

**KERALA PULAYAR MAHA SABHA (KPMS) AS A  
SOCIAL MOVEMENT A CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS**

*A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Kerala in Partial Fulfilment of  
the requirements for the Masters of Arts Degree Examination in Sociology*

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## **CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation entitled “**Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha (KPMS) as A Social Movement A Contemporary Analysis**” is a record of genuine work done by Mr. Akhil Surendran, second year student of **M.A Sociology** of this college under my supervision and guidance, that is hereby approved for forwarding to the Examiners.

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## **DECLARATION**

I, AKHIL SURENDRAN do here by declare that the Dissertation titled “**KERALA PULAYAR MAHA SABHA (KPMS) AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT A CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS**” is based on the original work carried out by me and submitted to the University of Kerala during the year 2015-2017 towards partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree Examination in Sociology. It has not been submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, fellowship or other similar title of recognition before any University or anywhere else.

Thiruvananthapuram

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## **Abstract**

Kerala Pulayar Maha sabha (KPMS) which was an offshoot of Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham (SJPS) was engaged in the attempts of educational, social, economic and cultural advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the State. The mission of KPMS is economic development of the community by giving importance to charity activities along with continuing agitation for social justice and for protecting constitutional rights of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Over the years KPMS has sustained itself as a space of expression, agitation and identity of the pulaya community in Kerala .It was considered a part of the other social uprisings in Kerala, during the last century and is a social movement in its soul. In the present context of new uprisings, of once oppressed or under privileged in the country, the researcher feels that a contemporary analysis of KPMS. Through this study the researcher has made an effort to document the current dynamics of the KPMS.. The study followed an ethnographic approach, covering the various units in the Venganoor region

Today the KPMS is considering by other as an organization which works at all spheres of the life of pulaya community. But, at the end of this study, the researcher could understand that the problems within this organization . The internal conflicts has weaken the whole structure of KPMS and the lack of good leaders, youth-women participation, lack of initiatives in the part of KPMS to the various needs of the community, lack of political will are factors which cause the weak functioning of KPMS.

## INTRODUCTION

Dalits have been subjected to numerous kinds of deprivations views social, political, economic and cultural in Kerala since time immemorial. The long history of their deprivations and exploitations led to the emergence of Dalit protest movements in the state as in other parts of India. A favorable environment for the emergence of the protest of Dalits in Kerala was created by the social reform movements in the state during the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century. Simultaneously the Dalit community also produced charismatic and enlightened social reformers who led the struggles of the downtrodden castes. They awakened the consciousness of the Dalit masses and taught them to become aware of their rights. Consequently the oppressed and the exploited castes started to rally round the demand for a legitimate place in the social order. Yet the caste-ridden social structure of Kerala often resisted such liberation struggles of Dalits as their empowerment would defeat the interests of the upper castes. The peculiar features of the caste system in Kerala systematically kept dalits as slave castes and the same class/caste structures continue to play a pivotal role in dalit marginalization even today.

The caste system in all its rigidity was a dominant feature of Kerala society, as anywhere else in India. It was introduced by Aryans in India. Before the arrival of the Aryans, the caste system was unknown in Dravidian society. Aryan invasion and the subsequent process of sanskritization propagated caste system as a means to enslave the original inhabitants of the land. Society was divided into four varnas viz as Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras as the process of Aryanization progressed. The people who were outside the pale of varna system were considered as 'avarnas' or 'untouchables'. This type of division of society resulted in the emergence of a high caste 'savarna' governing class which was considered as pure and a low caste 'avarna' subjugated category considered as polluted. Thus the distinction of purity and pollution set one section of the people above the other section and thus the polluting castes were suppressed by the so-called pure castes. The ruling caste monopolized resources, social status and power while the enslaved castes led a life of deprivation and marginalization.

