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## Dalit Identity, Cultural Assertion and Mobilisation in Jammu

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### Abstract

After India's independence, untouchability has been officially abolished in the Indian constitution. However, the negative stigma of Dalit Identity continues throughout India in one form or the other. Therefore, Dalit's struggle for meaningful survival is the foremost for the dignity, self-respect, government services, and representation. Dalits visualise a just and inclusive society for everyone. The Jammu area remained unfamiliar and unobserved. No detailed analysis is available regarding the politics of Dalit identity, social transformation, hierarchy, and assertion of Dalit communities. The broader argument of this article is that Dalit identity is associated with the shared living experience and the culture, such as economic exploitation, caste discrimination, gender dominance, and repudiation of the Dalit knowledge. In Jammu, at various places, the new construction of counter-culture has been created through different modalities, which bring Dalits on the same level playing field together. (For example, such as the construction of temples of community gurus, organising rallies (Shoba Yatra) in the name of guru, development of community Sabha, the release of songs on communities and gurus, and celebration of 'Prakash Diwas' (Guru Birthday Anniversary) and many more). The new counter-culture and language of protest include the Dalits' narratives regarding class, caste, and gender issues, and it undoubtedly plays an imperative role in illustrating the Dalit Identity in Jammu.

**Keywords:** Dalit identity, Identity, Resistance, Mobilisation, Cultural assertion, Electoral Politics, Jammu.

### Introduction

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Dalit social movements for a just and inclusive society had specific goals like abolishing untouchability, equal rights and recognition. With the introduction of the "divide and rule policy" by British India, the demand and struggle for social equality, dignity, self-respect, representation in the decision-making, and jobs in government services were strongly advocated by prominent Dalit leaders and especially the architect of the Indian Constitution, Dr B.R. Ambedkar. The actual blast happened with the temple entry movement in India for the social emancipation of Dalits. After India's independence, untouchability has been officially abolished in the Indian constitution, and the negative stigma of Dalit identity continues all over India in one form or the other. Therefore, Dalits' struggle for meaningful survival is the foremost for the dignity, self-respect, government services, and representation with the vision of a just and inclusive society.

Academic research has endured exclusively attentive to Kashmir's conflict and neglect of Jammu region problems and, consequently, confined to exploring the India-Kashmir relationship. Moreover, the state's caste, class, and gender dynamics have been left unexamined. (Bhatia, 2014, pp. 941-42) <sup>[2]</sup>. The Jammu area remained unfamiliar and unobserved. No detailed analysis is available regarding the politics of Dalit identity, social transformation, hierarchy, and assertion of lower caste.

The broader argument of this article is that Dalit identity is associated with the shared living experience and the culture, such as economic exploitation, caste discrimination, gender dominance, and repudiation of the Dalits' knowledge. Moreover, the new construction of counter-culture through various modalities also brings Dalits on the same level playing field together. (For example, such as the community guru temple construction, Shoba yatra (on the name of the guru), development of communities Sabha, the release of songs on communities and gurus, and celebration of 'Prakash Diwas' (birth anniversary of gurus <sup>[a]</sup>) many more).

<sup>a</sup> Gurus refers here Guru Ravidass, Kabirdas, and Nabhdadas.

The counter-culture and language of protest also include the Dalits' narratives regarding class, caste, and gender issues, and it undoubtedly plays an imperative role in illustrating the Dalit identity. The struggle for existence in the history of the world has remained a prominent element, and it consists of substantial aspects, such as respect, dignity, rights, justice, equality, liberty, and honour for human beings. The mere existence of human beings without substantial elements makes life meaningless. Human beings struggle to achieve significant aspects of life to make them conscious of their meaningful survival. Human life's history is the history of the struggle for substantial parts of human life, such as positive recognition.

This article is a part of the PhD fieldwork conducted in Jammu from 2019 to 2021. The fieldwork took place in three different districts, but the narrative reflected in this article is from the Jammu district area, such as Kabir Nagar, Bhim Nagar, and Janipur. Instead of quantitative responses, the qualitative responses have been considered in this article in the form of narratives. The interview of the respondents consists of a one-to-one interview, group discussions, and joint meetings. The triangulation method has been applied to understand respondents' narratives and transcripts according to the needs of the study.

