favor of political party^{xiii} In new way that were designed to focus on economic and educational aspect of development through various especial schemes like Mahamaya Gharib Balika Ashirvad Yojana, Common Man Insurance Scheme, AVP, and another 36 schemes, to make them capable of playing role in socio-cultural public space. An important aspect of caste politics is often thought to relate to "struggles for recognition" and the symbolic empowerment of previously marginalized communities (Nancy Fraser 1995).

TRANSFORMATION OF CASTE AND SUB- CASTE THROUGH MOVEMENT

Dalit Lower caste aspiration and quest for power, status and leadership has brought these multiple castes and sub-caste into a political class. Numbers of sub-caste of caste by long political mobilization have united under one umbrella by breaking social barrier of differences and division. Polarization of caste is more united political identity rather than social therefore, scheduled caste has translated into political power in order to make them feel powerful caste. It has resulted into political identity of Dalit as well as OBC. The impact of political identity into social life is seen in day to day life of caste. Due to political power alleged caste are able to get more advantage of affirmative action both Dalit as well as other backward. Political Power is tending as challenges to the political hegemony of upper caste but it has not annihilated the social hegemony over Dalit. They have got power as sources to aspire for higher social status in hierarchy. Various caste and sub caste in OBC and Dalit believe in Hindu culture, values, norms in which they do not fit well because they have been ascribed inferior identity. It is the historical religious construct of identify of caste which persist in the mind of the every caste. this is one identity but another identity and changes which have come into being through political power and social and cultural revolution. Dalits are now more assertive, acclaimed, and active and in uniting mood about their rights (distribution and redistribution of social good and services) and identity (self- respect) rather than passive and vulnerable to exploitation in caste-based cultural practices constituted and nurtured since centuries^{xiv}

Caste identity may override other social identity. ^{xv} Earlier economically weaker dalit caste used to face social stigma because of being economically and socially deprived in the society. It is due to possession of political power they have got space therefore, are involved in naming and faming of their Dalit leader and legends they have glorified their past achievement of their ancestor. Having Dalit CM in state like UP have given them designated

empowerment which means they assert their power by saying that our CM sitting in power doesn't do any things. They were bound for social obligation toward Dominant caste like Brahamin, thakur, and OBC not because of legal obligation of it but because of being all kind of powerlessness (economic, social and political) fears, threatening to life also so on and thus, the power as form of dalit leadership and asserting new identity with new meaning have broken these social obligation of the caste either individually or collectively toward upper caste in hierarchy it is because they are socially and culturally aware the this sort of suppression and exploitation in caste system is being maintained. Reservation has helped in eliminating caste to a great degree. First, it has been successful in giving a class shape as well as unified caste to dalit to the historically existing old caste identities, if not everywhere than at least in the public sphere.^{xvi} New Religious themes of from Ravidasi Religion form an essential part of the protest ideology because it provides the chief mechanism for the improvement of self respect and self image^{xvii}.

Thus, they name themselves, claims themselves, realizing their old identity with dignity. Individuals seek out new collectivities and produce "new social spaces" where novel life-styles and social identities can be experienced and defined^{xviii}. New social norms, meanings, values and perception establishes social respect is being attributed to caste identification and essentialization of their own caste identity used to give self esteem^{xix}. These trends of capturing political power by caste and sub-caste of caste have enhanced the self esteem and therefore, internalization and politicization process is continued in identity politics.

CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF CASTES

The recent ignorance of the more cultural and symbolic aspects of social movements is the result of the rejection of the classical collective behavior paradigm, which emphasized the role of shared beliefs and identities, social movements are seen to

emerge in response to the "expansion in political opportunities" I address three broad topics: the cultural roots of social movements, the emergence and development of distinctive "movement cultures," and the cultural consequences of social movements in the UP. Symbolic and cultural method have been used to make them empower and to create to their self respect and self images, symbolic belief and norms are being created through stories, narratives and various forms of memories ...of Dalit ancestor historical legacy that has become motivating force, these narratives, legendary story and memories celebration of Birth and Anniversary day that have been and is being internalized in the consciousness of the lower caste and sub caste of scheduled caste.

