



Research Paper

Erasure of Political Space of Dalits and Tribals: A critical Study of the Select Autobiographies of the Marginalized

Dr. M. ILANGO

Assistant Professor

P.G Department of English

G.T.N Arts College, Dindigul - 624005

Tamil Nadu

Abstract

Politics, according to Aristotle, is referred as 'master science', which is nothing less than the activity through which people try to better their lives and build a just society. Politicians, who are frequently perceived as hypocrites who hide their personal agendas behind language of public service and ideological orthodoxy, are a key component of today's world. Marxists and feminists view politics as a source of power. Politics in India is almost as caste oppressive and dominant. Ambedkar advocated the eradication of caste as the main political strategy, which came to be known as Dalit politics. In order to free the SCs and STs from caste tyranny and to safeguard their lives, the Indian Constitution establishes reservation policies in the fields of politics, employment, and education. The caste structure, however, prevents them from entering the reservations. As a result, members of oppressed communities are excluded from the highest echelons of government and academia. The present research article discusses the erasure of political spaces of the marginalized in all decision making bodies such as educational institutions, electoral politics, print and mass media in the select autobiographies of the marginalized. The SC and ST are still denied the benefits of their representation, which is mostly due to caste Hindus, despite the Constitution's provision of legal and other safeguards against discrimination in numerous fields.

Keywords: oppression, power, reservation, caste-system, marginalized.

Received 10 July, 2022; Revised 23 July, 2022; Accepted 25 July, 2022 © The author(s) 2022.

Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. INTRODUCTION

The term 'politics' is derived from *polis*, means 'city-state' literally. For Aristotle, it made politics the 'master science', which is nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create a good society. In the present world, politics is closely connected with politicians who are often viewed as power-seeking hypocrites who conceal personal goals behind the rhetoric of public service and ideological convention. Feminists and Marxists consider politics as power thus modern feminists boldly emphasized the political concept 'Personal is Political' but they viewed politics as 'a process, especially concerning the exercise of power over others. Feminists look towards the end of sexual politics accomplished through creation of a non-sexist society in which people would be esteemed as per personal worth, rather than based on gender.

Politics has two distinct meanings to Marxists. Politics, according to Marx, is just "the apparatus of the state and "merely the organized power of one class of oppressing another". The political power deeply is rooted in the class system that 'economic is political' thus Marxists believe it to be by class struggle is the core of politics (Niccolo 10). Marxists accept that class politics would be end with the foundation of a classless communist society. Thus an ideal society is imagined where in the politics in the conventional sense would come to an end. In other terms, politics is just about oppression and subjugation. In the US, the ideology 'Black is beauty' is politically proclaimed by Black people for their liberation.

POLITICS IN INDIA

Politics is seen as caste dominance and oppression in India. Caste abolition proposed by Ambedkar was the main politics of India in which it has become customary to be proclaimed caste abolition as Dalit politics

the other side, the liberation of India entails the emancipation of the downtrodden people who have been subject to social exclusion and labour exploitation, as well as being stigmatised by birth and occupation. In order to establish an equitable society, social movements like Satyashodhak Samaj (1875), Dravidar Kazhagam (1944), and Dalit Panthers (1972) promoted the idea of eliminating caste. Caste Hindus who are by birth have the potential to achieve high rank, rights, possessions, independence, dominance, and power within the caste system, hence eliminating caste is against them. They claim that caste is connected to the Hindu religion. Therefore, caste Hindus naturally perceives the anti-caste politics of the oppressed groups who have suffered great loss as the annihilation of Hinduism. Caste and Hinduism are still being upheld by the caste Hindus. The oppressed people are attempting to overthrow them and establish an alternative religion or civilization since they have lost their fundamental rights as a result of the caste system. Ambedkar thus wished to abolish caste and the Hindu religion (AC 213) in order to establish a modern society based on liberty, equality, and fraternity (AC 190).

