

Index

- Aadhaar database, 5, 102
 Aadi Hindu Panth, 275
 Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 4, 26–27, 49
 abominations of the body, stigmas of, 397
 Acemoglu, Daron, 348
 Achhutanand, Swami, 275
A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859), 219
 Ad Dharm movement, 46–47, 206n2
 Adityanath, Yogi, 70, 277, 395, 399
 Adivasis, 238
 Advani, L. K.
 rath yatra, 247
 affirmative action, 179, 212–13, 221
Against the Madness of Manu:
 B. R. Ambedkar's Writings
 on Brahmanical Patriarchy
 (2013), 140
 Agamben, Giorgio, 279
 agrarian-feudal social order, 98
 agrarian labour class, 238
 Akali Dal (Shiromani Akali Dal [SAD]),
 4, 47, 270
 Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad
 (ABVP), 103
 All Bharatiya Rajbhar Sangathan, 402,
 409n15
 alliance building, 204
 All India Anna Dravida Munnetra
 Kazhagam (AIADMK), 82–83,
 249, 253
 All India Backward and Minority
 Communities Employees
 Federation (BAMCEF), 11,
 90n2, 116, 200, 402
 all-India Dalit conference, 345
 All-India Debt and Investment Survey
 (2002), 181n21
 All India Gond Mahasabha, 402
 All India Institute of Medical Sciences
 (AIIMS), Delhi, 443
 All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
 (AIMIM), 241
 All India Nai Mahasabha, 402
 All India Scheduled Castes Federation
 (AISCF), 46, 50, 219, 236,
 409n8
 All India Trinamool Congress (TMC),
 27, 51
 Amar, Ram Sujana, 154
 Amazon Prime, 289
 Ambedkar, B. R., 3, 7, 39, 49, 86, 134,
 169, 193, 202, 215, 225, 268,
 324–25, 375, 414
 125th birth anniversary, 157
 advocacy for separate electorates, 87

- All India Scheduled Castes Federation, 46
- anti-caste cultural politics, 134
- challenge to Gandhi's paternal and moralist appeal, 235
- and the Communists, 218–20
- confrontation with Gandhi, 139
- Dalit movement initiated by, 307
- death anniversary of, 116
- founding of All India Scheduled Castes Federation, 219
- ideals of building a society, 201
- ideology of, 9
- launching of the Republican Party of India (RPI), 237
- political activism, 237
- quest for political power, 234–37
- relationship with Marxism and Marxist politics, 218
- social agenda, 258
- success in winning separate electorates for Dalits, 203
- understanding of the relation between caste and class, 216
- VCK's engagement with, 258
- Ambedkarism, 3, 9–10, 254, 256, 268
- Ambedkarite Dalits, 244
- Ambedkarization, process of, 7–8
- Ambedkar Mahasabha, 157
- Ambedkar.org, 161
- Ambedkar, Prakash, 3, 240–42
- Ambedkar Village Programme, for upliftment of the entire village community, 63
- Anand, S., 253
- Anganwadi programme for children, 63
- Anglo-Indian law (1772), 319
- Annihilation of Caste* (1936), 201, 268
- anthropological exceptionalism, for the anti-caste warriors, 216
- anti-CAA protests (2019), 182*n*24
- anti-caste aesthetics, in commercial films, 136
- anti-caste Bhakti movement, of medieval India, 101
- anti-caste cinema, 143–46
- anti-caste consciousness, 115, 119, 133, 134
- of the 1980s, 130*n*1
- anti-caste cultural politics, 134
- anti-caste movement defined, 138
- language of, 137–38
- anti-caste music, 136
- educative and reformatory, 138–43
- rise of alternative, 138
- anti-caste political strategies, 134
- anti-caste practices, 136
- anti-caste resistance, 138
- anti-caste songs, 126
- anti-caste struggle, on liberal values, 215
- anti-Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), 172
- anti-communist rhetoric, 219
- anti-Dalit ethos, 51
- anti-Hinduism, politics of, 97
- antyyodaya* (welfare of people at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid), 101
- anxiety, 2, 12, 219, 281, 408
- Apna Dal, 103
- Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), 170
- Article 15* (2019), 136
- Article 370, repeal of, 255, 257
- Arzal Muslim, 278
- ascription-based identities, 206
- Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR), 81

- Association for Enterprise Opportunity (AEO), 346
- Athawale, Ramdas, 29
- ati*-Dalit (backward Dalit) community, 271
- atipichda* (very backward) community, 271
- atomistic individualism, 216
- atrocities against Dalits, news of, 155
- atrocities on Dalits, protests against, 61
- atrocious cases, 419
- Attali, Jacques, 125
- Auerbach, Adam, 362
- authoritarian populism, 210, 225
- avarna* (lower caste), 144
- Ayushman Bharat, 5
- Azad, Chandrashekhar, 3, 10–11, 36, 126, 279
 support for the Mahagathbandhan in opposition to the BJP, 277
- Azad Samaj Party, 10, 124, 126
- Azlaf Muslim, 278
- backward-caste identities, 273
- backward castes, 238
- Backward Classes, 221
 of citizens, 394
 commissions, 394–95
- backwardness of Dalits, 396
- Bagdis, 52
- Bahuguna, Hemwati Nandan, 399
- Bahujan *andolan* (agitation), 119
- Bahujan collective, 239–40
- bahujan*, idea of, 119, 130n1, 204
- Bahujan identity and consciousness, 10, 239–40
- ‘Bahujan’ leaders, pan-national legacy of, 240
- Bahujan Left Front (BLF), 224–25
- Bahujan mission, 115, 123
- Bahujan movement, 9, 124
- bahujan* politics, 271
 formulated by Kanshi Ram, 273
- bahujan samaj*, 202, 268
- Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 11, 47, 81, 103, 134, 193, 211, 349
 alliance with SP and RLD, 70
 budget expenditure in selected sectors by, 64–65
 construction of memorials commemorating Dalit leaders, 68
- Dalit–Bahujan movement in India, 267
- Dalit support base, 90n2
- Dalit voter base, 25, 30
- decline of, 4–5, 154
 impact on Dalit politics, 6
 in North India, 30–34
 in Punjab, 47
- defeat in elections, 59–60, 67–68
- ditching of the BJP during the floor test, 155
- dominance among Dalits, 26
- emergence of, 4
- eroding base in the UP assembly elections, 33
- formation of, 116
- inception under the leadership of Kanshi Ram, 239
- Jatav voters, 4
- as pan-India party, 30
- performance in the Lok Sabha elections since 1989, 31
- political language of, 274
- programme of retributive social justice, 62
- return to the Dalit agenda, 66–67
- rise of, 153
- rubric of the Bahujan movement, 277
- shortcomings of, 49

- stand on Kashmir's special status, 257
- strategy for securing political power, 48
- strengthening of the Dalit–Muslim alliance, 278
- success under the leadership of Mayawati, 59
- vote share
 - among the Jatavs, 61
 - in UP, 30, 32
- Bahujan Sanghatak*, 120
- Bahujan songs, 7, 116, 117, 118
- Bahujan voters, 271
- Balakot incident (2019), 71, 74*n*9
- Bala, Poonam, 119, 121–22
- Balmikis, 47–48, 60, 67
- Bandit Queen* (1994), 144
- Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, 50
- Banerjee, Abhijit, 13
- Banerjee, Mukulika, 197
- Bangar, Mohan, 120
- bastis* (slums), 278
- becoming Dalit, 199–201
- 'Begumpura' (Sorrowless City), 137
- Behalpur, Harnam Singh, 122–24
- below the poverty line (BPL), 62, 91*n*7
- Bhagat, Sambhaji, 141
- Bhakti saints, 276
- Bharat *bandh*, 291
- Bharatiya Bahujan Mahasangh, 240
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 154, 247, 268, 349, 360, 385, 395
 - ability to secure Dalit votes, 205
 - alliance with Shiv Sena, 240–41
 - ascendance to power at the national level, 1
 - attraction as a political alternative for the Dalit castes, 95
 - brand of elite-led social engineering, 242
 - campaign to reach out poor beneficiaries, 5
 - class-based differences in support for, 34
 - 'conversion' process, 5
 - crorepatis* candidates filed by, 81
 - Dalits' electoral preferences in favour of, 6
 - Dalit support base, 4, 68
 - Dalit votes, 25–26
 - ditched by the BSP during the floor test, 155
 - electoral campaigns by, 5
 - electoral decline in UP, 30
 - electoral politics, 205
 - electoral success among the Dalit communities, 36
 - ethno-political majoritarianism, 5
 - Hindu card, 255
 - Hindu majoritarian ideology, 210
 - Hindutva politics of, 98
 - inroads into West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura, 29
 - under leadership of Modi and Amit Shah, 100
 - lobbying for party posts, 101
 - long-term changes, 95–98
 - massive mandate won in 2014 and 2019, 95
 - Muslims as political enemy of BJP, 244
 - per cent of Jatav and non-Jatav votes, 70
 - performance in UP 2014 elections, 69
 - politics of Dalit inclusion, 68–69
 - popularity among Dalit voters, 34–36
 - preference among Dalit voters, 5
 - profile of support for, 35, 36
 - reasons for Dalit shift towards, 36–40, 59
 - ideological or electoral shift, 71–72

