



## THE RISE OF BSP: A SILENT POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN UTTAR PRADESH

**Dr. Sudhakara Karakoti**

*Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations  
(PSIR), Gimbi Campus, Wollega University, Ethiopia.*

### **Abstract**

*Social stratification in Indian society is based on graded inequalities (division of labor along with the unnatural permanent division of laborers) being graded one above the other into water-tight compartments. For centuries, this suffocative closed model of social system has denied the oppressed sections their legitimate societal resources (wealth, prestige and status) thus impinging upon their upward social mobility. This unequal hierarchical structure has crippled the life chances of oppressed sections in their socio economic and political spheres. In order to get rid of these socially constructed barriers, the oppressed sections have spearheaded numerous socio-cultural and political movements in the course of Indian history. In this backdrop, it may be stated that the advent of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Indian political spectrum has been viewed as a silent revolution, roaring revolution and democratic revolution by bringing the 'Bahujans' into the power corridors of the country. The arrival of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has also ushered in an era of democratization of Indian politics by actively involving the oppressed masses not only as vocal participants but also the vanguards of the political process. The prevailing literature in this regard has justified the view that the upsurge of BSP in Uttar Pradesh (UP) has radically altered the dynamics of Indian political spectrum beyond imagination with far reaching implications on the socio, economic, political and cultural spheres. Many of the scholars have emphasized that the advent of the party has successfully broken the political and cultural hegemony of socially dominant castes. In this context, it is imperative to explore the upsurge of BSP in national politics in general and to assess the impact of the same in empowering the oppressed sections in Uttar Pradesh in particular.*

**Keywords:** *Bahujans, Inequalities, Exclusion, Political Revolution, and Political Parties.*

### **Introduction**

The apparent paradoxical matrix of Indian society is reflected by the state of hierarchical societal edifice, which is grounded on the complex network of caste, class, ethnic and gender inequalities. Of these, the glaring caste divisions and inequalities are explicitly manifested in Indian social system. The issue of caste inequalities has been a matter of concern for social revolutionaries, social reformers, academicians, politicians, policy makers, intellectuals, and socio-political activists since time immemorial. Given the rigid and closed social system, it is a fact that even after more than seven decades of independence, the position of socially and historically disadvantaged and oppressed sections of Indian society particularly Scheduled Castes has not been changed significantly, as the caste is deeply entrenched in the socio-economic, cultural, psychological and religious lives of people at large. Historically, Scheduled Castes have been exposed to numerous types of exclusion, denial, oppression and deprivation. In the social milieu, they were excluded from participating in social and cultural activities. In economic sphere, they were not allowed to gain access to wealth and were condemned to do socially demeaning and dehumanized tasks. In the realm of education, they were out-rightly denied access to knowledge. In the political arena, they have been marginalized and relegated to the back seat. The empowerment of oppressed sections of Indian society is a highly complex and complicated process involving social, political and cultural transformation. Of these, the political aspect constitutes the fulcrum of their empowerment. In this context, their emancipation from the oppressive social system



hinges upon the extent of political power that they achieve in the course of their empowerment. In the words of Christophe Jaffrelot:

*“Paradoxically, caste-certainly the politicized version of caste was responsible for the democratization of Indian democracy. This new age of democracy implicated the Scheduled Castes too since the Bahujan Samaj Party.”<sup>i</sup>*

The attainment of political power by the oppressed sections in Northern India especially in Uttar Pradesh is indicated as the silent revolution or democratization of Indian political spectrum and accordingly Jaffrelot expected that this transformation would cause far-reaching consequences on socio, political, economic, and cultural setting of Indian society.<sup>ii</sup> In this background, the upsurge of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh has transformed the undercurrents of Indian political field on the foundation of progressive theoretical foundations of historical icons for example Gautama Buddha, Mahatma Phule, Shahuji Maharaj, Periyar, Narayana Guru, Babasaheb Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram. The empowerment of oppressed groups has been demonstrated in various policies and programmes started by the BSP regime in Uttar Pradesh. On the one hand, the cultural representation in the form of revival and relocation of Buddhist and other ‘Bahujan’ icons through gigantic parks, statues and memorials marks a historic change in the Cultural Revolution. On the other, the introduction of numerous developmental initiatives has brought about considerable changes in the political economy of the State of Uttar Pradesh. In the domain of infrastructural development of villages, the Ambedkar Village Development Programme has been studied to exemplify the marvel of empowerment of oppressed sections. At first, the Samajwadi Party (SP) government introduced the Ambedkar Village Development Programme (AVDP) during the birth centenary festivities of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 1991 with the expectation of gathering the votes of Scheduled Castes because of the weakening of the Congress party in Uttar Pradesh.<sup>iii</sup> In 2003, the AVDP was extended to other communities such as the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and Muslim dominated villages in Uttar Pradesh by the BSP government. The present analysis explores the course of empowerment of Bahujans in general and Scheduled Castes in particular in Uttar Pradesh during the BSP regime through Ambedkar Village Development Programme. The contextual subjects of the study are being deliberated in the following paragraphs.