The caste system which evolved in Kerala was peculiar as it did not constitute into the conventional fourfold varna scheme. While the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Sudras were present, Vaishyas were conspicuous by their absence. Their role was performed by people belonging to other religions especially Christianity and Islam.<sup>2</sup> Probably in the absence of Vaishyas, the trading community, non-Hindu communities like the Christians and

Muslims carried out trade and commerce. Moreover the demarcation of the high caste 'savarna' ruling castes and low caste 'avarna' subjugated castes has been characterised as the common feature of the caste system in Kerala. The analysis of the caste system as practised in Travancore, illustrates that it was characterized by the hierarchy of different castes and the roles played by each caste as either masters or slaves in the casteist social fabric of this region. People in Travancore were hierarchically categorised into Brahmmins, Nairs, Ezhavas, Nadars and Slave castes or Untouchables. The savarnas such as Brahmmins and Nairs who enjoyed special powers and privileges of wealth constituted the higher castes. The avarnas viz the Nadars, the Ezhavas, the Parayas and the Pulayas were considered as the polluting castes and were looked down on and had to perform various services for the savarna Hindus. At the same time, it is also interesting to note that each caste in Kerala had its subdivisions, which was by nature and outlook as distinct from one another as to constitute almost separate castes

The slave castes mainly the Pulayas, Parayas and Kuravas formed the lowest order in the social hierarchy of Kerala. They were considered as the slaves of higher castes who treated them like animals and imposed brutal discriminations on them. They were so wretchedly provided with the necessities of life that the most loathsome things were a treat to them. They were bought and sold like cattle and were often worse treated. The owners had the power to flog them and enchain them, and even to deprive them of their lives. Everywhere they were paid for labour at the lowest possible rate sufficient to sustain life.<sup>10</sup> They were considered as untouchables and unapproachables and their sight and presence were polluting. In order to avoid the pollution of the upper castes, the slave castes were required to keep a specific distance from them. Simultaneously it is interesting to note the strict rules regarding the distance to be maintained by the avarnas from the savarnas. As such they were denied free access to public roads, wells, temples and even markets considered as polluted by their presence. The dwelling places of slave castes were tiny huts made of reeds or mud, situated away from the visibility of higher castes. They had no right to education. Decent dressing or wearing gold or silver ornaments were considered offensive. Payments were imposed on their marriages. They never worked or earned living for themselves. Their entire life was dependent on the masters. They did not even own their children. They begetted children so that the master could have a continuous supply of workers. Thus the tyrannical and brutal discriminations imposed on the slave castes made their life setting highly dehumanizing and uncivilized.



The slave castes were often employed as agricultural labourers and paid at the lowest rate in kind. The work of Pulayas were almost exclusively in the rice-fields-pumping them dry, making up embankments, hedging, digging, manuring, ploughing, weeding, transplanting and reaping; yet the grain was not considered as polluted

Social reform movements inaugurated an era of great social renaissance in Travancore. They revolted against the age-old bondages of caste-oppression, irrational social practices and varied superstitions that crept into the social fabric of this land and wanted to reform its social life in accordance with the noble and humane visions of social reformers. In this context, a brief historical overview of the important social reform movements in Travancore starting from the latter part of the 19th century is relevant to understand the socio-political background of the emergence of such movements and their impact on the political socialization of dalits. In fact, many agitations of polluted castes took inspiration from these movements and they maintained a supportive and sympathetic approach towards the empowerment of subaltern sections. In this context, it should be remembered that among different social reform movements, the Ezhava movement assumes pre-eminence as the first powerful protest movement of lower castes which originated in Travancore and acted as the agent of a great social reform in Kerala. It has also inspired subsequent dalit protest struggles particularly the Ayyankali Movement. Ayyankali (1863-1941), the first ever revolutionary social reformer produced by the Dalit community in Kerala, is considered as the torchbearer of Dalit protest struggles in the state. Though he championed primarily the struggle of Pulayas in Travancore, he is counted as the leader of all untouchable Dalit castes in the social history of Kerala. he formed SJPS for the dalit upliftment, it helps to get the rights and place for dalits in the society. After the death of Ayyankali in 1971 the followers started a movement KPMS for the upliftment of pulaya community and dalits. In 19<sup>th</sup> century KPMS played a

This study is aimed at understanding ‘kerala Pulayar maha Sabha as a social movement which was started by the followers of social reformer Ayyankali and the current role its places in the upliftment of”Pulaya Community and the challenges it faces.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Kerala society had been a caste- ridden society. Kerala is known as the hot-bed of castes. The Pulayas are considered as one of the primitive dwellers (Adivasis) of Kerala. Pulayan means ‘one who works on land’. The Pulayas were the most numerous of the agricultural labourers of traditional Travancore-cochin. But they were oppressed and segregated by the dominant castes in the state. The Pulaya community was treated as untouchables and were subjected to many social and civil disabilities.