Caste eradication is India's first liberating political strategy. In order to compete and advance with the industrialised nations of the globe, India must pursue modern liberation politics in addition to the politics of total emancipation. Reservation policies were incorporated into the Indian Constitution in order to free the oppressed from caste dominance. These policies give particular consideration to SCs and STs in all decision-making bodies and offer various protections against discrimination in a variety of contexts. Nevertheless, caste-based Hindus continue to prohibit the SC and ST from benefiting from their representation. The present research article analyses how caste Hindus have eliminated the political space of the underprivileged in educational institutions, electoral politics, print, and mass media in certain marginalised people's autobiographies. Only four autobiographies are chosen for the present study. They are Omprakash Valmiki's *Joothan: A Dalit's Life* (1997), K.A.Gunasekaran's *The Scar* (2009), *Mother Forest: The Unfinished Story of C.K.Janu* (as told to) by Bhaskaran (2003) and *Mayilamma: The life of a Tribal Eco-Warrior* (as told to) by Jothibai Pariyadath (2006). As a result, members of oppressed communities are excluded from the highest echelons of government and academia.

GOVERNMENT SECTOR

Dalits and other tribal peoples may be eligible for reservations in educational institutions, when they graduate from high school, but in practise, the majority of them leave school early or stop altogether. There are more dropouts than the general population. Due to the reservation policy, only a small percentage of them (one in four) are even qualified for entry-level positions in the government. The highest qualification for a white collar job is a graduate degree. According to 2011 census, 4.1 percent of SC and 2.6 of ST are qualified with degree for reservation. Even though they only make up a small percentage, the reservation gives them the chance to join the public sector and work as doctors, academics, writers, judges, police officers, and civil servants. There are also a few instances of them in positions of authority, which disrupts the outdated social structure.

In India, the teaching profession is a powerful position in which teachers are powerful influencers in all educational institutions. Caste Hindus who hold faculty and administrative positions like teacher, headmaster in schools, professor and principal in colleges, and vice chancellor in universities primarily view themselves as "talented" while viewing Dalits or Tribals as "unfit" and deny them equal opportunity. The disadvantaged are frequently made fun of for their social origins and punished for competing with their upper caste peers when they work really hard to rise to the top positions. As a result, they had a very limited presence in all decision-making bodies. Teachers and lecturers of caste Hindus only have the power to make decisions against Dalits and prevent them from rising to higher positions in educational institutions. The Head Master of Basic Primary School in *Joothan* Kaliram forced Valmiki to sweep the playground and school for three days while the other students were in class. When his father learned of this, he complained to Tyagis of the village who replied "what is the point of sending him to school?" ...Or, "You illiterate boorish people, what progeny to sweep, what is the big deal in that?" Or, He only got him to sweep; did not ask for his thumb in the gurudakshina like Dronacharya (7). The headmaster was adamant that no Dalit students be educated and rise to positions of power.

Brajpal, the chemistry teacher, refused to let Valmiki into the lab to conduct practical exam experiments until the board exam. Instead of taking action against the teacher, he appealed to Yashveer Tyagi, the principal, and was given low marks on oral tests and barred from all lab experiments for life, forcing him to fail the annual exam. He laments, "I was one of the failures". Except for Chemistry, I did well in all of my other subjects. I had failed the laboratory tests. (76). No one dared to speak out against them because all of the teachers and the vast majority of the students were Tyagis. Dalits were unable to support him because they held low-level jobs. Dalits are never allowed to compare themselves to teachers by caste Hindus. "Chuhre ke, you dare compare yourself to Dronacharya. "Take this, and I will write an epic on your body" (27). Valmiki was punished for comparing himself to Dronacharya, and he received low marks in the exam. Caste Hindus never

allow Dalits to become teachers because they believe that the noblest teaching profession is only for them and not for Dalits.

Similarly, tribal vacancies are not completely filled in all government services, particularly in educational institutions, where the majority of vacancies are occupied by caste Hindus who do not want to be responsible for the education of tribal children. In *Mayilamma*, the *Anganwadi* (primary school) teachers Rohini and Ayah neglected tribal children's health and education. They never properly boiled rice or used clean water for cooking, causing stomach pain in tribal children. Mayilamma chastised them, saying, "If you can't use clean water to make rice gruel, why are you in this job?" (8). because the teacher and Ayah were caste Hindus, they were unable to focus on the health and education of tribal children. At first, Anganwadi was only for tribal children.

There were six or seven teachers appointed from the caste Hindu community at Attayampathy School. No one appointed from the tribal community due to lack of qualification. Tribals were not allowed by their land owners to study. Mayilamma says "Muthalalis would get angry if the word 'school' was mentioned. They did not like it if we, the labourers' children, wanted to get educated. If we went to school, there would be a shortage of hands at work" (26). However, Vellapan Master, the school's owner, and Krishnan Kutty mash persuaded tribal parents to send their children to school, and many of them did, but no one finished their studies. Similarly, none of Adiya tribal children completed their school education. Janu writes that "we never heard of anyone going to school from our area. Nor of anyone who came to enrol us in schools" (5).