**Caste in Jammu**

In Jammu, Brahmins remain at the top of the varna hierarchy; Kshatriyas, who correspond to the Rajput's caste status, once were the ruling class in Jammu. There exist two primary divisions among Rajputs, one is Mians, and the other is working Rajputs. Minas who belong to the ruling families and other working Rajputs constitute the second division; the third one is known as the 'Thakkar.' Vaishya varna consists of the trading people such as Mahajans and Aroras, they are not *Dogra*, but historically they are originally from Punjab. Shudra entails serving castes; they have access to the upper caste household. The Shudra castes are Kumhar, Nai, Jhewars, Lohar, and others. They are a weaker section of society, but they develop with modernisation. Dalits or Scheduled Castes are the depressed castes in the Jammu region and are known as 'ex-untouchables'; some prominent castes are Megh, Doom/Mahasha, Chamar, Chura, Wattal, Ratal, Saryara, Jalaha, Koli, Barwal, Basith, Mussali, Halalkhor, Gardi, Munchi. (Saxena, 2009, pp. 60-61)<sup>[14]</sup>.

In Jammu, traditionally, the caste system characterises the people according to their status and occupation. Each caste is usually linked to some work, and it also decides the place of a particular caste in the hierarchical ranking. However, in modern times, the occupational shift has been happening from traditional to modern occupation, and the social, economic and political order has been changing.

As per the government records, there are 13 notified scheduled castes in Jammu and Kashmir<sup>[b]</sup>.

The notified list of Scheduled Castes in Jammu and Kashmir is given hereunder<sup>[c]</sup>:

Barwala	Basith	Batwal
Chamar or Ramdasia, Chamar-Ravidas, Chamar-Rohidas	Chura, Bhangi, Balmiki, Mehtar	Dhyar
Doom or Mahasha	Gardi	Jolaha
Megh or KabirPanthi	Ratal	Saryara
Watal		

<sup>b</sup> Data taken from Census of India, 2011

<sup>c</sup> There are 13 notified scheduled castes in Jammu and Kashmir.

Jammu has a majority Hindu population (approximately 65%), followed by a substantial Muslim presence (around 30%) and a smattering of Sikhs and Christians (about 5%). The total population of scheduled caste constitute 7.38 per cent of the total population in Jammu and Kashmir. (Census of India, 2011)<sup>[3]</sup>. An inadequate academic understanding of Jammu has led to overlooking the area's religious, social, cultural and political diversities while obscuring Hindu's internal differentiation, thus providing no space to explore caste tensions. Many scholars believe that lower caste Hindu's lack of conspicuous political assertion in Jammu has further contributed to the academic silence on the region's tension between the upper caste and lower caste and among the sub-Dalit castes.

However, the more obstinate thing is that even though some Dalit castes in Jammu, like Megh and Chamar, managed to empower themselves economically, however, their social ranking in the hierarchy did not get an upgrade. Thus, economic empowerment is helpful for the transformation of Dalits. However, it cannot be the only means to remove the stigma that Dalits of Jammu face in their day-to-day lives.

The concentration of this study is to scrutinise and analyse the making of Dalit identity and cultural assertion for gaining self-respect, dignity, and innumerable other kinds of rights. Moreover, the objective is to express the forms of assertion, resistance and mobilisation of Dalit communities for self-respect. This study focuses on the dynamics of politics in the Jammu.

**Identity and Dalit Identity**

The construction of the identity is a historical development. The concept of identity is fundamentally based on reciprocal and mutual recognition. It lays the foundation of a relationship from one individual to another and from one community to others. In identity construction, the belief system and cultural edifice play an essential role in articulating identity. Through mutual recognition and reciprocal exchange among Dalits, we can understand the Dalit identity formation in Jammu.

In the identity theory, every identity constructs some form of self-worth, self-evaluation, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. Therefore, the variant of identity theory is concerned with the elements, like the 'role-related skills, performance, and competence' falls under the personal qualitative features. The other cardinal features are wealth and honesty. The personal qualitative features of identity like membership in groups and those networks where identity processes happen are integral to Identity theory. It also consists of status, self-verification, self-esteem, self-worth, and self-efficacy. (Sheldon & Burke, 2000)<sup>[16]</sup>.