The prevailing literature on Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) supports in understanding the emergence, ideology, mobilization strategies, successes and failures as a mass party and its socio-political dynamics in different states in India. The origin, evolution, and progress of the leadership of the historically oppressed sections as a socio-political reality in Indian society are absent from the majority academia nevertheless the leadership of oppressed sections has seen centuries of struggles. There has been certain sum of criticism on numerous streams of academic disciplines being educated at College as well as University levels because the discourse on the nature and dynamics of the ‘Bahujan studies’ has barely found its outstanding and authentic share in the syllabuses of higher educational institutions.<sup>iv</sup> The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) carried out a democratic revolution in the country for the oppressed masses. This phenomenon is being exemplified more, in the following arguments of Pai:

*“The BSP has undoubtedly carried forward the democratic revolution for the Dalits and other lower castes. It has introduced some radical aspects into the ideology underlying the movement, which distinguish it from its predecessor, the RPI. In the social field, it has created a new identity and counter ideology to the Varna system of ‘Dalit’ and ‘Ambedkarism’ respectively. This has succeeded in removing the hold of Brahmanical*



*ideology and the submissive attitude of the Dalits, providing them with a new confidence and self-respect. Due to this, as our study, shows that they have been able to question and oppose upper caste exploitation and domination, particularly in rural areas, and demand social equality. These achievements have had a significant impact in the political field. They have broken down the vertical patron-client relationship with the upper castes, the accompanying political mobilisational pattern of vote banks and constructed new solidarities on a horizontal dimension. The BSP, occupies a central role in the changed political system. The centrality of Dalit mobilization in UP politics is seen from the fact that all parties are competing to gain the support of the Dalits. The new Dalit identity, created by the party, has a powerful electoral appeal among Dalits belonging to the urban, educated middle class and the rural poor, thereby providing it with a strong base in parts of the state. Under the BSP, caste is playing a new role. From an instrument of oppression in the hands of upper castes, it has become a tool for political mobilization, creating solidarities among the oppressed. The use of caste as class, as an 'ideology' and a tool for mobilization of the Dalits and capturing of power through parliamentary means are important steps, which will help in further democratization of the civil society. This is possible because of the strong correlation between caste and class at the bottom of the hierarchy. Hence, the Dalit assertion can be viewed as a 'class' and not a 'caste' assertion. Simple characterization of this polarization as casteist can lead to condemnation of a social stirring which has introduced change.”*

The rise of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has been one of the most important advances in the socio-political compasses of Uttar Pradesh. The emergence, strategies of mobilization, electoral progress and political implication of the BSP are being analyzed in the background of a robust upsurge of proclamation of marginalized groups. But it has not flourished in dislocating the forces of socially dominant castes and has on many instances cooperated with them. The Bahujan Samaj Party as a branch of social movement wanted to bring about social revolution (democratic revolution) but, over a period of time, BSP developed itself as an opportunistic political party and its interest is intended at capturing the political power. In this setting, the pressures and predicaments of BSP in comparison to other mainstream political parties are being discussed. The BSP has become unsuccessful in bringing about social transformation and the movement of oppressed sections continued as an unfinished democratic revolution.<sup>vi</sup> As this study is based on the performance of the BSP regime particularly during the brief tenures in 1995, 1997, 2002 and 2007, is it possible to cause democratic revolution or to turn the tables of centuries old oppressive, exploitative Brahmanical social order with in such a brief tenure of the governance of BSP regime?