- rise of, 6
 - under Narendra Modi, 1, 4
 - in West Bengal, 4, 53
- 'Samajik Samvad' campaign, 102
- share of seats reserved for Dalits, 26
- shift of Dalit voters towards, 95, 107
- social engineering strategy, 38, 102
- in Tamil Nadu, 248–50
- ties with capitalists, 257
- trade-union wing, 213
- views across caste groups on issues
 - raised by, 40
- Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, 213
- Bhattacharya, Dwaipayana, 51
- bheedtantra* (system of crowds), 166
- BHIM (Bharat Interface for Money), 39
- Bhima Koregaon violence (1 January 2018), 143, 255
- Bhim Army, 3, 70, 277
 - formation of, 36
 - Jatavs in, 71
 - rise of, 73
- Bhimrao Ambedkar Rural Integrated Development Programme, 63
- Bhopal Conference of Dalit (2002), 13, 345, 347
- Bhorisa, Dhiren, 297
- Biju Janta Dal (BJD), 27, 28
- bipolar political system, 82
- Black capitalism, 347
- black economy, of India, 322
- Black Lives Matter, 292
- Black Panthers, 79, 238
- black slaves, 336*n*2
- Blunt, E. A. H., 405
- Boat Club, 172
- Bollywood, 288
 - Hindi cinema's transformation into, 135
 - and Hindi film industry, 136
 - political economy of, 136
- Bombay Presidency, 236
- bonded labour (*begar*), practice of, 343, 405
- Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act (1976), 351*n*4
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 196
- Brahmanical knowledge tradition, 397
- Brahmanical patriarchy, 144
- Brahmanism, ideology of, 97
- Brahmin–Baniya tag, 100
- brahmin–bourgeois Congress, 218
- Brahmin domination, 253
- Brahminical patriarchy, 247
- brahmin supremacy, 256
- Bright Age, 203
- British Crown, 334
- British Raj, 319
- bua–bhatija* (aunt–nephew)
 - relationship, 277
- Buddhism, 200, 278
 - conversion to Buddhism, 238
- building memorials, politics of, 66
- Burawoy, Michael, 214
- Bureau of Police Research and Development, 180*n*3
- Burke, Edmund, 378
- Business Standard* (2019), 251
- Byapari, Manoranjan, 54
- campaign finance regulations, 83
- campaign-incurred debt, 84
- Capital* (1867), 219
- capitalist economy, of India, 98
- caste and class, concept of, 215–18
- caste atrocities, protection from, 316
- caste-based crimes
 - atrocious cases, 419
 - first information reports (FIRs) on, 416
 - inter-caste tensions, 421–24

- murders targeting Dalits, 416, 418–19
- rise of, 417
- survey declarations on untouchability, 420
- caste-based cultural ethos, 135
- caste-based discrimination, 96, 291
 - comparing the data patterns on, 420–21
 - Dalit resistance to, 424–26
 - against Dalits, 414
 - Kitagawa–Oaxaca–Blinder decomposition method for evaluating, 417
 - measure of, 417–18
 - phenomenon of, 417
 - practice of, 414
 - untouchability and, 420
- caste-based electoral mobilization, 168
- caste-based grievances, 177, 179
- caste-based identities, 281
- caste-based labour discrimination, 417
- caste-based matrimony, 296
- caste-based menial labour, 295
- caste-based mobilization, of Dalits, 178, 341
- caste-based murders, targeting Dalits, 416, 418–19
 - in Bihar, 426–27
- caste-based protest activity, 172
- caste-based protests, 9, 167, 169, 177
- caste-based violence, 418
- caste–class confluence, in India, 213
- caste–class relations, 220
- caste-driven society, 349
- caste effects in economy, 215, 218, 220
- caste enslavement, 333
- caste fanatics, 85
- caste hierarchy, 309
- caste-Hindu middle class, 304
- caste identity, 171, 268
 - politics based on, 269
 - in relation to modern economy, 220
- caste inversion, idea of, 224
- Casteless Collective (YouTube channel), 143
- castelessness, 9, 135–37, 290
- caste oppression, 215
- caste slavery in India, law banning, 320
- caste stigma and humiliation, 215
- caste untouchability, 137, 317
- caste violence and discrimination, 36, 154, 162
- Chaturthha Duniya, 54
- Centre for Media Studies (CMS), 80, 168
- Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi, 26, 213, 286
- ceri* (Dalit colonies), 92n17
- Chaitya Bhoomi, in Mumbai, 39
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 222, 224
- Chakravarty, Anuradha, 177
- Chatterjee, Partha, 51–52
- chaturvarna*, logic of, 215
- Chhibber, Pradeep, 71
- childhood morality rate, by social groups in India, 326
- child marriage, practice of, 144
- Chin, Aimee, 365
- Christian missionaries, attacks on, 153
- cinema, 8, 133, 135, 136
 - anti-caste, 143–46
 - Dalit Cinema, 136–37
 - Marathi, 136, 143
 - Tamil, 136
 - Telugu, 8
- cinema industry, in India, 135
 - Dalit representation on, 135
- circulation of elite, 196

- Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA)
 (2019), 29, 54, 250
 citizenship rights, of Dalits, 351
 civil and political citizenship, to Dalits,
 344
 civil society organizations, 167, 330
 class and racial justice, 216
 class consciousness, 223
 class division, of labour, 219
 class domination, 217
 class exploitation, 214–15, 218
 class hierarchy, Marxian definition of,
 215
 class struggle, 210, 216–17, 220, 225
 clientele politics, 197
 Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC),
 340
 colonial modernity, 217
Coming Out as A Dalit (2019), 286
 communal polarization, 4
 Communist movement, in India, 220
 Communist Party of India (CPI),
 92*n*20, 250
 Communist Party of India-Marxist
 (CPI-M), 92*n*20, 211, 225, 250
 Communist philosophy, 218
 communist politics, 219
 communist–socialist organizations, 236
 community development programme,
 406
 community identity, 312
 ‘conservative’ nationalism, 135
 Constituent Assembly of India, 50, 342,
 394
 Constitution of India, 235, 236, 302,
 340
 article 16(4) of, 394
 article 341 of, 394
 article 342 of, 394
 article 370 of, 255, 257
 Cooper, Kenneth, 153
 Copeland , Nicholas, 92*n*18
 copycat suicides, 441
 corporate patronage, 81
 coverage of Dalit issues, 150, 152–55,
 157, 158, 159, 160
 COVID-19 pandemic
 crisis of migration during, 71
 and Dalit politics, 279
 lockdown, 213, 321
 loss of work and income due to,
 327
 cross-caste marriages
 between Dalit men and caste-Hindu
 women, 252
 differences over, 252
 violence against, 252
 cross-gender friendship, 296
 cultural changes, 2, 72, 134
 cultural inclusion, process of, 71
 cultural industry, in India, 133–34
 cultural mobilization, 69
 cultural nationalism, Hindutva ideology
 of, 39
 cultural resistance, 8, 18
 culture of class, 222–24
 cyber capitalism, 141
 daily *bhatta* (informal wages), 82–83
 Dainik Bhaskar (Hindi newspaper),
 285
Dainik Jagran (Hindi newspaper),
 153–54, 156, 157, 163*n*3
 Dalit activism, 204
 Dalit advocacy, dilution of, 86
 Dalit Agenda, 13
 Dalit alternative media, emergence of,
 160–62
Dalit Andolan Patrika, 161
 Dalit aspirations, heterogeneity of, 99