The framework of identity and social identity theory is more suitable for this study to analyse the dalit identity; in the identity theory, the conceptualisation of the self contains the 'collection of identities', whereas, in the social identity case, the identities are more social, like every social identity consists of the membership in a social category. 'The basic idea of social identity is that a social category' (e.g., nationality, political affiliation, sports team, and communities extra) into which one falls, and to which one feels of belonging and defines in terms of the characteristics of the category— a self-definition of social identity that is a part of the self-concept. Eventually, social identity stresses more on self-enhancement, which later promotes self-respect and self-esteem. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979)<sup>[17]</sup>.

The initial point in the formation of Dalit identity can consider from the bhakti movement; basically, it laid the foundation for constructing an alternative identity on an equal basis and challenged society's existing inequalities. The prominent saints from the different parts of India were Kabirdas, Ravidas and Ramanand in the northern area, Thukaram, Choka Mela, Eknath, and Narsinh Mehta in the western region, Basava, Ramanuja, and Nimbarak in the southern part played an important role to counter the evil of societies. In the Eastern part, saints or mystics like Chandidasa and Chaitanya thoughts contributed to establishing anti-hegemonic or anti-dominant beliefs. Moreover, they raised their voice against the rigid caste structure and drove to achieve equality before God. M.G Ranade describes the character of the Bhakti movement as unbrahmanical. (Omvedt, 1995) <sup>[12]</sup>.

Later, Gandhi gave a new term to untouchables, i.e., 'Harijan', 'person of the god', and on the contrary side Ambedkar used the word 'Depressed caste'; and in the 1970s, the term 'Dalit' was popularised by the Dalit Panthers, and afterwards, it became the category to address the social, political and economic issues of Dalits across India. (Shah, 2001, p.21) <sup>[15]</sup>. After the 1980s, the upsurge of Dalit and Bahujan political parties popularised the 'Dalit Identity' as a category. Dalit leaders believe that 'dalit term' or category provides a sense of self-assertion and self-pride. It is a gateway to help to reach the level of cultural identity. Now there is no feeling of shame about being Dalit. 'Dalitness' provides the energy for confrontation and increases the possibility of becoming one total being. (Bharati, 2002, pp. 4339-40) <sup>[1]</sup>. For Dalits, identity is a concept not limited to relation and experience of oneself with others. Still, it is a matter of positive mutual recognition, and it is a matter of self-respect and dignity like any other human being on this planet.

### Cultural Assertion and Resistance in Jammu

Culture is a significant aspect of human life and plays an essential role in inculcating the norms and values of society. Culture also provides an opportunity for change and resourcefulness. Sub-culture and counter-cultural group members often discard society's dominant cultural norms and values. Moreover, promote their alternative norms and values against the leading culture. Many people of the same groups are associated with social movement and share an everyday lifestyle, and it becomes the medium of transformation within the societies. Thus, the sub-culture and counter-culture allow them to act and express their beliefs, opinions and hopes. (Giddens, 2005) <sup>[5]</sup>.

#### a. Cultural Identity and Assertion

Cultural identity can be understood in two aspects; First is, 'individual cultural identity', "which refers to an individual's identity in its cultural aspects, consists of characteristics of the way someone has been brought up—her linguistic and literary background, her religious and moral education and choices, her socially acquired attitudes and manners and so on. In this sense, an individual cultural identity can exist with her particular mix of cultural characteristics, leading to cultural identity. The second is 'cultural group identity', there is the idea of a group sharing a culture, not just some cultural features." (Gilbert, 2010, pp. 2-3) <sup>[6]</sup>.

In sociology, the difference has been made between counter-

cultures and sub-cultures. Sub-culture comparatively functions smoothly within the larger dominant culture or society. Whereas counter-cultures proactively refute the development of some set of norms and rules made by the larger society. Moreover, sometimes counter-culture develops the communities which operate outside of greater society. (Little, 2014, p. 24) <sup>[10]</sup>.

The development to refute and reconstruct the beliefs, values, norms and practices among Dalits in Jammu has been shifting the paradigm from sub-culture to counter-culture. The phenomenon they develop of *Shobha Yatra* and celebrating *the Guru's birth anniversaries* is a kind of visible resistance. On the other hand, the temple's construction of their gurus in almost every resident's area of the Chamar/Mahasha/Megh community remains unnoticed by the various communities. The generated idiom is not religious but social in nature, and the social transformation takes place in the resistance. Everyone unites in their community Guru's name, and Gurus (Ravidass, Kabirdas, Nabhadass) become the symbol of unity and strength. According to the Sabha's <sup>[4]</sup> members, the main motive behind the symbolisation of gurus is to gain self-respect and dignity and gain political power.