The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has wired the Indian democracy by percolating down to the grass roots and the party has effectively smashed the political hegemony of socially dominant castes by bolstering up the status, confidence and morale of Bahujans. The party has reinvigorated the emergence of independent leadership at the local level by hovering the political consciousness of the marginalized groups. The democratic assertion movements in Indian social system have endeavored to put a check on the domination of the outdated institutions and thereby reinforced the process of democratization itself and various bureaucratic and administrative policies announced by the government of BSP for the empowerment of marginalized groups particularly Ambedkar Village Development Programme, the appointment of the officers belonging to Scheduled Caste community and land distribution measures etc., have not only brought laurels to the BSP regime but also the constructive influence of these



measures on the lives of the marginalized groups. However, if the Scheduled Castes are incorporated under the Hindu social order with a false sense of unity, they will be excluded from the mainstream and subordinated to the dominant caste Hindus forever.<sup>vii</sup>

Uttar Pradesh (which is the most populous state in India) has been controlled by politicians belonging to oppressed social groups in recent times and the representation of these groups in national politics will increase. Jaffrelot compares this scenario as genuine ‘democratization’ of Indian politics. Jaffrelot highlights that the socio-economic consequences of this ‘silent revolution’ are bound to multiply in the days to come. He highlights that the caste factor is accountable for the democratization of Indian democracy. The arrival of anti-caste movements has shepherded in a new age of democracy by catapulting the oppressed sections into political limelight. Since 1960s, India’s formerly silent majority, i.e. oppressed social groups comprising more than two-thirds of the population of the country have established a new sense of assertiveness.<sup>viii</sup> Since the oppressed sections are struggling for democratic rights in Indian society, there is so much discontent among socially dominant communities because they do not want to share political power with the hitherto oppressed communities. Moreover, the socially dominant castes want to uphold the status quo.

It is visible in the form of growing number of atrocities committed against Scheduled Castes. The rise of ‘Bahujans’ to the political power has been remarked as silent revolution. But, the odyssey of ‘Bahujans’ to get into the power corridors to achieve the master key of political power is replete with numerous struggles, sacrifices and turbulence among the ‘Brahmanical Manuvadi minds.’ It is precisely because of this, some of the leading academicians and intellectuals such as Kancha Ilaiah, Jaffrelot, Gail Omvedt and others study this phenomenon as democratic revolution. Vivek Kumar compares it with ‘roaring revolution.’ In the following arguments of Kumar:

*“...Further, it is pertinent to recognize at this juncture the nature of Dalit assertion. Has it really been silent? A cursory look in the history to contemporary Indian society will suggest that it has never been silent rather it has been roaring. The psychological underpinning of Indian social structure never allowed the historians, educationists, etc., to record these events objectively. And as they belong to upper strata of the Hindu social order, they remained status quoists without shedding their caste biases. If we set the record straight then we will find that whenever Dalits have asserted, and that too for their legitimate human rights, it has caused unrest in the society...Dalit assertion in reality has shocked and challenged the Hindu society...Moreover, in modern times as well from Ambedkar’s touching of Chowdar tank water and burning of Manusmriti to Mayawati’s ascendance to the Chief Ministership of Uttar Pradesh, not once but thrice created a rupture in the great Hindu civilisation. This rupture was echoed by the so-called upper strata by using the euphemism of, ‘Kali-Yuga Aa Gaya Hai’ (Oh! Kali Yuga has really arrived), that is why we have to accept these untouchables as the rulers! But these unrests, these echoes, these heart burns and furors have never been recorded objectively by the so-called mainstream academic. No academic wrote about how the upper strata feels when a Dalit asserts and when they occupy the highest echelons of institutions of power. They blocked it out and thereby silenced it. But if we recognize this gamut of Dalit assertion, we will call it a roaring revolution rather a silent revolution.”<sup>ix</sup>*



The oppressed sections are parading towards new horizons through two major changes in their orientation and aspirations. As a community, the Scheduled Castes are being involved in moving from the course of isolation to the course of assertion. He argues that the upsurge of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) is one of the greatest noteworthy changes of the current decades of Indian democracy which wonders the political commentators, social scientists, political parties and academicians alike. BSP educates, mobilizes and energizes majority of hitherto excluded and deprived masses over a unique electoral strategy with an exemplary model of organizational building and strategies of mass mobilization. Thus, the upsurge of BSP marvel has been equated as India's roaring revolution.<sup>x</sup>