- Dalit–Bahujan
 identity, 243
 ideology, 11
 music, 116
 musical practices, 116
 political activism, 243
 political agency, 233
 political representation of, 244
 politics, 125
 sociopolitical history, 115
 voters, 242
- Dalit, Bahujan, and Adivasi (DBA)
 communities, 288
- Dalit–Bahujan movement
 agenda of empowering Dalits, 269
 crisis of, 267
 crisis of political language, 274–76
 double dilemma, 278
 foundational notions of, 269
 Hindutva appropriation and, 271–73
 by Kanshi Ram, 267
 mapping the crisis, 268–69
 new desires and non-response,
 273–74
 in north India, 280
 political and electoral crisis, 269–71
 political consciousness and
 development, 271
 production of leaders and the BSP
 Movement, 277
 relations of, 267
 in UP, 268
- Dalit–Bahujan politics, 272
- Dalit body, imagination of, 397
- Dalit bourgeoisie, 340
- Dalitcamera.org, 161
- Dalit Capital* (2015), 347
- Dalit capitalism, 13, 14, 222, 341
 adversity and opportunity, 341–44
 as an agent for social change, 345–48
 discourse of, 99
 influence of, 345
- Dalit castes
 exclusion and marginalization of, 101
 socio-economic mobility of, 107
- Dalit Chamber of Commerce, 13
- Dalit Cinema, 136
- Dalit civil rights organization, 290
- Dalit communities, 69
 aspirations and anxieties among, 12–15
 BJP's electoral success among, 36
 caste identities of, 269
 as claimants of government jobs, 152
 consciousness of, 9
 conversion to Buddhism, 278
 cultural identity, 8
 educated class and government
 employees, 104
 emergence of class differentiation
 within, 100
 empowerment of, 153
 as 'ex-untouchables' of India, 316
 journalism jobs within, 287
 'lived experiences' of, 145
 of Maharashtra, 204
 migrants from Bangladesh, 29
 migration from villages to cities, 98
 religious and cultural sects, 275
 representation in the private sector, 150
 Sanskritization and Hinduization of,
 97
 self-identity and ideology, 10
 social and political life of, 7
 as social media influencers, 162
 struggle for dignity and self-respect, 8
 as target of hate crimes, 415
 unrest over dilution of the Scheduled
 Castes and Scheduled Tribes
 (Prevention of Atrocities) Act
 (1989), 106

- and upper castes, 167–68
- views on Hindu nationalism, 39
- voting pattern among (*See* voting patterns, among Dalits)
- Dalit consciousness, 276, 309
- Dalit Dastak*, 161
- Dalit electoral politics, 4
- Dalit electoral preference, 4
- Dalit electorate, 34
 - engagement of political parties with, 158
- Dalit emancipation, 222
 - democratic state power for, 269
- Dalit entrepreneurs, 13, 345–48
 - loans for, 158
 - Stand-Up India scheme for, 158
- Dalit hashtag activism, 293
- Dalit-Hindu aspirations, 274
- Dalit-Hindu identity, 274
- Dalit identity, 245, 346
 - ideological formulations of, 10
 - pan-India creation of, 3
 - politics of, 48
 - semantics of, 145
 - as social capital, 309–11
 - stereotypical representation of, 145
- Dalit ideology, 10, 307, 312
- Dalit India, 161
- Dalit intellectuals and activists, 345
- Dalit *jatis*, 38
- Dalit journalists, 286
- Dalit leadership, 6, 206
 - and BSP Movement, 277
 - legacy of Kanshi Ram in, 203–6
 - production of leaders, 277
- Dalit legislators, 376
 - comparison with non-SC counterparts, 380–83
 - effectiveness of, 378–79
 - interventions in the Lok Sabha, 379
 - nature of questions asked by, 383–86
 - role at national or state level, 380
- Dalit literature, emergence of, 8
- Dalit masculinity, 251
- Dalit Massacre in Bihar, 154
- Dalit middle class (DMC)
 - as community with aspirations, 307–8
 - creation of, 99
 - distinctiveness of, 303
 - emergence of, 150, 302, 304
 - identity patterns of, 312
 - in Maharashtra, 310
 - as networked class, 308–9
 - occupations and professions, 305
 - reservation policy, 307
 - rise of, 6, 14
 - role in establishing Dalit polity, 150
 - socio-economic and political equality for, 312
 - socio-economic mobility of, 305
 - socio-economic profiles of, 304
 - special development packages, 311
- Dalit middle-class language, 274
- Dalit mobilization, effect of partition on, 50
- Dalit movements, 1, 2, 11, 59, 61, 202
- Dalit-Muslim alliance, 278
- Dalit Muslims, 278
- Dalit organizations, 2
 - dalitpan*, sense of, 202
- Dalit Panthers Movement, 134, 199, 237–39
 - and BJP in Tamil Nadu, 248–50
- Dalit Panthers of India, 9, 79
 - aims and objectives of, 248
 - and political pluralism, 257–59
 - Sangh Parivar and, 250–52
 - Tamil branch of, 248
- Dalit Parliamentarians, 255

- Dalit political agency, 193, 196
- Dalit political autonomy, demands for, 50
- Dalit political elite, 204
- Dalit political parties, 212, 270
- decline of, 2
- fiscal constraints faced by, 82–85
- formation of, 88, 92*n*20
- impact of coalition politics on, 85
- in India, 79
- intractable balance, 85–88
- mass disenchantment, 99
- possibility of reduction in trust-deficit towards, 245–46
- social and economic capital, 81
- Dalit politics, 9, 140, 159, 239, 269
- Ambedkarite politics, 243
- aspirational value, 234
- axes of
- anxieties, 3
- aspirations, 3
- claims of political disunity, 48
- comparisons and contrasts between Punjab and West Bengal, 55–56
- COVID-19 pandemic and, 279
- crisis facing, 3
- decline of, 205
- decline of the BSP and its impact on, 6
- and desire for social justice, 72
- evolution of, 12
- and fall of Atal Bihari Vajpayee's government, 154
- functioning of, 2
- future of, 41–42
- heterogeneity of, 99
- legacy of Kanshi Ram in, 203
- in Lok Sabha elections (2014), 26
- Mahar domination, 242
- in Punjab, 46–50
- rise in, 197
- and soft Hindutva, 254–57
- transformative power of social media for, 291
- trust-deficit syndrome in, 243–45
- in UP and Bihar, 3
- upheaval within, 98–100
- weakening of, 100
- in West Bengal, 50–55
- Dalit popular culture, 7
- Dalit *pradhan* (head of the village assembly), 417
- Dalit public sphere, rise of, 8
- Dalit reality, 3
- Dalit representation, through
- reservation and universal adult franchise, 376
- Dalit representatives, ethnography of, 86–87
- Dalit resistance movement, 136
- Dalit Sahitya Sanstha, 54
- Dalit Shoshan Mukti Manch, 174, 183*n*29
- Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti (DS4), 7, 90*n*2, 115, 200, 409*n*8. *See also* DS4 singers, ethnographic accounts of
- beginning of, 116
- emergence of, 118
- history and emergence of, 116–18
- musical traditions, 118–20
- Dalit social and cultural movements, 104
- Dalit social citizenship, 14
- Dalit social groups, 270
- Dalit society, characteristics of, 98
- Dalit suicides, incidence of, 17–18
- in 2014 and 2015, 434–38
- and education, 439–41
- geographic distribution of, 442

- and human development, 440
- in India, 435
- minority status and, 438–39
- oppressed minorities and, 441–43
- paucity of data on, 434
- Payal Tadvi's case, 440
- Rohith Vemula's case, 16, 36, 70, 106, 169, 440
- and social discrimination, 438
- state-wise, 436–37
- Dalit suppression, 135
- Dalit symbols, desecration of, 179
- Dalit-versus-non-Dalit dichotomy, 279
- Dalit vote, division of, 270
- Dalit voters
 - ideological leanings of, 40
 - preference for the BJP among, 5
- Dalit voting patterns, 25
- Dalit writings, 7
- Dalit youth, flogging of, 25
- Das, Shahad, 122
- decision-making, 107
- decomposition methods, 414–15, 417
- 'Deeksha Bhoomi' in Nagpur, 39
- Defying the Odds* (2014), 347–48
- Delhi Police, 175
- Delhi Police Act (1978), 182*n*26
- Delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies Order (2008), 388*n*1
- demand for SC status
 - exploring the, 402–3
 - factors fuelling, 406–7
 - Hukum Singh Committee's report on, 406
 - by most backward castes (MBCs), 396, 399–402
 - race against the bottom, 407
- democracy, 8, 11, 78, 88, 98–99, 140, 142, 153, 197
- democratic politics, 10, 78, 81, 85, 206
- democratic revolution, 78–79
 - post-Ambedkar Dalit imagination of Bahujan collective, 239–40
 - Dalit Panthers, activism of, 237–39
- democratic socialism, 233
- DeNora, Tia, 117
- Depressed Classes of Dalits, 219
- deputy commissioner of police (DCP), 172
- Dera movement, 8
- deras*, 48
- Desai, Morarji, 394
- 'Desam Kaappom' (Save the Nation) rallies, 249–50
- Desiya Murpukku Dravida Kazhagam (DMDK), 91*n*10
- developmental gap, among Dalits, 320–28
 - assets, 322–24
 - education, 324–25
 - health, 326
 - land, 321
 - poverty, 327–28
- Devi, Phoolan, 144
- Devi, Usha, 120
- Dewey, John, 216
- Dhale, Raja, 246*n*2
- Dharmashastras*, 318–19
- dharna* (demonstration), 176
- Dhasal, Namdeo, 143, 246*n*2
- Digital Dalits, 161
- digital platforms, 292
- Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995), 136
- division of labour, 216
- Dom community, 145
- 'double marginalization' of Dalit women, 131*n*6
- downtrodden masses, stories of, 288