The government launched several projects through private organisations to educate tribal people, but none of them have yet been implemented successfully. In Mother Forest, a girl from the Warriar caste taught tribal children through the Canfed Project, which failed because she was more concerned with earning money than with educating them. Tribals were eager to learn, but it was difficult for them to do so because the Warriar girl taught classes at night. In fact, because the trainer was of the Warriar caste, she had no interest in educating them. If the project had been assigned to any of the tribal members, it would have been preferable if they had been taught sincerely. The civil society believes that if tribals get an education, they will be able to compete with them in competitive exam. The government also bears no responsibility for providing them with adequate education and employment. Both wanted them to be labourers until the very end.

PRINT AND MASS MEDIA

The media is a powerful institution in which Hindus dominate decision-making positions such as news creator, editor, journalist, and writer. Dalits and tribal groups are largely excluded from these jobs and are assigned to low-level positions in distribution centres and operating machines in newsrooms, though they may have a dominant presence in the distribution network as van drivers and delivery boys. The major daily news papers (Times of India, Hindustan, and The Hindu), as well as news channels (Times the 24 news channel), are mostly owned by Hindu castes. Caste manifests itself differently in South India. For example, the politically powerful Sun TV networks broke the Brahmin trend. Ambedkar says that the untouchables have no press. They cannot have their own press and for obvious reasons... the main news distributing agency in India is entirely drawn from the Madras Brahmins- indeed the whole of the Press in India is in their hands and...will not allow any new hostile to the Congress to get publicity. These are reason beyond the control of the Untouchables. (BAWS, Vol. 9.)

The mainstream media and press purposefully avoid publishing and broadcasting news about the marginalised because their primary goal is profit. When marginalised people's stories and news are published, they face a slew of problems. In *Joothan*, Ganwai brothers were blinded by caste Hindus, forcing Dalit panthers to protest in Bombay and Poona. Based on this incident, Valmiki wrote an article titled *On the Problems of Dalits*, which was published in Navbharat Times, but government employees, who were Shiv Sena supporters, complained about him to Shri Desai, the principal of the Ordnance Factory Training Institute, where Valmiki worked as an apprentice. The principal severely warned him "You are in a government institution. There could be disciplinary action against you on the basis of this article...Don't do all this during training- you will be thrown out. Go now. Be careful in the future"(105) This incident in the institute resulted in caste Hindus behaving discriminatorily toward him. In their eyes, showing sympathy to Dalits was a crime.

All young writers wanted to publish in Sarika, the centre of literary activities in Hindi. Valmiki had also submitted his short story based on adivasi (indigenous) life, titled *Jungal I Rani*, but it had not been published. He was asked to send a second copy after reminding the editor. He'd been waiting for ten years. Valmiki says "...after making me wait for ten full years, they wanted me to wait longer" (142). Valmiki's story was never published because he was a Dalit and his story was tribal. The established editors, writers, and publishers had banded together to prevent new writers from emerging from the margins. Valmiki, on the other hand, continued to write about the marginalised.

Some magazines were willing to publish the writings of the marginalised on the condition that they never include the surname of caste, as this would reduce their profit. Valmiki had submitted his article to the

Rampur-based magazine Mahodika, which was founded by Dinesh Manav, an active journalist. Because caste Hindus would not subscribe to the magazine, the article was published without his surname. Similarly, Valmiki submitted a novel called Kali Ret, which has yet to be published “for reasons other than my name”(149). The surname Valmiki became a major impediment to publishing his works. Singh advised him to change his surname before publishing his work. Then Valmiki changed his surname to Khairwal and submitted his review article to the journal Aajkal, which eventually published it as Omprakash Khairwal (149). The marginalised society wishes to integrate into the mainstream society through education, but caste Hindus prevent them from doing so. Literary editorials, magazines, journals, and newspapers are controlled by elite communities, so marginalised people's writings are not published.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

The oppressed people believed they would rise or awake from thousands of years of conditioning to think of themselves as subhuman, but the Poona Pact (1932) made to defuse or at least delay the oppressed's political awakening. The Communal Award (1932) was a victory for those who advocated for social change, but the Poona Pact was unquestionably a failure because Ambedkar demanded self-representation for the oppressed classes in the Round Table Conferences (1930-32), as it was a protection of political rights for them, but Gandhi strongly opposed the demand, believing that separate electorates would simply vivisect and disrupt Hinduism, and that the Communal Award would also (BAWS. 9, 78). However, the British government declared the Communal Award, which granted the depressed classes/Untouchables separate electorates and double votes for twenty years.