Ayyankali known as the ‘Pulayaraja’ played a crucial role in the upliftment of the dalits, especially Pulaya community in Kerala. He was the first to react against the injustices done to the Pulaya community. He along with like minded youngsters organized many agitations against the dominant caste which has a significant place in the history of Kerala, like the ‘kallu mala samaram’. Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham (SJPS) was formed under the his initiative as a space to demand for the rights of the down trodden. After Sree Narayana Guru’s “Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Sangam” (SNDP) which was the powerful and numerous movement .Ayyankali died in 1941. There after members of the pulaya community organized Kerala Pulayar Maha sabha (KPMS) which was an offshoot of SJPS. It was formed consolidating the various Pulaya and Cheramar organizations existed in Travancore and Cochin with the aim of better representation and identity of Pulaya community under the initiative of Chathan Master . Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha was registered in 1970. (Official website)

It was engaged in the attempts of educational, social, economic and cultural advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the State. The mission of KPMS is economic development of the community by giving importance to charity activities along with continuing agitation for social justice and for protecting constitutional rights of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Over the years KPMS has sustained itself as a space of expression, agitation and identity of the pulaya community in Kerala .It was considered a part of the other social uprisings in Kerala, during the last century and is a social movement in its soul. What is its present condition? How does the KPMS engage itself in terms of its declared aims or objectives

In the present context of new uprisings, of once oppressed or under privileged in the country, the researcher feels that a contemporary analysis of KPMS, the organized representation of

Pulaya movement may generate newer understandings and lessons. This is especially more relevant, considering the fact that, certain other movements, which were simultaneous to Pulaya movement in Kerala has over the years expanded and has consolidated even into a political party. What are the current dynamics of KPMS? What is the existing organizational pattern? How far it still has a dimension of a social movement in it?

The first unit of KPMS was started in the Venganoor region (birth place of Ayyankali) Venganoor unit continues to be the most active unit with largest membership. It is the centre of planning and implementation of all the programmes organized under the banner of KPMS. The researcher through this study tries to find out what is the current dynamics of KPMS as a social movement focussing more in the Venganoor region, the centre of all activities.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Dalit uprisings in Kerala were generally organized under the banner of caste. Caste based movements had a very important role in the reformation of Kerala society. KPMS an offshoot of SJPS which was born out of the social reform movements of Mahatma Ayyankali has a significant place in Kerala history. From the year of its formation, officially in 1970 KPMS as a organization was successful in sustaining its identity.

Even when caste based organizations and movements has a significant place in the cultural social and political realm of the state, no significant studies have been carried out about them, particularly on the KPMS, in terms of their current dynamics. This is the assumed significance of the present study .Academic Significance of this lies in understanding the movement under the banner of identity politics and its relevance today.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Coming to the studies on subaltern movements in the context of Kerala and other states, there are a few noted studies as detailed here. The work of M.S.A Rao *Social Movement and Social Transformation-A Study of Two Backward Classes Movement in India* (1979) deals with the Ezhava movement in Kerala and All India Yadava Movement. It shows that these two movements have brought about social transformation representing middle level structural change between reform on one hand and revolution on the other. The work gives a brief sketch of the different stages of Dalit movements in Kerala. This study delineates the nature of dalit struggle which strives to assert equality of opportunity and social justice for the lower castes. the researcher has try to understand and apply this to KPMS and understand how social transformation is happend to the help of the KPMS emerged as a social movement. The social transformation of the pulaya community has happen with the KPMS, that has been dalit organisation in kerala main,yet KPMS has its contribution to make the social transformation. This study helps to understood the level of the transformations KPMS done to the pulaya community.