- Draupadi* (film), 252
 Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK),
 27, 29, 82–83, 249, 253
 ‘rising sun’ election symbol, 90*n*4
 Dravidar Kazhagam (DK), 249, 253
 Dravidian Federation. *See* Dravidar
 Kazhagam (DK)
 Dravidian governance, 252
 Dravidian ideology, dilution of, 252
 Dravidian parties, 89
 pre-poll coalitions, 91*n*10
 Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada
 University, 143
*Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar: The Untold
 Truth* (2000), 143
 DS4 singers, ethnographic accounts of
 Bala, Poonam, 121–22
 Behalpur, Harnam Singh, 122–24
 Gautam, Kasturi, 124–25
 Dufflo, Esther, 13
 Dunning, Thad, 364
 Durkheim, Emile, 438
 Dutt, Yashica, 286
- ease of doing business, 212
 economically weaker sections (EWS),
 15
 economic downturn, 107
 economic empowerment
 need for, 13
 via support to Dalit entrepreneurship,
 102
 economic extraction, 221
 economic inequality, 302
 economic mobility, 1
 economic reductionism, notion of, 216
 economic reforms, 98–99, 341, 344,
 346
 economic wealth, loss of, 320
 economy of caste, 220–22
- Edachira, Manju, 136
 educated Dalits, 340
 educational and job quotas, 15
 education in India, dropout rate in, 325
 election campaigns, financing of, 82
 Election Commission of India (ECI),
 80
 electoral bonds, 80–81
 electoral democracy, idea of, 201
 electoral mobilization, 178
 as a force against social change,
 348–50
 lower-caste, 341, 350
 electoral politics, 4–7
 electoral quota systems, 357
 Eleventh Plan (2007–12), 62, 66
 empowerment of Dalits, 153, 340
 enslavement
 Anglo-Indian law on, 333
 brief history of, 317–20
 caste-based, 317
 enslaved sub-castes, 318
 harm argument, 333
 Hindu laws of, 320
 in India, 318
 inheritance argument, 333–34
 practice of, 317
 punishment for, 319
 enslavers, liability of, 334
 entrepreneurship, 14–15, 99, 102, 158,
 160, 303, 309, 341, 346–48
 equality before law, notion of, 224
 Equality Labs, 290, 295
 ethnic outbidding, theories of, 178
 ethno-political majoritarian index, 39
 ethno-political majoritarianism, 39, 89
 European Periyar Ambedkar Comrades’
 Federation, 247
 exclusions, 56, 96, 101, 105, 151,
 160–62, 307

- Explosives Research and Development Laboratory (ERDL), Pune, 199
- Extremely Backward Classes (EBCs), 103, 408*n*4
- ex-untouchable castes, 394
- ex-untouchables, communities of, 194
- ‘ex-untouchables’ of India, 316
- Fabian faith, 216
- Facebook, 290–91, 297
- Factories Act (1948), 213
- false consciousness, prevalence of, 215
- fanaticism, rise of, 104
- Fandry* (2013), 136
- farmers’ movement of 2017, 172
- film-making, practices of, 136
- Finnegan, Ruth, 117
- first information reports (FIRs), on caste-based crimes, 416
- First World Dalit Convention (1998), 201
- Firth, Simon, 115
- Five-Year Plan, 221
- forced labour, 336*n*2
- free-born Englishman, notion of, 224
- Fuller, C. J., 254
- Galanter, Marc, 360
- Gandhi, Indira, 404
- Gandhi, M. K., 87, 194
- Ambedkar’s challenge to paternal and moralist appeal of, 235
- confrontation with Ambedkar, 139
- fast unto death opposing separate electorates for Dalits, 376
- hunger strike, 203
- opposition to the Communal Award granted by the British government, 235
- on welfare of untouchables, 235
- Ganga and Yamuna expressways, 63–64
- Gareeb Samaj Party, 402
- Nishad caste associated with, 404
- Gaurakshaks*, 158
- Gautam, Devi Dayal, 105
- Gautam, Kasturi, 124–25
- Geetha, V., 252
- Gehlot, Thawar Chand, 156
- gender-based reservations, 365
- gendered politics of caste, 252
- general castes, 316
- German Ideology* (1846), 219
- Ghaywan, Neeraj, 145, 288
- Girard, Victoire, 368
- Global Burden of Disease (GBD) study, 433
- globalization, 2, 9, 12–13, 60, 273
- #GoBackModi campaign, 249
- Gorringe, Hugo, 87, 225*n*1
- gotra*, 97
- Gotra and Puranic identity, 97
- Government of India, 173
- Government of India Act (1919), 388*n*3
- Government of India Act (1935), 3, 394
- government policies and programmes, 101
- gram panchayats* (village councils), 63, 364
- Green Revolution, 343
- gross domestic product (GDP), 66
- group identity, 415
- Guha, Ramchandra, 157
- Gujjars of Rajasthan
- conflict with the Meenas, 402
- demand for ST category, 402
- Gupta, Dipankar, 224
- Guru, Gopal, 137, 177, 233, 246*n*1
- guru killi* (master key), 240, 269

- Haasan, Kamal, 251
 depiction of Godse as a Hindu
 terrorist, 251
- Habib, Irfan, 221
- Hall, Stuart, 115
- Harad, Tejas, 292
- Harvey, David, 225
- hate crimes, Dalits as target of, 415
- Hazare's hunger strike (2011), 182n24
- Herzog, Hanna, 250
- higher education, 82, 168
 gross enrolment ratio in, 325
- high-income countries, 439
- Hindi film industry, 136
- Hindu–Muslim unity, 288
- Hindu castes, social coalition of, 106
- Hindu Code Bill, 143
- Hindu consciousness, 245
- Hindu Dharma, 247
- Hindu enslavement, 320
- Hindu Hindi Hindustan, 257
- Hindu identity, 10, 61, 69, 96
- Hindu Makkal Katchi (Hindu People's Party), 250
- Hindu Munnani (Hindu Front), 250
- Hindu–Muslim relationship, 135
- Hindu nationalism
 construction of, 1
 Dalit community's views on, 39
 ethno-political majoritarian index, 39
- Hindu political identity, 98
- Hindu Rashtra, 257
- Hindu religious affiliation, 245
- Hindu religious and social code, 324
- Hindu revivalist movements, 97
- Hindu social laws, codification of, 96
- Hindustan* (Hindi newspaper), 153, 156
- Hindutva, 5, 351
 Dalit–Bahujan movement and,
 271–73
 ideology of cultural nationalism, 39
 localization of, 103
 mobilizing non-Jatav Dalits under,
 271
 myths to link Dalits to, 69
 non-Brahminical, 69
 social engineering, 243
 soft Hindutva, 254–57
subaltern Hindutva, 61, 98
 sustainability of, 106
 VCK ideological challenge to, 257
- Hindutva majoritarian politics, 214
- Hindutva politics, rise of, 11
- hissa* (share), 205
- hissedari*, principle of, 205–6
- Hnatkovskay, Viktoria, 417
- Hobbes, Thomas, 332
- honour killings, legislation against, 252
- housing security schemes, 63
- Htun, Mala, 358
- Hukum Singh Committee (2001),
 405–7
- Human Development Index, 66
- human development, indicators of, 439
- hyper-nationalism, use of, 71
- identity and ideology, transformations
 in, 9–12
- identity-based protests, 166
- identity politics, 60
 based on the principle of *hissedari*, 205
- Illavarasan, death of, 252
- impure body, idea of, 398
- inclusion, 2, 15–17, 61, 71, 96
 BJP's politics of, 68–69
 cultural, 73
 of minority groups in politics, 357
 in OBC category, 402
 religious, 273
 in SC category, 404