Gandhi opposed and observed his fast until the award was revoked, which prompted Ambedkar to withdraw the proposal and sign the Poona Pact (1932), which forced oppressed people to give up their separate electorates in favour of being part of joint electorates with Hindus, and they lost the unique political weapon known as “the second vote”, which gave them the right to select candidates of caste Hindu in their own constituency. Finally, the general population could vote in the separate constituency reserved for SCs and STs. In other words, the representative of the SCs or STs should be chosen by a majority of caste Hindus who share their political ambition. The Indian Constitution, based on the Poona Pact, provides reservations for SC and ST representation in all democratic institutions such as Parliament, State Legislatures, Municipalities, and Panchayats. The elected government always debates issues that affect the majority rather than the minority. As a result, the marginalised joined other political parties to address their concerns, but no parties attempted to address them. In Mother Forest, the Adiyar tribal community was involved with *Karshka thozhilali*, in which Govinda Warriar played an important role in rallying all tribal communities. Only tribals have helped the party grow. Janu attended the Kalpata rally and felt that “we must have looked like cattle being led to the cattle market... the party grew strong in this manner”(26)

The Warriar caste people dominate the party and have never led the party to discuss tribal issues such as land, work, and hunger. The party had no members from any of the tribal groups. When tribal issues were raised in the party or union, the decision was always made against them, because the party was always about money and power. Tribals were primarily used to bolster crowd strength by attending meetings, rallies, repeating slogans, and passing out stick bills. "The party always saw labourers and landless people as ingredients in their rally songs and as decoration to their speeches" (40), and “the party saw us only as a vote bank” (34). Even though tribals worked hard for the party, they were unable to help their community through the party. As a result, tribals form an independent political party to debate or raise their demands in the assembly. To uplift the tribal community, electoral power is required. According to Janu, all communities that have had a share of political power have seen change. They have all entered the mainstream. Those who are not a part of this system, on the other hand, have faced misery, destruction, and even the extinction of their ethnicity. They can only survive by entering politics. Janu led many protests, sparking healthy debate within the party about how to resolve their issues, but once the protests died down, their plans were also abandoned. For example, in Kerala, Janu led the Muthanga struggle, which resulted in the former Chief Minister, A.K Antony, ensuring five acres of land for all tribals. The government also launched a mission to survey landless people and earmark land for them, but the mission was abandoned after a year. All of the tribal protests ended in such a way that they were forced to take their process into political consideration.

Despite the fact that the Indian Constitution provides for a reserved constituency for dalit and tribal communities, they are not barred from contesting in general elections (non-reserved). It is extremely difficult for an independent candidate from the Dalit or tribal community to win in a general constituency because all caste Hindus and religious people do not vote for them and do not want to be led by them. As a result, neither the Dalit/Tribal party nor the mainstream political party will ever nominate a Dalit/Tribal candidate to run in non-reserved constituencies; if they do, caste Hindus will easily defeat them. Janu contested for the first time as an independent candidate in the parliamentary general constituency of Idukki on behalf of the Rashtriya Maha Sabha during the 2004 Lok Sabha election, but she finished fourth. According to Badri Narayan, Professor at the

G.B Pant Social Science Institute in Allahabad, the original intention was not to place Dalits in reserved constituencies, as most political parties have done. All political parties claimed that the possibility of winning drives their ticketing strategy (Rukmini 2014). It was also difficult for Dalits/Tribals to win even in reserved constituencies because all political parties nominated candidates from reserved communities. In reality the election between tribal and tribal is an election between tribal and high caste Hindus. All the political parties stand the less qualified tribal candidate to defeat the qualified independent tribal candidate and caste Hindus vote for the tribal candidate nominated by the party rather than the independent candidate.