In the study of “*Caste, Class and Occupation*” (1961) Ohurye have made an attempt to give his views and opinion on the history and the origin of the caste-system as it was in the early period and at the later period among the Hindus of India. As regards caste in recent and contemporary times, he has restricted the treatment to the institution as it is found among the Hindus. According to him, whatever the elements of caste happen to occur among the other communities of India are derivative, and as such do not serve to illuminate the problem of caste. With this available literature the researcher is try to understand that how caste as an institution work together. Especially the pulaya community they were faced many of the cruelties from the side of the other higher caste communities. Here the researcher was mainly focused on the pulaya community and their current status .

Mahar Michael’s work on “*The Untouchables in Contemporary India1*’ (1972) is a revised edition of a collection of papers presented by different scholars in a conference at the University of Arizona along with other pertinent writings. The disciplinary perspective represented includes Law, Anthropology, History, Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Religion. A number of common topics such as; the repercussions of government policy within village communities, the administrative and legal problems posed by such changes,

and the plight of the individual caught up in a period of rapid transition from one of the world's most ancient ways of life to an uncertain future etc are treated from various perspectives throughout the collection. From this available literature the researcher can use this contemporary analysis to his study.

Jha's study on "*Untouchability and Education I*" (1973), deals with the psychological aspects of a restricted population of Mathura, Varanasi and Delhi and their attitudes towards untouchability. The inferences drawn from the study show that education, environment, higher occupational level are all positively related to attitudes towards abolishing untouchability i.e. the higher the educational level, the higher the occupational level the more favorable is the attitude and vice versa. While age is negatively related to untouchability i.e. the higher the age, the less favorable attitudes towards abolishing untouchability; income did not reveal any positive or negative relation to untouchability.

"*Change Among India's Maryan*" (1973) by Sunanda Patwardhan is an attempt to understand and determine the nature of change that has taken place among the Harijans of one particular region viz, Maharashtra; to what extent social mobility has been possible for the low polluting castes, in a system of stratification. Her work brings to light the fact that the various groups of Harijans show a differential degree of development and a differential capacity to utilize the welfare scheme.

Lalita Chandrashekhar's work on "*Social Mobility of the Scheduled Castes: Mid- nineteenth Century to the Present Day*" (1977) examines the avenues of social mobility available to, and pursued by, the untouchables during the last century of British rule, and in the post independence period. The changes occurring at the societal level, such as introduction of a cash economy, institutionalization of parliamentary democracy, policy of "protective discrimination" etc. while the changes in the society may be regarded as exogamous changes, the social movements of the untouchables themselves, be they Sanskritization or politicization, may be viewed as instances of endogamous change (M. Phil, J.N.U).the researcher with the available literature is trying to understand, how social mobility of KPMS through the Venganoor region and the changes in the current education, employment level upliftment and political upliftment of the community, how the dalit organisation tieup with political parties.

“Empowerment of Dalits and the role of Dalits movements in Kerala: A study of Kottayam districts” Fr Tomy Josephy (July 2010), The general objective of this study is to assess the role of the dalit movements in empowering dalits in Kerala. The study specifically focused on the socio-historical background of the emergence of social reform movements and dalit protest movements in pre-independent Kerala, To analyse an ideology which supports and sympathises with the empowerment of marginalized groups, To make an analysis of the major dalit movements in Kerala during the post-independent period, To assess the nature and extent of mobilization and empowerment of dalits by dalit movements. It also discuss the political mobilization of dalits by political parties particularly the dalit political organizations. Moreover, study focused on the major dalit movements functioning in the state and their role in empowering dalit masses, those organizations emphasizing socio-political empowerment of their members as its main objective alone have been selected in this study. The researcher with the available study more understand about the KPMS and the other dalit movements, dalit organisations socio-political dimension.

Bharadwaj’s study “*The Problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India*” (1979), gives us an account about the origin of the caste system and its modification along with time and social need. He also mentions about the incidences of inhuman atrocities and excesses committed on these depressed people. Emphasis is given on the necessity to solve their problems by adopting new outlook and the need for fundamental changes of the Governmental policies as it failed to ameliorate their economic as well as social conditions.