In the state of U.P Political party by relating traditional cultural myths and narratives with their new political symbols such as, Mayawati, Jyotiba Pule, Kashi ram, Ravidaas, Ambedkar and Dalit leaders make attempts to use them in accordance with the new interpretations which are politically favorable to them. BSP has constituted a research wing on popular heroes. The wing is a committee of Dalit people of the intellectual class. In which the agenda includes local histories, the collection of myths, the interpretation of history, and propagation of the it and on that basis, they are building up a Bahujan Dalit literature and History. In State of Panjab, the economically dominant Dalit are in no way hesitate to tell their caste name and caste Identity, they feel proud on their Identity they used song, music and album to create song on their own caste and use it in their caste marriage but Dalit in Panjab are not politically mobilized and united to get into power share but they have created new method of identity assertion.

In Bihar, Chuharmal is a hero and a god of the lower castes in this region. The folk legend is a symbol of the victory of the Dusadhs over the Bhumihars while feudal forces are trying to erase the story by the barrel of the gun, the lower caste people struggle to save and preserve it^{xx}. Many folk-legend heroes are now at the center of new Dalit discourse and they have been put

into mythical frameworks. In order to create a counter culture against what they call Brahmanical culture, their distrust of History written by anyone other than a Dalit and they desire to create their own corpus of historical knowledge, and their efforts to explore their identity in the past and claim continuity into the present are some of the issues which have been analyzed.

For instance, it is a Dalit class is claiming higher caste status through appropriate mythology, or equal employment opportunities, they are attacking the monopoly of the upper castes in the fields of religio-social, and especially in politics. Dalit uses the theory of narrative as a method of storytelling. Accordingly these stories of castes, groups and communities evolve around certain myths. Myth as a source and vehicle of stories evokes people's memories, which provides space for political forces to intervene in it and reinterpret them in ways, which would suit their political ends^{xxi}. That is why the language of Dalit Cultural and symbolic assertion in the state like Panjab and Bihar seems to be largely based on invention, reinvention and the use of traditional mythical language^{xxii}.

This new movement has posed cultural challenges to existing cultural. Dalit having cultural alternative while they contribute to ideas of dignity, respect and a sense of the self, and remain important achievements in themselves, cultural mobility invariably leads to demands for a share in the economic resources^{xxiii}. Thus dissent and protest form a part of that ideology, which is as a symbolic system of belief provides the motivating force, and gives the programme of action its legitimacy^{xxiv}. This also means that this new discourse is similar to a certain number of epic, religious, or mythical forms.

Earlier welfare scheme and affirmative action focused only socio and economic development of Dalit caste but now power has been used in leading psychological and mental development at the level of self respect confidence building, these power have made bound of Upper

caste to interact with them thus by process of mutual interaction, communication, toleration which is leading toward deconstruction of social legitimacy of Upper caste to rule and dominate over Dalit and other lower caste and interesting things is that it is true and happening that is being tolerated and accepted by the Upper caste because of some kind of legal legitimacy and its forces upon them. According to Srinivas (2002, P75) a caste group may be regarded as dominant when it wield economic and political power, constitute a demographic majority and when it enjoy 'high position within social hierarchy. Because the ingredient of the so called dominant caste is being possessed by the other caste also the Dalit and the other intermediate caste being economically and politically dominant are claiming themselves as dominant caste vis- to – vis upper caste. Further, it is argued that identity politics has made the system of caste more rigid and alive even in the modern Indian society thus creating a feeling of hostility among the different caste groups etc. It has brought a large number of castes (which among themselves practice some sort of hierarchy) under one banner like the Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and OBC. In the public sphere now, people don't ask and enquiry about the particular and specific caste and sub-caste that an individual is associated with or belongs to.