Janu contested as an independent candidate in the 2006 Kerala Legislative Assembly election for the reserved constituency of *Mananthavadi*, which was allotted to STs. Ten tribal candidates also ran. Janu was defeated by the CPI's tribal candidate, K.C. Kunhiramam. According to Shaju Philip, Janu will face opposition from the *Kurichia* and *Kuruma* communities, the BJP's traditional tribal vote bank. These two communities would not support a woman from the Adiya tribe. In addition, the LDF has nominated a candidate from the Kuruma community this time. 2016 (Philip). Though Kunhiraman was elected as the tribal community's representative, he would not speak for the tribal people in the legislature and could only act on behalf of the party that nominated him. Ambedkar believed that caste Hindus would have an advantage in "capturing the seat for an election of such an Untouchable candidate who would be their nominee and who would be most willing to be the Hindus' tool" (BAWS, 92)

Over the past few years, displacement, poor implementation of the FRC, and dilutions in green laws have been the political discourses that have had no impact on the result of the NDA led by the Prime Minister in the 2019 parliamentary Lok Sabha election, in which 47 seats were reserved for tribal candidates, the BJP won 31 seats, the INC won four, and the remaining seats were won by independent leaders and regional parties, despite the protests on tribal candidates. Chhotubhai Amarsinh Vasava, a tribal leader who led the BTP for the welfare of tribal communities, ran for 17 reserved seats but did not win any. The RSS, the BJP's ideological parent, incorporated tribals into the Hindu society (Aggarwal).

Inequality and oppression drove oppressed leaders to establish independent political parties such as Ambedkar's Republican Party of India (RPD), Kamsjo Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Thol.Viduthalai Thirumavalavan's Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK), Krishnasamy's Puthiya Tamilagam (PT), and Chhotubhai Vasava's Bharatiya Tribal Party (Thirumavalavan's VCK formed an alliance with the DMK in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly election of 2021, which gave them only six seats. VCK contested for four seats in reserved constituencies and two in general constituencies, winning four of six seats, two in reserved and two in general. VCK led an alliance with the DMK in the 2019 Lok Sabha election, which resulted in them receiving only two seats in reserved constituencies. The writer, Ravi Kumar, ran on the DMK's symbol in Villupuram and easily won, but the party's chief, Thirumavalan, ran on an individual symbol and narrowly won in Chidambaram.

Kanshi Ram recognised that the majority of Dalit leadership had been seized by mainstream political parties such as the Congress, BJP, DMK, AIADMK, etc., while Dalit society was further fragmented and divided among centrist, leftist, and socialist political formations. The fact that Dalit leaders in mainstream political parties are primarily stooges of the caste '*Manuvadi*' (believing in Manusmirit) necessitates the existence of an independent Dalit-Bahujan politics. Dalit political parties such as the BSP, RPI, VCK, PT, and others have failed to maintain their hold on reserved constituencies and to evolve and sustain as independent Dalit political parties because Dalit leaders such as Mayawathi, Prakash Ambedkar, Tirumavalavan, Krishnasamy, and Ramdas Athwale have failed to respond to the hopes and aspirations of the Dalit vote base. The failure caused a trust crisis among the community and its leaders.

According to Arvind Netam, a prominent Congress Party tribal leader, "Non-tribal leaders are completely reliant on tribal leaders within political parties. There are no tribal politicians at the top of the parties who can sway the distribution of votes in favour of promoting young tribal politicians". Within a political party, it is impossible to represent tribal interests. The elections are funded by corporations whose interests are always opposed to those of the tribes. The majority of tribal leaders should rely on non-tribal men for political survival (Have India).

Janu's new political party, *Janadhipathya Rashtriya Sabha* (JRS), joined the BJP-led alliance with NDA in the 2016 Kerala State Assembly Election to meet her party's demands. Janu contested in the reserved constituency of Sulthanbathery with the support of the NDA, but she was defeated by I.C. Balakrishnan of the INC. Her failure led to her exit from the NDA alliance in 2018, as her demands, including a Rajya Sabha seat, were not met. Janu contested again in an alliance with the NDA for a reserved seat in the Sulthan Bathery in the Kerala Legislative Assembly in 2021, but she was defeated by Balakrishnan, who won for the second time. Despite her strong protest campaigns against the UDF and LDF, she was unsuccessful. Janu was unable to win even in the reserved constituency because of strong opposition from her own tribal community, which protested her running as the NDA candidate. Janu was adamant about continuing to fight for her place in Kerala's political system; despite her best efforts, she failed as an activist and a politician (Suresh).