“*Rise and Awakening of Depressed Classes in India*” (1979) by Kamble is an attempt to give an account on the history of the awakening of the scheduled caste and to a present saga of people suffering from social, economic and political discrimination from times immemorial. It also presents the origin and growth of consciousness and awakening among those suppressed and oppressed group of people and explain how these section of people have achieved their emancipation. Here the researcher try to understand the awaking of the pulaya community and the society. There are lot of studies relevant in terms of ezhava movement and the SNDP, in the case of KPMS there are no much studies are conducted.

While analyzing the background and resurgence of lower castes in Kerala, the following works are worthy of study. *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayas of Kerala* (1980) by K. Saradamoni analyses the emergence of Pulayas, the largest slave caste of the state, from the

dark days to the present and examines to what extent social and economic justice have been achieved. The study also conducts a detailed analysis of the socio-political reforms and economic changes that took place during the period. It argues that though these changes have brought about improvements, to some extent, in the conditions of deprived sections, the gap between them and the upper sections has widened over the years. Thus it is the objective of the planning-policy of the country to reduce this gap and create an equal social order. This study helpful to findout the emergence of the pulaya community in kerala and the researcher try to understand the contempromy analysis of the socio-political reforms changes and the economic changes of the pulaya community through the KPMS in Venganoor region.

*“The Scheduled Castes”* (1982) of N.D. Kamble is an attempt made to study the development and growth of the caste system in general and untouchability and discrimination on its ground in particular. Demographic characteristics of the Scheduled Castes, their position in caste hierarchy and occupational pattern as well as their economic and political profiles in the various regions of India are studied.

Joseph Mathew’s *Ideology, Protest and Social Mobility: Case Study of Mahars and Pulayas* (1986) is a comparative study of the two vibrant dalit communities of the country as the Mahars of Maharashtra and Pulayas of Kerala, based on an analysis of their styles of ideology, protest and social mobility. The study provides an analysis of the social mobility among them by exploring the three sources of change-social reform, state action and protest, substantiated with empirical facts.

Sinha’s work on *“Alienation among Scheduled Castes”* (1986) studies the systematic efforts that have been made either to develop a theoretical outlook or to test already existing empirical generalizations in respect of the continuing problem of integration or delineation of scheduled caste in India, He has investigated the influence of five important status systems such as age, education, income, occupation and political participation on the negative attitudes of Scheduled Castes in a given community.

*“Untouchables: Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement”* (1986) comprises a unique collection of the writings of the untouchables, analyzing the progress that has been made in improving their position, as well as the present crisis demonstrated by the increasing incidents of higher caste violence against them. In this volume Barbara Joshi has explored



two myths, first, despite the reforms since 1947, untouchabilities remain as everyday social reality, barring millions of people from village's wells and temples and forcing them into bonded labor. Secondly, untouchables are not passively accepting their fate. One size of change has been the angry, assertive self-definition that has lent its name to the movement itself- Dalit, 'The Oppressed Ones'.

R.G. Singh's "*The Depressed Classes of India: Problems and Prospects*" (1986) is a collection of different essays contributed by different authors who deal with one or few aspects of the problem faced by the scheduled caste of India. Together the volume presents a coherent picture of the oppressed people and their problems. The book provides a stimulating thought to know about the life of the depressed and oppressed people of India and their problems.

V. T. Rajshekar Shetty, 1987, *Dalit: the black untouchables of India*: "Every hour two Dalits are assaulted. Every day three Dalit women are raped, two Dalits are murdered, and two Dalit houses are burnt". Human Rights Education Movement in India V.T Rajshekar writes: "The Dalit is not only forbidden to enter the home of a Brahmin, but he must also not draw water from the same well, nor eat from the same pot or plate. He must not glance at or allow his shadow to fall on the Brahmin. All these acts will pollute the 'pure' Brahmin. The Dalit 'is not only untouchable, but also unseable, unapproachable, unshadowable and even unthinkable". *Dalit: The black untouchables of India* is the first book to provide a Dalit view of the roots and continuing factors of the gross oppression of the world's largest minority. (Over 150 million people) through a 3,000 years history of conquest, slavery, apartheid and worse conditions. Rajshekar offers a penetrating, often startling overview of the role of Brahminism and the Indian caste system in embedding the notion of "untouchability" in Hindu culture, tracing the origins of the caste system to an elaborate system of political control in the guise of religion imposed by Aryan invaders on a conquered aboriginal/Draavidian civilization. He exposes the almost unimaginable social indignities which continue to be imposed upon so-called untouchables to this very day despite the outlawing of untouchability with the complicity of the political, criminal justice, media and educational systems. Under Rajshekar's incisive critique, the much-vaunted image of Indian non-violence shatters. This new updated and illustrated third edition includes: Y.N. Kly on the Dalit plight as a warning to African-Americans; Runoko Rashidi on "Blacks as a Global