Two relevant questions are being absorbed in order to explain the upsurge of Bahujan Samaj Party. Firstly, has BSP mainly supported by Scheduled Caste voters or by voters from different social groups? Secondly, why these voters shifted to the BSP? Generally, the voters support a party for four different reasons. Firstly, voters agree to take the political programme of the party. Secondly, they have faith in the party apparatuses that effective policies and programmes will be executed that benefit the social groups that they belong to. Thirdly, voters have faith in that it is significant to follow the voting norm within their group. Fourthly, voters imagine to receive support if the party seizes political power.<sup>xi</sup>

The past of the movement of the oppressed sections from the commencement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the demise of Ambedkar in 1956 has been elucidated by Gail Omvedt by focussing on three states, i.e., Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The ideology and organization of the Bahujan movement and its interaction both within the national movement for the independence (mainly with Gandhi and Gandhism) and the class struggles of the workers and peasants (exactly with the Marxism) are being analysed. This study emphasises that the Ambedkarism (The theory of liberation of oppressed sections) plays a leading part in spearheading the anti-caste movement.<sup>xii</sup> In the following arguments of Gail Omvedt:

*“Inevitably, a study of ‘Dalit movement’ necessarily means a study of Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar’s role in it. Being its historic leader and the formulator of its enduring ideology, Babasaheb Ambedkar was the dominating figure and active organiser of the movement in the Marathi-speaking regions. By the 1930’s and 1940’s he came to dominate the all-India movement as well, though his organisations never attained as strong hegemony outside of Maharashtra. In spite of the organisational weaknesses of the Scheduled Caste Federation and its successor, i.e., Republican Party, it is still ‘Ambedkarism’ as a broad trend which dominates the movement and it is beginning to have an impact within social movements and circles outside the anti-caste movement as such.”<sup>xiii</sup>*

The Bahujan movement is a part of the wider anti-caste movement, which is the sincere democratic movement in Indian society.<sup>xiv</sup> The ethnic head counting is one of the essential explanations in the success and failure of ethnic parties and the struggle among ethnic communities can lead to moderatism and democratic survival rather than democratic devastation and radicalism. The voters select political parties by counting their ethnic head counts somewhat than by comparing ideological positions or policy platforms.<sup>xv</sup> In her study, Chandra attempts to demonstrate BSP as an ethnic party. But, the BSP does not fit into the typical of an ethnic party projected by Chandra. BSP is not limited to Scheduled Caste party but the party of majority oppressed and exploited sections of Indian society (Bahujans) on behalf of Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), Other Backward Castes (OBC) and religious minorities such as Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Sikhs etc.<sup>xvi</sup> It is also obvious from the electoral



achievements of BSP with a complete majority as an umbrella party in 2007 and electoral successes of the party in the aftermath of 2007 historic elections.

The Indian tradition has been associated with Hinduism, and Hinduism thus with Brahmanism which reflects the Vedas as the basic texts of Indian culture and the Aryan heritage as the crux of Indian civilisation. Various movements of the oppressed sections opened up new perspectives analysing the oppressive social structures and the consequent liberation and emancipation. The opinion of Omvedt mainly revolves around two levels. On the one hand, she focuses on the different phases of the anti-caste movement, their vision, ideas, and their understanding of interplay among various factors, i.e., religion, culture, power, language and identity. On the other, she analyses the efforts made by the leaders of Bahujan Samaj towards uniting backward castes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and religious minorities. She critically examines the issues of cultural oppression, economic exploitation and the questions of class and caste.<sup>xvii</sup>

Three significant aspects are being engrossed to comprehend Dr.B.R. Ambedkar and his struggles in a complete manner. Firstly, as a social scientist turned statesman and politician. Secondly, as a challenger of Brahmanism and thirdly, as a prophet of Neo-Buddhism. Jaffrelot maintains that in contrast to other scholars, Ambedkar's own background and situations have made him to don numerous protagonists as a sociologist, statesman and politician in the service of humanity in general and the Scheduled Castes in particular. The author examines how Ambedkar thought about the annihilation of caste system by demanding and struggling for separate electorate system for scheduled castes and got converted them into Buddhism. He further remarks that Dr. Ambedkar, being the first person belonging to scheduled caste with formal education, founded new strategies of real significance inspiring the various movements of the succeeding generations.<sup>xviii</sup>