In regard of other aspect of the Movement, Consciousness Dalit caste and sub caste regard of their society this kind in form of social caste, political and historical itself property. they are historicizing and glorifying their old caste identity any things is that they are putting meaning and glory to local Jati identity and do not hesitate in exposing old identity. Identity politics based on caste serve to intensify the caste and sub-caste consciousness. So this identity politics instead becoming a tools of eradication of caste system, have become device to perpetuate it. Finally, identity politics has failed to deliver material benefits and open up wide scale economic opportunities^{xxv}. The cultural and symbolic assertion involves any event or set of events that dramatize glaring contradiction between a highly resonant cultural value and conventional social practices in society.

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Dalit Movement in spite of great success severely facing challenges. There is negative sign of the movement is still prevalent in society due to lack of moral social transformation spirit and psychological changes of people of society for instances there is as inherent superiority complex, arrogant and sense of pride of caste in the psyche of upper caste and middle caste exist. Dominant caste still expects value from the Dalit and other lower caste because of through sources of religious and cultural legitimacy and they also wants to maintain feudal relationship in deferent form in which social dignity, domination and power is inbuilt.

However, the people of lower castes still are stigmatized and humiliated in day to day socio-public and cultural life, When their local or jati identity is disclosed by other. They still hide their jati. There are some religious apparatus that are responsible for maintaining the stigmatization status quo. In Indian social and cultural practices, there has been always deculturization of existing culture, in UP and Panjab some of the caste is politically socialized therefore, they has been able to face social dominance in society, Many of the cultural rituals has nothing to do with spiritual empowerment of the member of caste well as social group Dalit caste but that is being rampantly practiced it is fact when cultural norms promote spiritualism and intellectualism the value of caste differences decrees its existences sharpness. Dalit have experience of humiliation and disrespect many times in daily life in spite of possessing higher social and economic and political power in society, in caste relationship among caste and sub-caste group, upper caste takes pride, arrogant, and high dignity of their caste because of initial advantage of birth in Upper caste but Dalit and other so called sub lower caste are historically devaluated and presently having problems in the identification with people of their caste. Identities cannot be undermined or brushed aside, nor can they simply be mobilized for cultural

assertion any more without including a concrete and tangible programme of economic empowerment.^{xxvi}

CHALLENGES TO DALIT IDENTIFY BASED CASTE AND SUB -CASTE MOVEMENT

In cast system, so called Upper caste members are essential zed at national level whereas rest of deprived caste are not able to unite in unified identity and identify with member of own caste. The identity politics have failed in giving one shape and social and cultural oneness because even scheduled caste are socially stratified and ranked in hierarchical status. I found in course of interview that even each caste of scheduled caste has seven castes. For example Chamar (Harijan) have seven caste like Chamar, Maha Chamar, Nonia Chamar, Bhangji, Chamar, Halakhori, and taking another example like Sonkar (Passi) have seven caste Sonakar, Dusaad, Bahelia, Tadmalji, Kiathavas, Mauvaas and having 7 Gotra. They are place in even category of OBC in some state, and the intensity and form of its rigidity differ in degree of rest of caste hierarchy of upper caste. so there arises intra caste domination in Dalit caste itself among sub caste, in caste of Uttar Pradesh, caste strictly interwoven into caste and sub caste, is divided and segregated on the line traditional caste occupation followed by generation to generation. Even Marriage as a social institution is still determined according to primordial identities^{xxvii}. The growing disappearance of economic dependency which was a product of caste-based division of labor is freeing the erstwhile “lower” castes from the dominance of the “others” “but draconian” anti-untouchability laws, one must understand the sociological reasons that led to it^{xxviii}. This movement course of assertion of Dalit has been frightened, intimidated, and threatened by Upper caste and intermediate caste also because of rising power of these caste. They are well aware of torture of Physical and mental exploitation but another kind of deprivation to them in form of economical resources is being taken away through different kind of cultural and religious practices. The practices of

religious and cultural belief and custom on one hand have become very sources of income for Brahmin caste. And on the other hand, it has become sources of social burden and pressure on socially and economically marginalized section of Dalit. Religious fundamentalist and conservative are not ready to accept the change of caste system and Varna system, because of in faith that are their religious belief and used to think caste status quo is proper and necessary for functioning of society some intellectual and educated having moral dilemma who support this ideology of Varna because of their interest, status and power are vested and preserved in this kind of socio and religious belief and practices. Many caste of the Dalit are possessing the identity of Hindu religion like Valmiki are directly supporting the Hindu custom and rituals without knowing the benefit and harm from it.