Community"; and the recent U.S. Congressional Bill 4215 on human rights in India, which marks the first U.S. Congressional recognition of the Dalit plight.

S.S. Singh and Sundaram's study on "*Emerging Harijan Elite: A Study of their Identity*" (1987) is to mainly find out the answers to the questions such as what is the nature of Harijan Elite? How far do they identify themselves in their community? Are they able and willing to provide a kind of leadership for the advancement of their community? Are they alienated from the bulk of their community through the process of 'Sanskritisation'? The perception of their people regarding Harijan elite the extend of 'Social distance' between elite and common people among themselves, the issue of 'Identity crisis among the elite as a result of higher education and consequential socioeducational change are also discussed.

Chaudhary's study on "*Changing Status of Depressed Castes in Contemporary India*" (1988) critically examines the diverse aspects of the problems of changing status of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes particularly during the post independence India. Various issues presented are, socio-psychological analysis, social disorganization among the tribes of Bihar, Harijan atrocities in India (Bihar), rehabilitation of bonded laborers in Bihar, the role of voluntary efforts in the socio- economic development of Scheduled Tribes of the Chotanagpur region in Bihar etc. Here the researcher understands a gap between the communities and the governmental policies. The author of this study also state that depressed people will face lot of atrocities and they want to change in their situation. With the establishment of the KPMS as an organization were made lot of changes to the condition of the Pulaya community. And here the researcher used to this available data to find out the contemporary analysis of the KPMS.

According to Parvathamma, all efforts to bring about changes did not affect the fundamental character of the Hindu social structure which survived the internal and external forces of reform and what is more interesting is that the reformists movements themselves underwent transformation and the reformers attempt resulted in further proliferation of castes and sub-castes. Her study of "*Scheduled Castes at the Crossroads*" (1989) reveals that the graded hierarchy continued and rules of castes remained the governing laws of social life. Conversions to other religions have not helped to improve the social status of scheduled caste communities. In recent years, a younger generation sprang up in the name of Dalit Panthers

and made themselves felt. But in Maharashtra itself the Dalit Panthers Movement was closed in from many sides. Only in literary field they have remain active today.

In the study of “*Status of Scheduled Castes*” (1989), Selvanathan’s main concern is examining the socio-economic status of the Harijans in Tamil Nadu. It deals with the employment pattern of Scheduled Castes in different sectors of the economy and their concentration in Tamil Nadu along with their present economic and social conditions. Findings show that the scheduled caste workers are more concentrated in agricultural occupations. Urbanization has helped to diversify the occupational structure of all castes. But majority of the sub-castes remain highly concentrated in specific occupation and their opportunity to mingle with others is still limited. According to him voluntary organizations must come forward to help them and there is a need for a change of heart among the non-Harijans. Above all the scheduled caste themselves must stand united in every walk of life.

T K Oommen, (1990) *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movements*’. The analysis of protest movements as sources of social change has been largely neglected in the social sciences. Oommen argues that until now the basic sources of change have been taken to be the economy or those watersheds in human history labelled as agrarian, industrial or information revolutions. By contrast, political revolutions have been accorded too little attention. In the first part of this book, the author explores the theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues in the study of social movements. He then goes on to examine specific methodological problems faced by analysts of on-going movements and explores the relationship between movements and institutions. In part two, he examines social movements in the macro-context of the nation-state while the final part considers the micro dimensions of social movements focusing on protest by specific social categories.