The nature and influence of caste mobilization is also being deliberated in order to examine the basic differences between the mobilization of Scheduled Castes by the socially dominant castes and of oppressed sections of the society by themselves. But the main issue is the new marvel of mobilization of socially dominant castes by a party led and dominated by Bahujans in Uttar Pradesh. In this particular context, the nature of this type of mobilization and its contribution to the Indian society and democracy are being examined. The Indian politics has seen numerous methods of mobilization of oppressed sections by the socially dominant castes and the mobilization of socially dominant castes by the oppressed sections since 1947. The social and political scientists have failed to study these two major trends of processes of mobilization. The first mobilization is the illegitimate type of Scheduled Caste mobilization, where socially dominant castes do not allow them to use their free will to cast their votes in favor of their candidates in which they contemplate that these candidates protect and serve the interests of oppressed sections, which is regarded as scornful mobilization. Secondly, the mobilization of oppressed sections by the socially dominant castes leads to political monopolization of political space especially in the party and in the government.<sup>xix</sup> This issue has not been deliberated by the social scientists while studying the mobilization of Scheduled Castes. The mobilization of oppressed sections of Indian society by themselves happening with the emergence of independent political leadership through the formation of their own political parties. The socio-political scientists have not pointed out the context of mobilization of socially dominant castes by the oppressed sections which is a recent phenomenon in Indian politics that has started with Bahujan Samaj Party with remarkable successes in Uttar Pradesh and this kind of mobilization is being described as *Arohi Mobilization* which is the unique characteristic feature of the mobilization by oppressed sections and this whole process has a



democratizing effect on the political space of Indian politics. The mobilization by oppressed sections particularly by Scheduled Castes accommodates most of the existing castes in the political process on the basis of their arithmetical strength. The slogan of BSP, “each caste and community will get space according to its numerical strength” is the testament of above fact. This democratizing impact of political space is evident to the fact that the political domination of socially dominant castes has been smashed. That is why, the socially dominant castes are taking accommodation in the political parties led by oppressed sections and this type of mobilization has brought the Indian democracy nearer to oppressed sections of Indian society and thus consolidating the process of democratization in India.<sup>xx</sup>

Ambedkar’s visualization of a new social order is founded on a society free of caste discrimination, gender inequality and class exploitation. Throughout his life time, Ambedkar investigated into the question of caste as meticulously as that of Marx explicating the concept of class. He took on the oppressive social structures of Brahminism and accordingly he envisaged detailed strategies and solutions for the annihilation of the same. According to him, liberty, equality and fraternity are the elementary principles of neo-social order and he traced their roots to ancient Buddhist philosophical thought. He powerfully struggled for their adoption for an ideal society along with adherence to the modern constitutional provisions and moral commitment of the people. Ambedkar’s vision is being summarized through three important characteristics. Firstly, Ambedkar have confidence in that human history is a history of progressive movement and not merely a stage in an infinite cycle or final degeneration. Secondly, the economic and political philosophy of Ambedkar is embodied in the social liberalism or state socialism. Thirdly, his vision of a new social order is his variety of neo -Buddhism i.e. *Navayana Buddhism* as an emancipatory project.<sup>xxi</sup> The movement of Bahujan Samaj Party is being studied as not only democratic but also deeply ingrained into the theoretical moorings and ideological struggles of Mahatma Phule, Shahuji Maharaj, Periyar E.V.Ramasamy Naicker, Narayana Guru, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram. The emergence, growth and success of Bahujan Samaj Party in Indian politics have led to the democratization of Indian politics with an energetic participation of oppressed sections of Indian society as vocal partakers in the political process.<sup>xxii</sup>

## Conclusion

It is very significant to explore the upsurge of BSP in national politics in general and to measure the impact of the same in empowering the oppressed sections in Uttar Pradesh. When the BSP has been in power, it has initiated and implemented various policies and programmes to achieve its objectives and goals. For instance, Ambedkar Village Development Programme, a flagship programme of the BSP regime, aims at an all-round development of the villages in Uttar Pradesh. However, there has been a positive impact on the empowerment of oppressed sections through this particular programme. Moreover, the process of relocating and repositioning the cultural symbols and the significance of cultural revivalism have not been focused much in the academic research. The cultural revivalism as a process aims at transforming the cultural ethos of the society by reclaiming the forgotten history of the oppressed sections of the Indian society. It is in the light of these three vital aspects of the governance, i.e., the performance of BSP regime, cultural revivalism (repositioning and relocating cultural symbols) and the AVDP that assumes its significance in unraveling the far-reaching implications on the socio, economic and cultural profile of the oppressed sections in Uttar Pradesh. There is a general opinion that the upsurge of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in Uttar Pradesh has altered the dynamics of Indian political spectrum on the basis of progressive philosophical foundations of historical icons, i.e., Gautama Buddha, Mahatma Phule, Shahuji Maharaj, Periyar, Narayana Guru, Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram. The BSP government in Uttar Pradesh has pursued the agenda of repositioning and relocating