The reservation granted to SCs and STs under the Poona Pact (1932) was a historical failure because the representative of the oppressed would be elected by a caste-Hindu majority that had already demonstrated its hostility to the political aspirations of the marginalised. The logic of the Poona Pact is always used by caste Hindus to ensure the defeat of the best of oppressed communities. However, Ambedkar, the man in charge of drafting the Indian Constitution, was twice defeated in elections held in 1946 and 1950 by less qualified candidates nominated by the Congress. He concluded that the Congress sucked the Poona Pact's juice and threw the rind back in the face of oppressed communities.

Dalit groups on the margins and on the front lines have renewed their call for double voting rights and separate electorates. Ravi Kumar, the secretary of VCK, held eleven conferences to demand that the Communal Award be reinstated, and his demands were documented in the film *One Weapon* by Sanjay Kak (1997). Kanshi Ram, the BSP's leader, strongly opposed the Poona Pact, claiming that it merely turned Dalit elected representatives into Congress Party lackeys. He referred to them as *chamchas* (stooges) and dubbed the period following the Poona Pact the "Chamcha Age". Jagjivan Ram, the best Congress representative, was raised by *chamchas* and projected by Gandhi and the Congress as the Harijan face of their party. He eventually rose to the position of Deputy Prime Minister. (Anand 373)

WORK CITED

- [1]. "Have India's tribal leaders failed their people?". *Down To Earth*, 23 July. 2003, <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/coverage/have-indias-tribal-leaders-failed-their-people-13197>, Accessed 03.07.2022
- [2]. Aggarwal, Mayank, "Despite controversies on tribal issues, BJP wins in tribal constituencies" Mongabay. 31 May 2019, <https://india.mongabay.com/2019/05/despite-controversies-on-tribal-issues-bjp-wins-in-tribal-constituencies/> Accessed 03.07.2022
- [3]. Ambedkar. B. R. *Annihilation of Caste*. 2nd ed., Chennai, Thudi Movement, 2007.
- [4]. ---. and Vasant Moon. *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches: Vol. 9*. Bombay: Education Dept., Govt. of Maharashtra, 1989. Print
- [5]. Anand. S. "A Note on the Poona Pact". *Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition*. New Delhi, Navayana, 2014, pp. 373.
- [6]. Aristotle. *Politics*. Translated by Jowett, Vol. 1, Oxford the Clarendon Press, 1885, pp. 4.
- [7]. Baskaran. *Mother Forest: The Unfinished Story of C.K.Janu*. Translated by N.Ravi Sankar. New Delhi, Women Unlimited and Kali for Women, 2004
- [8]. Gunasekaran. K. A. *The Scar*. Translated by Kadambari, New Year, Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2009.
- [9]. Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Prince*. Translated by Tim Parks, Penguin, UK, 2014
- [10]. Pariyadath, Jothibai. *Mayilamma The life of a Tribal Eco-Warrior*. Translated by Swarnalatha Rangarajan and Sreejith Varma. Delhi, Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2018.
- [11]. Philip, Shaju. "Popular tribal leader C K Janu warms up to BJP in Kerala." *The Indian Express*. 08 Apr. 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/elections-2016/india/india-news-india/kerala-elections-2016-popular-tribal-leader-c-k-janu-warms-up-to-bjp-in-kerala/>. Accessed 03.07.2022
- [12]. Rukmini.S. "Parties shut out Scheduled Caste candidates from general seats". *The Hindu*, 3 May. 2014, <https://www.thehindu.com/elections/loksabha2014/parties-shut-out-scheduled-caste-candidates-from-general-seats/article5970801.ece>. Accessed 03.07.2022.
- [13]. Suresh, Nidhi and Varier, Aditya. "Adivasi leader CK Janu on why she's contesting Kerala election." *Newslaundry*, 01 Apr. 2021, <https://www.newslaundry.com/2021/04/01/watch-ativasi-leader-ck-janu-on-why-shes-contesting-kerala-election>, Accessed 03.07.2022.
- [14]. Valmiki, Omprakash. *Joothan: A Dalit's Life*. Translated by Arun Prabha Mukherjee. New York, Columbia University Press, 2003.