Many members of the Chamar, Mahasha and Megh communities believe mobilisation will achieve positive recognition with positive connotations. The key persons involve in the mobilisation; do not believe it is a religious resistance. In a joint meeting with the members of the Megh, Mahasha, and Chamar communities, the members mentioned that;

*Prakash Diwas, Guru Diwas, and Kabir Jayanti are days for social gatherings. The motive is to remove the flaws notion among the community people. Therefore, this day is essential for the community to gain self-respect. The Gurus are a figure of spirituality and humanness, and their teachings give us a way to assert positive recognition.*



**Fig 1:** Guru Nabhadass temple at Kabir Nagar, in Talab Tillo, Jammu, Photo clicked by the researcher

Moreover, respondents from the Mahasha, Megh and Chamar communities said;

*Gurus provide us with a platform to raise our voices against the Caste system. Guru Ravidass/Kabirdass/Nabhadass's teachings give us the confidence to feel proud and not think inferior*

<sup>d</sup> Guru Ravidas, Kabirdas, Nabhadass Sabha's in Jammu.

or subordinate to any caste group. They believe mobilisation in the name of gurus is social, and the language of this mobilisation is the language of self-respect. One of the respondents from the Mahasha community said about his Guru Nabhadass, “sadehe bi guru ne ass kuse kola kat thodi ha, sadehe guru ne usse belle Phd kiti di hai, unne bhaktmal likhyie ek bada kam kita hai, tey aee kam unda gayaan dusda hai.” (We also have a guru, and he was educated; in fact, he was awarded a Phd degree during that time. It is a proud feeling for us because his extensive work of Bhaktmal reflects our Guru’s intellectuality.)



**Fig 2:** Residential colony named Bhim Nagar, at Dogra Hall, Jammu, Photo clicked by the researcher.



**Fig 3:** Guru Ravidass temple at Kabir Nagar, in Talab Tillo, Jammu, Photo clicked by the researcher



**Fig 4:** Guru Kabirdas Bhawan at Kabir Nagar in Talab Tillo, Jammu, Photo clicked by the researcher.

On the issue of Guru’s importance, a Member of the Ravidass Sabha describes;

*earlier, our community had no platform like other upper caste communities. Guru Ravidass provides us with the path and source to unite and strengthen ourselves and assert our rights, including dignity. Guru’s teachings help us make a symbol for our community in the form of Guru ‘Sathan’<sup>[e]</sup>. For*

*instance, ‘Guru Ravidas Vani,<sup>[f]</sup> is a source of knowledge, and he said, ‘we use Guru Ravidass Vani text in our marriages instead of any Hindu religious text.’ He celebrated that ‘Ravidass Priest performed the marriage rituals instead of the Brahmin Priest. Counter-culture construction gives the Chamar community hope for the extensive struggle. Further, he added, a rally is a means to create a platform where we can show our status in society and make stronger bonding among all.’*

A member of Ravidass Sabha Jammu said;

*‘Our community members do not want to convert to any religion because we are creating our new religion, and those who convert into different religions are not enjoying equal status.’*

For the Chamar caste, self-respect means self-pride, feeling proud that you are Chamar and recognising your identity as a Chamar. Mahasha’s community self-respect notion relies on ontological equality. All human beings are born free and equal irrespective of caste, creed, and sex; every human has equal moral worth. For the Mahasha community, self-respect stands for the equality of being worthy of esteem and respect. The Kantian notion of self-respect can use here; human beings have intrinsic value, which is exceptional value to anything. (Massey, 1983, pp. 58-59)<sup>[11]</sup>. There are some narratives that the Mahasha community use for themselves;

*Asse bi ijjat de unne ge hakdar aan jine baki ucchi jati aale ne.” “We are equally able of equal worth, and respect as other upper caste people are”. “Asse bi kuse kola kat thodi aa, ass bi insaan ha”. (We are not less than anyone else, we are also human.” “Mahasha saare kam kari sakde aan, sade kool be damaag hai.” (Mahasha can do every type of work. We also have intellect capability)*