H.C.Upadhyay, 1991, *Reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes*: the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of India have remained socially, economically, educationally and politically backward since the beginning of caste stratification of Indian society. There is a close relationship between caste and occupation. The caste system has not allowed weaker sections to shift more productive occupations. After independence, there has been a growing tempo of developmental activities for them to facilitate their mobility. The impact of change appears more striking against a backdrop of relative immobility for centuries. These factors created a definite awareness about social climbing the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

In this book an attempt has been made to improve the condition of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes through reservation facilities. Due to this spirit apart from various constitutional safeguards, a number of voluntary organizations started providing various facilities to the weaker sections of society for their proper upliftment. The constitution of free India based upon the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and being essentially egalitarian certain fundamental rights to the citizens for free self-expression and development of personality. The author gives valuable suggestions to improve the socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Thus, the outstanding book will be immense use to researchers, students of various disciplines and policy-makers of the country

*“From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement ”* (1992) is a collection of the product of some twenty five years of Eleanor Zelliot’s study on the social, political and religious movement of ‘untouchables’ led by Dr. Ambedkar. These collections of essays span the history of the movement from its 19th century roots to the most recent developments of Dalit literature, political developments and the Buddhist conversion. The essays are thematically divided into four different parts such as, background, politics, religion and Dalit literature.

Ramacandra Kshirasagara, 1994, *Dalit Movement in India and its Leaders, 1857-1956*: This book is, obviously based on primary source of information; certain facts were duly corroborated by other sources. It has been objectively analyzed, properly interpreted and systematically arranged in a consolidated form. It would be useful as a ready reference to the scholars, interested in undertaking intensive research on individual leaders, and their role in the movement. It would be beneficial to those activists who prefer to take lessons from their past. Therefore, the book is of great value

One of the important analytical accounts of the dalit movements in colonial period is Gail Omvedt’s *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in Colonial India* (1994). This work traces the history of dalit movement from its very beginning in the nineteenth century to the demise of Dr. Ambedkar in 1956. In the pre-independent period, anti-caste movements had emerged in most parts of the country with the dalit movement as its important component. Focused on different states as Andhra, Maharashtra, Mysore etc, the book analyses the ideology as well as the organization of the

movement and its interaction with the freedom struggle and labourers. The study also makes a critical analysis of Ambedkarism, the dominant ideology of the dalit movements in the country.

Dalits in India live in sub-human social existence, abject poverty, economic exploitation, sub-culture of submission and political powerlessness is being revealed by Rebati Tripathy in her study on “*Dalits: A Sub-Human Society*” (1994). She brings out vividly the deprived and downtrodden conditions of Dalits in rural India and portrays that without access to vital economic resources and bargaining power, the Harijans have become one of the most exploited peripheral groups in the Indian society. Predominantly rural they have been mainly landless agricultural laborers, marginal share-croppers etc. The study examined two Harijans villages, Kesharpur and Jadi in Orissa regarding political action taken for removal of socio-economic disabilities which reveals that they are in abysmal poverty and are unemployed and economically dependent on the caste Hindus.

According to Srinivas, as India attempts to modernize and ready itself for the twenty-first century, the issue of caste takes on an overwhelming importance. What form does caste take today? How can its debilitating aspects can be countered? The book on “*Caste, its Twentieth Century Avatar*” (1996) attempts to answer these and other crucial questions. The essays in this volume, each authored by an expert on the subject, include a stimulating assessment of the role of women in perpetuating caste; incisive analyses of the relationship between caste and the economy, and between caste and Hinduism; a review of the backward class movements in Tamil Nadu etc has been dealt here.

An ethnographic study of a Paraiyar settlement, an untouchable caste in the Ramanathapuram district of Tamil Nadu has been made by Robert Deleige in his work entitled, “*The World of the Untouchables: Paraiyas of Tamil Nadu* ” (1997). The central thesis of the study is the egalitarian internal organization of the Paraiyas as opposed to their hierarchical dealings with the rest of the caste order. The study looks both at the historiography of writing on the caste as well as the vivid reality of caste discrimination in practice. It discloses that, one cannot speak of an egalitarian ideology to the hierarchy of the system, but they content themselves with maintaining equality among individuals.