Political attempt by Dalit Political party sub caste within caste have weakened the political competent The biggest problems for Dalit is the process of identification and recognition with one's own community because most of Dalit hides their local Jati identity to be openly and publicly disclosed to some other community in day to day life, this is one thing, most of the Dalit do not put Surname or title of Caste with their name. Because of this, they could not organize and interacted with the member of Dalit community across the state. So it has become obstacle in creating socio and cultural capital of this caste group even improvement of economic and social status in form of Sanskritization (Coined by M. N. Srinivas in the 1950s) means to follow brahminical Status is against their ideology.

They do not possess also another means because the deferent kind of linguistic and cultural diversity they possess. Their emerged new identity has not made them to have strength of Human dignity and mental confidence in their mind and social consciousness. Fundamental rights of life and liberty of article 21 of Indian constitution is extended up to right to life with full dignity added by Supreme Court of India has nothing to do in its implication in society because the right to dignity are not defined and legalized in

form of rights violation which can be verified and punished.

Another challenge of movement lie in the historical construct of identity and biased knowledge of Indian sociological interpretation of caste, religion and society which have resulted and manifested in differences, division and structure in society which have been created and imagined in the historical sociological explanation of caste and dynasty of history of victory, glory, virtues, courage, bravery and knowledge, have been produced in keeping the mind of the member of high caste who still want to maintain the status quo of their ascribed identity and they are not ready to accept changing social identity. So caste boundary are said to be keenly maintained and reproduced by members of both caste (Jodhka, 2004). The policy of Affirmative action has affected the Identity claims because dalit are not ready to move in higher category. It is evident in the case of Gujjars demanding the status of STs, or Rajputs wanting to be listed as OBCs. The issue here is not mobility in ritual hierarchy but a share (legitimate or otherwise) in state resources by this caste.

The worst outcome of sustained identity mobilization is the proliferation of intra-subaltern conflicts as we have witnessed among the various Dalit sub-castes in Andhra Pradesh, between Dalits and the Other Backward Classes in Khairlanji in Maharashtra, and between the OBCs and Muslims during the recent riots in Muzzafar nagar in Uttar Pradesh^{xxix}.

LIMITATION OF DALIT POLITICS

If social movement is analysed through another point of view it has still limited achievement and facing various challenges. This movement have posed conflict and involved in glaring contradiction between a highly resonant cultural value and conventional social practices. It has become burden and trouble for itself due to increasing challenges. It has also increased the consciousness of other caste therefore, societal and institutional relation has become more biased, and whereas it has solidified

the its caste block and are coming under political umbrella to share power but at the same, it lacked social, cultural and harmony within community. The changing nature and forms of the caste system are often assumed to be static in mainstream discussions^{xxx}.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, author has said that the status and identity location of Dalit have dynamically transformed not only in economic and political sphere also in social and cultural status of society, the emerging economic potential and political power and identity claim caste have posed demands to constitute the new definition of dominant caste in social hierarchy. Now dominant Dalit and OBC have emerged with all ingredient of empowerment except few as emerged new dominant caste they have delegitimized the social and religious legitimacy of Upper caste in social, political and cultural sphere. Dalit have found themselves enough to relocating caste and sub caste images in social hierarchy with regard of social respect, status and dignity larger extent through political power, identity assertion, symbolic and cultural politics, and socio political capital and by claiming rewriting of legendary past and glory of their ancestors. They have constituted and brought the new democratic cultures across states, region and constitute the bases of political and social culture. But with all its success it suffer some extent its limitation due to hard challenges because it fulfills the lack of legitimate historical endowments. After long time without social justice, mute historical player, they have started to speak, to tell of their history." to create a counter culture against what they call Brahmanical hindu culture they distrust of the History written by anyone other than a Dalit their desire to create their own corpus of historical knowledge, their efforts to explore their identity in the past and claim continuity into the present, are some of the issues which have been analyzed.

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