- Independent Labour Party (ILP), 218, 236
- India
- Hindu character, reassertion of, 96
 - Majority Lower Castes Are Minor Voice in Newspapers (1996), 153
 - political elite, researching on, 196–97
- India Against Corruption movement (2011), 172, 182*n*24
- India Human Development Survey (IHDS), 328, 416, 420
- Indian Administrative Service (IAS), 62, 406
- Indian caste system, 194
- Indian cultural reality, 199
- Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs)
- caste discrimination at, 291
 - reservation for SCs, STs, OBCs, 290, 385
- Indian middle class, rise of, 12
- Indian National Congress (INC), 4, 47, 81, 96, 156, 199, 270, 349
- Dalit disenchantment with, 36
 - monopoly over Dalit votes, 25
 - social bases of, 270
 - working-class strike in the textile mills against the ‘black bill’ of, 218
- Indian nationalism, 221
- Indian nationalist hegemony, 257
- Indian Penal Code (IPC), 340
- Indian Police Service (IPS), 406
- Indian social structure, analysis of, 134
- Indian working class, making of, 222
- IndiaSpend, 379
- indigenous communities, protests of, 166
- Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), 63
- inequality, 14, 51, 169, 179, 215, 247, 257, 302
- information society, 161
- Ingole, Prashant, 288
- Inside Edge* (Amazon Prime, 2017), 289
- Instagram, 297
- institutional politics, failure of, 171
- inter-caste coalition-building, 364
- inter-caste differences, in vote choice, 34
- inter-caste marriage, 136, 288, 328
- inter-caste relationship, 143
- intercaste restrictions, 222
- inter-caste tensions, 421–24
- inter-group tensions, across Indian states, 17
- ‘internal colonialism’ of caste oppression, 221
- internal ideological conflicts, 239
- internet, 12–14, 161, 286–88, 291, 293, 295
- iron law of oligarchy, 196
- jaati maruppu thirumanam*, 252
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, 78, 117, 131*n*2
- Jai Bhim Comrade* (2011), 140
- Jaitley, Arun, 158
- jajmani* system, 108*n*1, 406
- breakdown of, 99
- jalsa*, 139
- Jammu and Kashmir, removal of special status of, 257
- Janata Dal, 211
- Jan Dhan Yojana, 5
- Jantar Mantar (New Delhi), protest activity at, 167, 171, 172–77
- caste-based protests, 173–75
 - data on, 172–73
 - descriptive analysis of, 173–77
 - Hazare’s hunger strike (2011), 182*n*24
 - lessons learned from, 177–79
 - limits of, 179

- Nirbhaya protests (2012), 182n24
 on-site protest-event, 177
 policing of, 179
 protest demands, 176–77
 size and tactics of Dalit protests,
 175–76
- Jatavs, 61, 68, 71
- Jatav–Yadav–Muslim votes, 244
- jati-biradari* (own caste), 269
- jati* identity, 204
- jatis*, 180n8, 205, 318, 320, 396
- Jat Sikhs, 198
- Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), 63
- Jayalalithaa, Jayaram, 249
- Jayal, Niraja Gopal, 2
- Jehanabad and Narayanpura massacres,
 154
- Jensenius, Francesca, 15
- Jinnah, M. A., 87
- job losses, among Dalits, 107
- job market, discrimination in, 328
- job opportunities, for DBA
 communities, 288
 under British rule, 308
 getting around gatekeepers, 288–90
 unequal industry and, 290–91
- job quotas, 345. *See also* reservation for
 Dalits
 of government jobs, 346
 group-based, 358
- Jodhka, Surinder S., 345, 427
- Jogdand, P. G., 310
- journalism jobs, within Dalit
 communities, 287
- Juergensmeyer, Mark, 46
- Kaala* (2018), 142
- Kabali* (2016), 142
- Kabir *panth*, 144, 275
- Kabir *panthi*, 276
- Kaka Kalelkar Commission (1953), 221
- Kalelkar, Kaka, 394, 398
- Kamble, Maya, 291
- Kanshi Ram Sahari Gareeb Awaas
 Yojana (KSGAY), 63
- Kanwar *yatra* (journey), 105
- Kapoor, Sacha, 362
- Kapur, Shekhar, 144
- Kardak, Bhimrao, 139
- karma*, 199
- Karpoori Thakur formula, 103
- Karthik, Vignesh, 250
- Karunanidhi, Muthuvel, 249
- Karunanithi, Jeyannathann, 250
- Khabar Lehar* (newspaper), 161
- Khairlanji atrocity (29 September
 2006), 140
- Khambir Pidhi, 142
- Kharat, Kadubai, 141
- Kosambi, Damodar Dharmananda, 217
- Kovind, Ram Nath, 10, 39
- Kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis, and
 Muslims (KHAM), 349
- Kulkarni, Damini, 143
- Kumar, Arun, 322
- Kumar, Ashok, 118
- Kumari, Saroj, 118
- Kumar, Raghvendra, 399
- Kumar, Vivek, 195
- Kurmis of Jharkhand and West Bengal,
 402
- Kushwaha, Babu Singh, 67
- labourers, division of, 216
- labour law reforms, 212
- labour theory of caste, 217
- Lahiri, Amartya, 417
- Lancet Commission, 317
- land ownership, inequalities in, 321
- land reforms, policy of, 321

- Law Commission of India, 320
 leadership. *See* Dalit leadership
 lead news items on Dalit issues,
 analysis of
 Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary
 and death anniversary, 157
 engagement of political parties with
 the Dalit electorate, 158
 loans for Dalit entrepreneurs, 158
 Una flogging, 157
 Lee, Alexander, 178
 Left Front, 27, 51, 211
 legal rights, protection of, 214
 Legislative Assembly, 376, 404
 liberal democracy, 11
 and Dalits, 232–34
 Liberation Panthers Party. *See* Viduthalai
 Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK)
 lived experiences, 138
 local area development (LAD) schemes,
 379
 Lok Janshakti Party (LJP), 29
 Lokniti-CSDS, 26, 33, 36, 213
 Lok Sabha, 154, 361
 Dalit legislators' interventions in, 379
 elections, 25, 26, 67, 80, 156, 236,
 269
 findings for, 384–85
 Question Hour, 376, 378, 379–80,
 386
 Rules of Procedure of, 386
loktantra (democracy), 166
 love jihad, claims of, 251
 low-and-middle-income countries
 (LMICs), 433
 low-caste identity, consciousness of, 7
 lower-caste communities, 174, 242
 upward mobility of, 308
 lower-caste political mobilization, 341,
 350
 Macaulay, T. B., 351*n*2
 Madison, James, 378
 Magesan, Arvind, 362
 Mahagathbandhan (Grand Alliance)
 politics, 71, 277, 281*n*2
 Mahamaya Awas Yojana (MAY), 63
 Mahamaya Garib Balika Ashirvad
 Yojana, 63
 Mahamaya Sarva Awas Yojana (MSAY),
 63
 Mahaparinirvan Sthal, Delhi, 39
 Mahar-caste leadership, 238
 Mahars of Maharashtra, 97, 105, 138,
 243–44
 Mahatma Gandhi National Rural
 Employment Guarantee Scheme
 (MNREGS), 63
 majoritarianism, 5, 39, 42, 71, 89
 Mallah community, 144, 399–402
 Mandal, B. P., 394
 Mandal Commission report (1990),
 134, 171, 394, 397, 399
 recommendations of, 177
 Mandal, Jogendranath, 50
 Manikandan, C., 249
 Manjule, Nagraj, 136
 manual and menial jobs, 213
Manusmriti, 251, 320
 code of conduct, 140, 143
manuvadi, 60
 Manyawar Shri Kanshiram Ji Green Eco
 Garden, 66
 Maratha–Kunbi landholders, 143
 Marathi cinematic industry, 136
 Marathi film industry, 136
 marginalized communities, 235, 237,
 290, 306
 democracy's relationship with, 232
 empowering of, 397
 market-based economy, emergence of, 406

- Marshall, Alfred, 342
 Marshall, Thomas H., 341
 Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra
 Kazhagam (MDMK), 91*n*10
 Marxism, 200
 Marxist economics, 219
 Marx, Karl, 215, 217, 225
 labour theory of caste, 217
 revolutionary philosophy of, 238
Masaan (2015), 145–46
 Mata Shabari temple, 69
 matrimony, 296
 Matua Mahasangha, 54
 Maurya, Keshav Prasad, 70
 Maurya, Rakesh K., 440
 Mayawati, 7, 30, 59, 121, 154–55, 195,
 268, 272, 274, 279, 395, 399
 buā-bhatija (aunt–nephew)
 relationship, 277
 handling of Dalit–Bahujan youth
 leaders, 277
 inauguration of Noida Metro, 66
 leadership of, 156
 loss of popularity of, 5
 popularity among Dalits, 33
 Sarvajam strategy, 62–66
 style of political campaigning, 34
 member of the legislative council
 (MLC), 108*n*10
 members of legislative assemblies
 (MLAs), 53, 357, 376
 members of parliament (MPs), 357, 376
 memorandum, presentation of, 176
 Mendelsohn, Oliver, 86
 Mevani, Jignesh, 3, 11, 292
 micro, small, and medium enterprises
 (MSMEs), 385
 middle class Dalits. *See* Dalit middle
 class (DMC)
 migration, 46, 52, 71, 98, 107, 310
 Mills, C. Wright, 196
 Mines, Mattison, 197
 minority representation, 79, 85, 87, 89
 minority stress, 439
Mirzapur (Amazon Prime, 2018), 289
 Mishra, S. C., 67
 Mission Geet, 117, 124–25
 MLALAD scheme, 379
 modern citizenship, notion of, 199
 Modi, Narendra, 1, 4, 25, 29, 59, 100,
 103–4, 240, 274
 appointment of the third backward-
 classes commission, 395
 caste-wise distribution of preference
 for, 38
 emergence of, 153
 as follower of B. R. Ambedkar, 39
 Gujarat model, 68
 leadership and the delivery of welfare
 benefits, 37
 mechanism of public service delivery
 and welfare schemes, 102
 mobilizational strategies, 68
 New Welfarism of the Right, 71
 personal popularity of, 5
 rise of, 96
 ‘Stand-up India’ scheme, 39
 transforming of Dalit communities
 into aspirational communities,
 273
 victory in the 2014 national elections,
 211
 visit in 2018 to ‘Boro Ma’, 54
 Mohan, P. Sanal, 318–19
 ‘money power’ in elections, implications
 of, 82, 84
 Mood of the Nation (MotN) survey
 (2018), 36, 71
moolnivasi, 99
 moral corruption, 86