The notion that Mahasha is capable of doing every kind of work; they are rational enough, and they are reason-based human being reflects the community’s capability. The Kantian concept of human capability, rationality and reasonableness can apply because the community members feel that; they have equal talent and ability to do any work; after all, they are also rational beings. Gopal Guru also argues that ‘Dignity is one’s due, which requires establishing and communicating’. (Guru G., 2009, p. 75)<sup>[7]</sup>. In Jammu, communities like Megh, Chamar, and Mahasha minimally uplift themselves in the economic and social spheres and create alternative spaces for their communities. For instance, the Chamar community proudly uses the prefix with their name, i.e., ‘the great chamar’, glorifying their spiritual Guru (Guru Ravidass)<sup>[g]</sup>. Mahasha community also following the same path by celebrating the guru Nabhadass<sup>[h]</sup>, and some assertive members have been using the title with their name ‘Mahasha’. Megh usually greets each other by saying, ‘Jai Kabir Sahab’ instead of any traditional greeting, which is a trendsetting thing happening in the Jammu region. The nomenclature of the Mohalla’s on the name of community gurus is also trendsetting of recognition (For example, Mohalla’s names like Kabir Nagar and Bhim Nagar). Dalit singers, writers, and poets have produced many C.D.s and cassettes, widely available in the markets, explaining the rising prosperity of their culture, gurus, and

<sup>f</sup> Guru Ravidas Vani expresses the philosophy of Guru Ravidass.

<sup>g</sup> Ravidas was an Indian mystic poet-saint of the Bhakti movement.

<sup>h</sup> Guru Nabha Das was an author of holy scripture, ‘Bhaktamal’.

<sup>e</sup> The place of community Guru (such as Sabha, temple, bhawan).

heroes. Dalits narrate mythical stories of their rajas and gurus. Dalit middle-class writers are now creating new autobiographical work in novels, representing the hardships they face.

### b. Modality of Resistance

The concept of resistance consists of the notion of opposition. The words that make this concept different and reactionary include contradiction, rejection, social change, opposition, challenge, and subversion. Resistance can be seen as a social movement and categorised as a protest related to contentious politics. It includes a sense of action means resistance is not only a quality of any actor, but it involves some behaviour that can be active, cognitive, verbal or physical. (Einwohner, 2004, p. 553) [4]. Action and behaviour refute the subordination and challenge the ideological basis of domination.

The resistance is seen in various forms, such as overt resistance, in which the act and the behaviour are clear, visible, and recognisable by observers and targets. The resistance is collective in the form of revolution, social movement, protest, and it can also be an individual act of refutation. On the other hand, another action of resistance is covert resistance, this act is intentional, but it remains unnoticed by the target's groups. The other recognises it as resistance, especially the keen cultural observers. (Einwohner, 2004, pp. 543-545) [4]. The resistance phenomenon of the Chamar/Megh/Mahasha community's self-respect can be seen in overt and covert forms. Like, a rally (Shobha Yatra on the Guru's name) is an overt form of resistance and is an intentional act. It remains noticeable to the target groups and observers.

Moreover, the rally (Shobha Yatra) and the celebration of the *Prakash Divas, Guru Divas, and Kabir Jayanti*, the birth anniversary of the Guru Nabhadass, Guru Ravidass, and Guru Kabirdas, is a collective action to get a notice by the target groups. It is a form of mobilisation for their self-respect and dignity. On the other side, the intentional temple building of communities Guru's is unnoticed and falls under covert resistance. Mahasha Community adopts the strategy of temple building of Hindu god and goddess; after that, they established the Guru Nabhadass idol in that constructed temple. Directly it is challenging to build a temple in the name of Guru Nabhadass in mixed population areas; this kind of action reflects the covert form of resistance. The Chamar community is more vocal about constructing the Guru Ravidass temple in Jammu. Megh community is more influential in the Jammu district, and they have multiple temples and Sabhas in the mixed population areas.

When the subaltern threatens and forces them to disadvantage category, it invokes the conditions of humiliation and generates the language to humiliate. For instance, any practice of a particular community like a local procession or receiving gifts on specific occasions and violations of these practices by the others leads to the insult. (Palshikar, 2009, p. 87) [13]. Kumar (2020) argues that "the Dalits are traditionally intricate in so-called polluted, dirty labour work such as scavenger labour, leatherwork, and waste picking work. These forms of work dispense negative meaning and stigma with their labour. Moreover, the waste picking labour makes their location static in the society and placed at the bottom of the hierarchical caste structure. These negative attributions are not countenancing them to create an agency to relish equal dignity as the other human

beings are enjoying." (Kumar, 2020, p.10229) [9].