cultural symbols in Uttar Pradesh. Apart from this, the BSP government has been building an alternative cultural capital by propagating the message of Gautama Buddha and other prominent historical icons. In this backdrop, the BSP government made Ambedkar Village Development Programme (AVDP) as an integral part of its governance during all the four tenures aiming at an all-round development of the villages. The AVDP has been instrumental in enhancing not only the capabilities of Scheduled Castes but also the other oppressed groups and overall development of villages that have been declared as Ambedkar villages. This flagship programme has benefited the villages and there have been substantial changes after the implementation of AVDP in Uttar Pradesh.

Notes and References

- 
- <sup>i</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot (2003), *India's Silent Revolution: The rise of low castes in north Indian Politics*, New Delhi, p.10.
- <sup>ii</sup> Ibid, pp.1-10.
- <sup>iii</sup> Sudha Pai (2002), *Dalit Assertion and The Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi, p.127.
- <sup>iv</sup> For more details, see Vivek Kumar (2003), *Dalit Leadership in India*, New Delhi.
- <sup>v</sup> Sudha Pai (2002), *Dalit Assertion and The Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi, pp.9-10.
- <sup>vi</sup> For more details, see Sudha Pai (2002), *Dalit Assertion and The Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi.
- <sup>vii</sup> For more details, see Vivek Kumar (2007), "Bahujan Samaj Party: Some Issues of Democracy and Governance", in Sudha Pai (ed.), *Political Process in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi.
- <sup>viii</sup> For more details, see Christophe Jaffrelot (2003), *India's Silent Revolution: The rise of low castes in north Indian Politics*, op.cit.
- <sup>ix</sup> Vivek Kumar (2006), *India's Roaring Revolution, Dalit Assertion and New Horizons*, New Delhi, p.13-14.
- <sup>x</sup> For more details, see Vivek Kumar (2006), *India's Roaring Revolution, Dalit Assertion and New Horizons*, op. cit. New Delhi.
- <sup>xi</sup> For more details, see Magdalena Inkinen, (2003), *Mobilizing the Lower Caste: The rise of Bahujan Samaj Party in India*. Uppsala.
- <sup>xii</sup> For more details, see Gail Omvedt, (1994), *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Gail Omvedt, (1994), *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi, p.18.
- <sup>xiv</sup> For more details, see Gail Omvedt, (1994), *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, op. cit. New Delhi.
- <sup>xv</sup> For more details, see Kanchan Chandra (2004), *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*, New York.
- <sup>xvi</sup> *Constitution of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)*, Central office of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 12 Gurudwara Rakab Ganj Road, New Delhi.
- <sup>xvii</sup> For more details, see Gail Omvedt, (2006), *Dalit Visions: The anti-caste movement and the construction of an Indian identity*, New Delhi.
- <sup>xviii</sup> For more details, see Christophe Jaffrelot (2006), *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability, Analysing and Fighting Caste*: New Delhi.



---

<sup>xix</sup> For more details, see Vivek Kumar (2007), “ When the Marginalized Mobilize: A Case Study of the Bahujan Samaj Party, *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. No. 68, No1, Jan 2007, Mumbai.

<sup>xx</sup> Ibid, pp.88-100.

<sup>xxi</sup> Gail Omvedt (2004), *Liberty, Equality, Community: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s vision of a New Social Order*, New Delhi, pp.6-31.

<sup>xxii</sup> Chunnu Prasad (2009), “Dalits Struggle for Democratic Space: Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and the Democratisation of Indian Politics” in Vivek Kumar and others (eds), *The Dynamics of Change and Community in the Era of Globalisation: Voices of the Margins*, New Delhi, Sunrise Publications, pp.336-367.