- Mosca, Gaetano, 196
 Moss, David, 221
 most backward castes (MBCs), 17, 30, 272–73, 349, 395
 concept of, 399
 demand for SC status, 396, 399–402
 exploring the, 402–3
 factors fuelling, 406–7
 genealogy of, 396, 398–99
 hierarchy in Indian society, 396
 in north Indian states, 407
 in public institutions, 407
 sense of
 powerlessness and anxiety, 407
 status inequality, 406
 socio-economic conditions of, 396, 407
 traditional occupation and social status of, 401
 ‘MP and MLA Track’ database, 376
Mr. and Mrs. Iyer (2002), 136
mukhiya (village headman), 124
Mukta (1994), 143
 Mungeri Lal Commission (1971), 398
 murders. *See* caste-based murders, targeting Dalits
 Murugan, L., 251
 Musahars, 69
 muscular nationalism, 5
 Muslim League, 388n3
 Muslims, 238
 as political enemy of BJP, 244
 poor Muslims, idea of, 278
 Muzaffarnagar riots, 272

nabhi-nal (umbilical cord) relationship, 280
 Naccdor.org, 161
nadaka kaathal (staged love or love jihad), 251

 Nadda, J. P., 259
 Naik, L. R., 399
 Naik, Ram, 157
 Namasudras, 6, 50, 52, 56
 Namasudra votes, 29
 Narayanan, K. R., 154
 Narayan, Badri, 198
 National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC), 251
 National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), 16, 226n8, 418, 420, 434
 National Democratic Alliance (NDA), 29, 74n9, 212
 voting percentage, 240
 National Education Policy (NEP), 255
 National Election Studies (NES), 25–26
 2004 survey, 213
 National Family Health Survey (NFHS), 326
 National Green Tribunal, 182n27
 National Investigation Agency (NIA), 255
 Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), 240
 national political leadership, 155
 National Population Register (CAA–NRC–NPR), 250
 National Register of Citizens, 250
 National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), 259
 National Sample Survey (NSS), 417
 National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), 322
 National SC–ST–OBC Student and Youth Front, 174
 National Security Act (NSA), 256
 National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC), 66
 nation-building process, 232, 236
 Nehruvian patronage system, beneficiaries of, 98

- Nehruvian secularism, decline of, 6, 96
 neo-Buddhist puritanism, 104
 neoliberal reforms, 222
 neo-middle class, 98
 Netflix, 289
 net state domestic product (NSDP), 66
 new class of Hindu castes, 98
 new millennium, 1–4, 13, 15, 59, 346
 Newslaundry–Oxfam study (2019), 285
 newspapers, 9, 80, 133, 150, 152–61
 newsrooms, 159, 160, 286
 representation in, 151–52
 New Welfarism of the Right, 71
New York Tribune essays (1853), 219
 Nigam, Aditya, 345
 Nilekani, Janhavi, 364
 Nirbhaya protests (2012), 172, 182n24
nirgun bhakti, 101
 Nishads, 69
 Nisha, Jyoti, 137
 Noida Metro, 66
non-Brahminical Hindutva, ideology
 of, 69
 non-Dalit parties, 59
 non-governmental organizations
 (NGOs), 54, 274
 non-hate crimes, 416
 non-linear employment decomposition
 analysis, 330
 non-Mahar Dalits, 238
 non-peripheral castes, 105–6
- occupational diversity and mobility of
 Dalits, 344
 occupational mobility, of Dalits, 310
 occupations and professions, 303,
 305–6, 308
 old social order, decline of, 406
 Omvedt, Gail, 218, 248
 ‘One Nation, One Culture’, 257
 ‘One Rank One Pension’ (OROP)
 protests (2015–16), 172, 182n24
 online matchmaking platforms, 296
 caste in, 296–99
 oppressed castes, solidarity of, 213
 oppressed communities, 238
 oppression and exploitation, of Dalits,
 214–15
 organizational leadership, 100
 Other Backward Classes (OBCs),
 11, 30, 53, 67, 90n1, 96, 103,
 130n1, 134, 211, 235, 270, 316,
 386, 394, 439
 exclusion of ‘creamy layer’ from
 reservations, 256
 sub-categorization under Hukum
 Singh Committee, 400
 VCK’s approach towards, 256
 oversight, 16, 376, 378, 379
- Pal, Anand, 177
panchayat (local village council)
 elections, 272
panchayati raj system, 363, 385
 elections, 67, 361
panchteerth (five holy places), 39
 Pandian, Punitha, 258
 pan-Indian Dalit discourse, 3
panna pramukhs, 101, 108n6
 Pareto, Vilfredo, 196
 Pasis, 60, 67, 69, 105, 272
 Paswan, Ram Vilas, 29, 350
 Paswan, Sanjay, 102
Pataal Lok (Amazon Prime, 2020), 289
 Patel, Sone Lal, 274
 Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), 91n10,
 252
 Patwardhan, Anand, 140
 Paul, Sourabh, 417
 Pearson correlation matrix, 421

- peripheral castes, 105–6
- ‘Periyar and Indian Politics’ webinar, 247
- Periyarist Karuppar Kootam (Black Collective), 255
- persecuted minorities, empowerment of, 350
- personal and familial belief systems, 328
- Phule, Jyotirao, 202, 225, 275
- Planning Commission, 62
- political awakening, 156
- political citizenship, rights of, 374
- political competition, effect of political reservations on, 362
- political consciousness and development, 271
- political economy, emergence of, 1
- political elite class, 15, 72, 78, 193, 195, 196–97, 204
- political favours for campaign finance, exchange of, 81
- political institutions, 358, 366, 368, 374
- political language, crisis of, 274–76
- political leadership, 270
- political marginalization, among Dalits, 205
- political power, acquisition of, 201
- political reservation in India, brief history of, 375–76
- political reservations for SCs, effects of, 358, 360–69
 - for an SC *sarpanch*, 367
 - impact on
 - caste-related attitudes and behaviour, 367–69
 - developmental outcomes, 364–66
 - political and electoral patterns, 361–62
 - political competition, 362
 - state–citizen relations, 366–67
 - incentives for inter-caste coalition-building, 364
 - observations and recommendations, 386–87
 - pros and cons of, 364
 - spill-over effects, 362–64
- political transformation, 49, 237
- politics of power, 270
- politics of unfreedom, 102
- Poona Pact, 202–3, 235, 376
- poor Muslims, idea of, 278
- popular culture, 3, 7–9, 115–16, 133, 292
- portrayal of Dalits, in the media
 - analysis of lead news items on Ambedkar’s 125th birth anniversary and death anniversary, 157
 - engagement of political parties with the Dalit electorate, 158
 - loans for Dalit entrepreneurs, 158
 - Una flogging, 157
- coverage of Dalit issues, 152–55
- economic issues, 153, 160
- editorials exploring Dalit issues, 159
- emergence of Dalit alternative media, 160–62
- issue of reservation in jobs for Dalits, 154
- news of atrocities against Dalits, 155
- representation in the newsrooms, 151–52
- select newspapers
 - case study of, 155–56
 - inferences from the content analysis of, 158–60
- post-Ambedkar Dalit movement, 194
- post-Mandal politics, 213
- Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), 219
- power brokers, 233

- Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, 5, 72
 Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY), 102, 160
 Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana, 72
 Prajapati, Gayatri Prasad, 402, 404
 Prakash, Aseem, 347
 Prakash, Nishith, 365
 Prakash, Ved, 285
 news channel on YouTube, 286
 Prasad, Chandra Bhan, 222
 prime minister, preference among different caste groups, 37
 private-job-market hiring, 329
 private sector, rise of, 18
 Project Anti-Caste Love, 297
 proletariat class, Marxist identity of, 238
 Protection of Civil Rights Act (1955), 15, 416, 419
 protest data, 177–78, 181*n*20
 protest demands, 167, 170, 173, 176–77, 179
 protest-event-analysis (PEA), 172
 protest policing, 178
 protest politics
 for an identity group, 168–69
 caste-based protest activity of Dalits, 170
 comparative study of, 169–71
 Dalit and upper-caste protest activities, 178
 gap between Dalit and upper-caste protest activities, 178
 hierarchy and, 171–72
 lessons learned from, 177–79
 policing of, 178
 protest site, 9, 167, 170, 172, 180*n*6
 protest tactics, 176, 179
 public employment, in India, 107
 public-private partnership (PPP), 66, 74*n*4
 public-sector employment, 15
 public-sector organization, 200
 Pulayas, 318
 Pulwama terror attack (2019), 71, 74*n*9, 177
 Punjab
 Balmikis of, 48
 Dalit political history in, 46–50
 decline of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in, 47–48
 Mazhabhis of, 48
 SC population of, 49
 ‘Punjabi Khatri caste’ culture, 135
 Question Hour, 376, 378, 379–80, 386
 quota, policy of, 222. *See also* job quotas and caste-based reservations, 358 group-based, 358
 racial oppression, 214
 radical Dalit political assertion, 45
 radical social reforms, 234
 Raja, H., 251–52
 Rajamani, Rajesh, 138
 Rajbanshis, 6, 52, 56
 Rajbhar, Doodhnath, 404
 Rajbhar, Pancham, 409*n*15
 Rajbhar, Sukhdev Singh, 62
 Raj, Udit, 157
 Ramabai Nagar massacre (11 July 1997), 140
 Ramaswamy, Periyar E.V., 202
 Ram, Babu Jagjivan, 39, 103, 105
 Ramdasia Sikhs, 198, 203
 Ram Janmabhoomi (Birthplace of Ram) movement, 96, 100–01
 Ram, Kanshi, 7, 10, 11, 12, 30, 32, 47, 103, 115, 116, 119, 121, 124, 130*n*1, 193, 275
 approach to politics, 201

- Bahujan politics formulated by, 273
 bahujan samaj, 268
 birth of, 198
 on caste-democracy relationship, 195
The Chamcha Age: An Era of the Stooges (1982), 270
 Dalit political agenda, 193
 as face of Dalit assertion in all of north India, 194
 as leader in post-Ambedkar Dalit movement, 194
 legacy of, 203–6
 life trajectory compared to Ambedkar's, 194
 making of, 197–99
 moving beyond Dalit-ness, 201–3
 poor Muslims, idea of, 278
 speech at the Ram Navami fair, 276
 ranked ethnic systems, 178
 Ranvir Sena, 153–54, 425, 428
 attacks on Dalits in Bihar, 153
 upper-caste, 154
 Rao, Anupama, 216
 Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD), 211, 244, 350
 Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD), 70
 Rashtriya Nishad Ekta Parishad, 402
Rashtriya Sahara (Hindi newspaper), 153–54, 157, 163n3
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 7, 37, 53, 102, 271
 L. K. Advani's *rath yatra*, 247
 Sangh Parivar, 250, 259n3, 272, 281n1
 samrastabhoj (community meals), 272
 samrasta (harmony) programmes, 272
 samskaras (ceremonies or rites), 97
 shakhas (sessions), 272
 Ratan, Ravi, 135
 Ravidas Jatavs, 270
 Ravidassia music, 116, 117, 131n3
R. Chitralkha and Anr v. State of Mysore and Ors, 408n3
 Reddy, Sudhakar, 250
 Rege, Sharmila, 131n6, 140
 Registration of Births and Deaths Act (1969), 434
 religious conservatism, 39
 religious denominations, 322
 religious minorities, 204, 235
 religious pilgrimage, 146
 reparations
 economic, 335
 philosophical arguments for, 331–32
 reparation commission, 335
 spiritual renewal argument for, 334–35
 views of John Locke on, 332–33
 Republican Party of India (Athawale) (RPI[A]), 29
 Republican Party of India (RPI), 9, 46, 182n29, 199–200, 237, 269
 political activism in Maharashtra, 237
Republic of Caste, 219
 reservation for Dalits, 15, 307, 357
 brief history of, 375–76
 goal of, 374
 in Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), 290
 in institutions of higher education, 324
 in jobs, 154, 273
 origin of, 359–60
 reservation policies
 abolition of, 177
 implementation of, 176
 reservation-related demands, 176
 reserved constituencies, in India, 30
 reserved seats, 15, 29, 86–87, 103, 105, 359, 361–62, 374–76
 resistance, 3, 9, 11, 37, 118

- resource mobilisation, process of, 310
 reverse migration, issue of, 107
 Right to Information (RTI) Act (2005),
 180*n*12, 435
 right-wing caste outfits, caste-sustaining
 ideology of, 252
 right-wing politics, 242
 ritual hierarchy, notion of, 198
 Robinson, James A., 348
 Rohini, G., 395
 Round Table Conferences (1930–32),
 375
 Roundtable India, 161
 rule-based society, 340
 rule of law, 406
 rural infrastructural programmes, 63
 rural-to-urban migration, 98
- Sachan, Rajeev, 159
sadhe satiya, 105
sagun bhakti, 101
Sairat (2016), 136
samajiksamrasta (social harmony)
 campaign, 271
 ‘Samajik Samvad’ campaign, 102,
 108*n*11
 Samajwadi Party (SP), 30, 60, 70, 103,
 156, 211, 244, 350
 Samajik Nyay Adhikar Yatras, 409*n*14
 Sambara, Kewal, 120
 Sample Registration System (SRS), 434
Samyak Bharat, 161
 Sanatana Dharma, 248, 253
 agenda of *samajik samrasta*, 273
 and the Panthers, 250–52
 Sankhya school of Indian philosophy,
 409*n*10
 Sanskritization, impact of, 405
 Sanskritized Dalits, 96
 Saradmoni, K., 318–19
sarvajan, 268
 challenge of inclusive development,
 62–66
 Sarvajan alliance, 59
sarvajan politics, 270–71
 Sathi, Chhedi Lal, 399
 Sathi Commission (1977), 399
 Satnaami Panth, 275
 Satyashodhak Communist Party, 225
 Saubhagya Yojana, 5
savarnas (upper castes), 105, 318, 328
 gaze, 144
 mindsets and discrimination against
 Dalits, 328–30
*Savitri Bai Phule Balika Shiksha Madad
 Yojana*, 63
 Scheduled Caste (SC), 15, 47, 130*n*1,
 134, 198, 250, 270, 343, 394
 data on crimes against members of, 420
 literacy rates of, 48
 murders of members of, 422
 as political ammunition against caste-
 based oppression, 396
 political reservations for, 357
 poverty of, 327–28
 programmes for the upliftment of,
 309
 in Punjab, 49
 reservation policy for, 232
 effects of, 360–69
 social identity of, 275
 welfare of, 63
 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
 (Prevention of Atrocities) Act
 (1989), 15–16, 25, 70, 86, 100,
 106, 159, 170, 309, 343, 385,
 407, 416, 419, 427
 Dalit unrest over dilution of, 106
 Supreme Court of India’s decision to
 weaken the provisions of, 36

- Scheduled Caste Special Component Plan, 63
- Scheduled Tribes (STs), 16, 130ⁿ¹, 134, 221, 270, 326, 343, 394, 418
- programmes for the upliftment of, 309
- reservation policy for, 232
- as *sarkari damad*, 397
- welfare of, 63
- SC–ST Teachers Front, 174
- secular citizenship, idea of, 245
- self-esteem, 268
- self-identity, 2, 10
- self-mobilization of caste groups, 168
- self-respect marriages, 252
- Self-Respect Movement, 2, 8, 13, 59–60, 72, 134, 252, 276, 288, 358
- sense of self, 397
- separate electorates, 86–87, 201–3, 235, 369–70, 375, 387
- separation of powers, principle of, 378
- sevadar* castes, 105
- sevakarya* (social service), 273
- Shaadi.com, 296
- Shah, Amit, 100–01, 103
- shakhas*, 53
- Shakti Kendra, 101
- Sharma, B. D., 425
- Sharma, Neeru, 46, 48
- Sharma, Smriti, 415
- Shastri, Bhola Paswan, 398
- Shekhawat doctrine, 103
- Shepherd, Ilaiah, 224
- Shinde, Rashi, 294
- Shiv Sena, 240–41
- short-video platforms, 294
- Shudras, 317, 319, 324
- Siddharth, Jyotsna, 297
- Siddique, Zahra, 418
- Siddiqui, Naseemuddin, 67
- Sikh ideology, 198
- silent revolution, 78
- Simon Commission (1927), 375
- Singh, Charan, 404
- Singh, Hukum, 399
- Singh, I. P., 47
- Singh, Manmohan, 443
- Singh, Nirmal, 48
- Singh, Pritam, 46
- Singh, Rajnath, 273
- Singh, Santosh K., 49
- Singh, V. P., 404
- Singh, Yogendra, 197
- Sinha, Anubhav, 136
- Sivagnanam, Sujatha, 248
- slave trade, transatlantic, 336ⁿ²
- Snack, 294
- snowballing, technique of, 131ⁿ⁹
- Social Attitudes Survey, India (SARI), 328
- social capital, 304
- Dalit identity as, 309–11
- process of formation of, 310
- social change, 49, 194, 197, 206, 220, 258, 303, 309, 312, 347
- social citizenship, 341
- social coalitions, 174, 349
- social consciousness, 307
- social democracy, 140, 142
- social deprivation, self-awareness of, 205
- social discrimination, 235
- social engineering, 31, 37, 270
- BJP's strategy, 38, 96–97, 102
- social identity, caste-based, 440
- social inequalities, 214, 257
- social isolation, 317
- socialist revolution, 196