A female respondent from the Chamar community; by profession, is a school teacher and works as a social activist; she claims that;

*the assertion of the Chamar community gradually starts, and it is progressing but steadily. The assertion is the one kind of awareness about their community. And, she adds, 'we are aspiring to change the status of the Chamar community. In other words, the assertion is open; she describes, 'we are encouraging the Chamar people to feel proud of their identity and not hide their identity from anyone. She believes in defying the patriarchal ritualist festival, which is anti-woman; she said we are showing our social resistance against the unjust kind of festival like 'Karva Chauth', which is anti-women.*

Another female respondent from Kabir Nagar, Jammu, is an active politician and belongs to the Mahasha community. She said;

*we are trying to fight and struggle on two fronts; First, through social reforms, we are trying to make conscious our community about their rights, and the medium of awareness is public meetings. Second, on the political front, she mentions, we are making our community aware of the political issues and making them aware of their 'vote value.'*

### c. Electoral Mobilisation

Electoral mobilisation is the way for the struggle to get the self-dignity and raises voice for the rights. The Dalit movement has countered the oppression, and it has the potential to establish new paradigms and new social order of development (Shah, 2001, p. 35) [15]. Due to the awareness propagated by Chamar/Megh/Mahasha castes on electoral politics, the Dalit communities began to rise because the vote value of these communities began to consider by the political parties. The treatment of political parties with these communities has changed, and political parties have started thinking about them as a vote bank. It provides the space to the dalit communities for the political bargain on social, economic and political issues without compromising their self-respect and dignity. Electoral mobilisation makes these communities realise that they are an equally worthy person and contains the value of vote 'one person, one value.'



**Fig 5:** Social Movement Party Office (Jammu and Kashmir Unit), at Bhim Nagar, Dogra Hall, Photo clicked by the researcher.

Both Gandhi and Ambedkar had different perspectives on the dignity of the individual. Gandhi understood the dignity

of the soul based on duty to oneself and relating to the other. On the contrary, Ambedkar sought the solution of indignity in moral terms. He used the social stigma and humiliation as a force in which he raised the political struggle for Dalits. (Guru G, 2014, p. 225) <sup>[8]</sup>. A member of the Chamar community and member of All India Confederation of SC/ST, Jammu and Kashmir unit, gave an example of his constituency MLA; he said;

*In front of us, the leaders of the forward castes behaved well, but on the backside of us, they did not allow us to function properly.*

He believes like Ambedkar chose the stigma and humiliation as a force for the political struggle; we are also doing the same. He said our confederation always pushes the agenda of reservation of scheduled castes and tribes from time to time to pressure the government. Further, he said we act as a pressure group for the rights of Dalits in Jammu.

### Conclusion

Dalits in India have been struggling to secure equality in society. Jammu region is also not separate from this struggle. There might be variations in the modes of assertion, but the struggle's objective is to achieve self-respect and dignity and their constitutional rights. The claim for dignity has been noticed in Jammu by the several Dalit communities like Megh, Mahasha and Chamar. The mode they adopt to assert their identity is the cultural assertion by celebrating their Guru's birth anniversary, i.e., 'Prakash Diwas' (enlightenment day), organising rallies like 'Shoba Yatra' and defying some rituals developing new practices according to the teaching of their community Gurus. And the construction of Guru temples is the phenomenon of creating spaces for the community voices. Seeking the dalit identity by renaming their community's name after their Guru's name has initiated a new phenomenon of cultural assertion and mobilisation of various Dalit communities. For instance, the Megh community calls themselves Bhagat or Kabirpanthi, Chamar prefers to call themselves Ravidassi, and Mahasha calls themselves Nabhadasi. Community nomenclature on the name of their guru mobilises these communities to assert their rights in the social and political sphere. On the other side, in the political sphere, many groups work for the rights of Dalits, such as the All-India Confederation of SC/ST, the Social Movement of India, and the Ambedkar Yuva Sangathan work as a pressure groups.

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