- social justice, 2, 51, 70, 125, 160, 179, 215, 244, 252, 256, 306, 349, 419
 Bahujan struggle for, 121
 caste-based, 103
 politics of, 99, 103, 242
 social justice committee, formation of, 399
 socially marginalized groups, 244
 socially marginalized people, politics of, 234
 social media, 133, 161
 Black Lives Matter campaign, 292
 political mobilization on, 291–94
 transformative power of, 291
 social mobility, beneficiaries of, 273
 social order, of Hindu society, 407
 social reforms, for annihilation of castes, 217
 social revolution, class as a universal agent for, 219
 social torture, 252
 social welfare, 63
 sociocultural–political consciousness, 8
 Socio-Economic and Caste Census (SECC), 181*n*21
 Socio-Economic Caste Census (2011), 102
 socio-economic development, 79
 socio-economic matrix, 213
 socio-economic mobility, 99, 106, 305
 among Dalits, 302
 socio-economic progress, indicators of, 12
 socio-economic well-being, 316
 sociopolitical empowerment, 13
 socio-religious reforms, 216
Sooryavansham (1999), 136
 Sundarajan, Tamilisai, 251
 Southborough Commission (1919), 375
 Spearman correlation rank, 421
 Special Area Incentive Package, 62
 Special Component Plan (SCP) (1979), 309
 special development packages, 311
 Sridharan, Eswaran, 249
 Srinivas, M. N., 308
 Stalin, M. K., 250
 standards of living, 343
 ‘Stand-up India’ scheme, 39
 to promote entrepreneurship among Dalits, 158, 160
 state bureaucracy, 85
 subaltern Hindutva, phenomenon of, 61, 98
 sub-caste identity, 69
 sub-castes, in India, 293
 Subramanian, Ajantha, 290
 Subramanian, Narendra, 259
 Suheldev, Maharaja, 103
 suicides, cases of, 16, 169–70, 286. *See also* Dalit suicides, incidence of in India, 433
 socio-demographic factors influencing, 433–34
Sunday Times, 296
 Supreme Court of India, 172
 Surya, Tejasvi, 102, 108*n*9
suvarnas (upper castes), 202. *See also savarnas*
 Tadvi, Payal, 16
 Tamil-linguistic nationalism, 89, 248
 Tamil nationalism, 89, 254, 257
 Tanwar, Ashok, 156
 tech industry, 291
 Telangana Mass and Social Organisations (T-MASS), 224
 Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), 29
 Telegu Desam Party (TDP), 29

- Teltumbde, Anand, 210, 255
 Telugu cinema, 8
thakara plant (*Senna tora*), 319
 Thakur, Arvind Kumar, 291
 Thakur, Karpoori, 399
The Chamcha Age (1982), 202–03
The Discreet Charm of the Savarnas (2020), 138, 144–45
The Hindu, 142, 288
The Narrow Corridor (2019), 348
The Pioneer, 153
 Third Front, 240
 Third Round Table Conference (1932), London, 235
 Third World countries, 222
 Thirumavalavan, Thol., 247–48, 250, 252–53, 256
 arrest for a speech on Hindu temples, 251
 criticism of Gandhi's views on Hinduism, 251
 Thompson, E. P., 222
 Thorat report, 443
 TikTok, 294
Times of India, 47, 345
 transfer of power, 50, 78
 Trehan, Purna, 49
 tribal communities, 394
 tribal stigma, 397
 Truly Madly, 296
 trust-deficit syndrome, in Dalit politics, 242, 243–45
tumbi, 120
 “twice-born” Hindus, 135
 Twitter, 288
 Ujjwala scheme, 5
 Una cow-vigilantism incident, in Gujarat (2016), 70
 Una Dalit Atyachar Samiti, 3
 Una flogging case (2016), 157
 underrepresentation of Dalits, in businesses, 347
 unfreedom, politics of, 102
 unified payments interface (UPI), 39
 unique identification number (UID), 18n1
 United Progressive Alliance (UPA), 29, 62, 240
 United Spectrum of Hindu Votes (USHV), 97, 101
 universal adult franchise, 376, 406
 Uniyal, B. N., 153
 Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) (1967), 255
 untouchability
 and caste-based discrimination, 420
 practice of, 18, 316, 375, 396, 406, 414
 by rural households belonging to a higher caste, 420
 as source of stigmatization of castes, 396
 stigma of, 396, 404, 406–7
 consequences of, 396–98
 survey declarations on, 420
 Untouchability Offence Act (1955), 15
 victims of, 420, 423
 UP Anti-Terrorism Act (2007), 66
 upliftment of Dalits, 340
 upper-backward classes, 398
 upper-caste Hindus, gross enrolment ratio of, 325
 upper castes (UCs), 173, 288, 305, 308
 caste-based protests of, 177
 Dalit protests *versus*, 177
 domination of, 210
 protest against, 7
 harassment of, 155

- hegemonic consciousness, 135
- non-reservation related protests, 177
- reservation-related demands, 176
- resource advantage, 177
- savarnas*, 105, 318, 328
- voters, 203
- upper-caste violence, Dalit resistance to, 424–26
- ur* (caste settlements), 92*n*17
- urban development, 63
- urban employment markets, 417
- Uttar Pradesh (UP) legislative assembly, 376, 404
 - findings for, 385–86
- Uttar Pradesh Mukhyamantri Mahamaya Garib Aarthik Madad Yojana, 63
- Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 68
- Vajpayee government, 153
 - fall of, 154
- Valmiki, 270
- value added tax (VAT), 74*n*4
- Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi (VBA), 3
 - Dalit politics, 241
 - under the leadership of Prakash Ambedkar, 240
 - vote share in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, 240–41
- Vanchit castes, 241
- Vanchit, idea of, 237, 240–42, 245
- Vanchit Vani* (newspaper), 161
- Vani, B. P., 417
- vamsa* (clan name), 97
- Varnashrama Dharma, 256
- varna* system, 9
- Veeramani, Krishnasamy, 253
- Velivada.org, 161
- Vemula, Rohith, 16, 36, 70, 106, 169, 286, 440
- Venkatraman, Shriram, 295
- Verma, Rahul, 5, 71
- Vicziany, Maria, 86
- Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK), 6, 11–12, 79, 85, 90*n*2, 247, 249–50, 256
 - alignment with the DMK, 255
 - approach towards the OBCs, 256
 - Conference on Land Rights (17 June 2007), 92*n*19
 - embrace of Tamil Nationalism, 257
 - emergence of, 240
 - engagement with Ambedkar, Periyar, and Marx, 258
 - entry into party politics, 257
 - Hindu card, 255
 - ideological challenge to Hindutva, 257
 - as the ideological heir of Periyar, 252–54
 - nouveau riche*, 91*n*13
 - opposition to RSS, 247
 - as political heavy-weight in Tamil Nadu, 248–49
 - portrayal as a Periyarist party, 253
 - protests against caste atrocities and national policies, 255
 - slogan of uprooting Hindutva, 247
- virality, right to, 294–96
- vote banks, 89, 271
- vote shares, for independent candidates, 362
- vote swings, constituency-level, 32
- voting patterns, among Dalits, 26–30
 - in the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, 26, 28
 - in the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, 26, 28
 - in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, 29
 - shift towards Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), 27
- Vrindavan convention (2017), 271

- Washington Post*, 153
 Wasnik, Mukul, 156
 welfare schemes, 100–02
 West Bengal
 constitutional rights of Dalits in, 51
 Dalit political leadership in, 53
 Dalit politics in, 50–55
 Namasudras of, 52
 party-society of, 51
 political life of, 50
 rehabilitation of all Dalit migrants
 from East Bengal in, 50
 rise of BJP in, 4, 53
 upper-caste leadership in, 50
 WhatsApp, 291
 white collar jobs, 213
 worker–peasant party, 218
 working class
 consciousness, 223
 making of, 223
 organizations, 212
 strike in the textile mills, 218
 Wright, Erik Olin, 214
 Wyatt, Andrew, 249
 Yadav, Akhilesh, 395, 399
 Rath Yatra by, 402
 Yadav, Mulayam Singh, 30, 395,
 399
yagna (ritual sacrifice), 97
 Yechury, Sitaram, 250
 Yengde, Suraj, 135–36
 YouTube, 286–87, 289
 Yuvajana Shramika Rythu (YSR)
 Congress Party, 28–29
zaat-biradari (kinship cluster), 193
 Ziegfeld, Adam, 362