S.M Michael (ed.) *Dalits in Modern India: Vision and Values* (1999): This second, revised and enlarged edition looks back at the aspirations and struggle of the marginalized Dalit masses and looks forward to a new humanity based on equality, social justice and human dignity. Within the context of Dalit emancipation, it explores the social, economic and cultural content of Dalit transformation in modern India. These articles, by some of the foremost researchers' in the field, are presented in four parts: Part I deal with the historical material on the origin and development of untouchability in Indian civilization. Part II contests mainstream explanations and shows that the Dalit vision of Indian society is different from that of the upper castes. Part III offers a critique of the Sanskritic perspective of traditional Indian society, and fieldworks-based portraits of the Hinduisation of Adivasis in Gujarat, Dalit patriarchy in Maharashtra and Dalit power politics in Uttar Pradesh. Part IV concentrates on the economic condition in the Dalits.

Robert Deliege (Author), Nora Scott (Translator), 1999, *Untouchables of India*. The subjugation of millions of people in a caste system that is a radical form of apartheid has long had its critics, both from within India and from outside it. Although the government has introduced equal opportunity legislation in an effort to right some of history's wrongs, untouchability is an accident of birth that continues to stigmatize and ostracize more than one hundred and forty million people. Untouchables remain on the bottom of the socioeconomic scale and are found, more often than not, in unskilled, low status occupations. They are forbidden to enter temples, often beg for their food, must leave their chests uncovered and silently endure public humiliations and insults. They remain on the fringes of society and it is even said by some that their shadows pollute passersby. This excellent book addresses the problem of untouchability by providing an overview of the subject as well as penetrating insights into its social and religious origins. The author persuasively demonstrates that untouchability is a deeply ambiguous condition: neither inside nor outside society, revealed yet indispensable, have untouchables constituted an original category of social exclusion. This is reflected in the various social movements they have led over the last century and more. The situation of untouchables is crucial to the understanding of caste dynamics, especially in contemporary circumstances, but emphasis, particularly within anthropology, has been placed on the dominant aspects of the caste system rather than on those marginalized and excluded from it. This important book redresses this problem and represents a vital contribution to studies of India, Hinduism, human rights, history, sociology and anthropology.

S.M. Michael's *Dalits in Modern India: Vision and Values* (1999) is a collection of scholarly papers which explores the social, economic, political and cultural content of the dalit articulation and its relevance for the nation, both today and in the future. The essays of the book are elaborated in 4 sections dealing with the issue of the origins and development of untouchability; how dalits have confronted Brahmanic Hinduism; a critique of the sensibility which equates Indian tradition with Hinduism and locates within the Aryan heritage the essence of Indian civilization; and the economic dimension in the context of the impact of new economic reforms on dalits.

Elaborating on dalit movements in general and analyzing the role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and other leaders in empowerment of dalits, there are certain significant works to be detailed as Eleanor Zelliot's *From Untouchables to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement* (1992); Rosalind O'hanlon's *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jyotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in 19th Century Western India* (1985); Owen M. Lynch's *The Politics of Untouchability: Social Mobility and Social Change in a City of India* (1974); Lata Murugkar's *Dalit Panther's Movement in Maharashtra: A Sociological Appraisal* (1991); Mark Juergensmeyer's *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement against Untouchability in 20th Century Punjab* (1982) etc. Zelliot's scholarly treatise on Ambedkar movement examines the plan of this great leader to bring the untouchables from a state of 'dehumanization' and 'slavery' into one of equality through the use of modern methods based on education and the exercise of legal and political rights. Rosalind O'hanlon's work focuses on the charisma of Jyotirao Phule in the low caste protest struggles and attempts to study the structure of religious, political and colonial power in 19th century western India. Lynch, in his study of Jatavs (Chamars) of Agra city, shows how they neglected sanskritization and caste system, and opted for political participation and parliamentary democracy for their socio-economic mobility. The work of Murugkar is an analysis of the Dalit Panther's movement, which had become vibrant in Maharashtra during the period 1972-79, as a spontaneous reaction to the deteriorating socio-political conditions of dalits during this period. This movement initiated by a few angry and audacious dalit youths is closely linked with the dalit literature movement and it is impossible to think of one without the other. Juergensmeyer's work deals with the Adi-Dharma movement against untouchability in 20th

century Punjab. It argues that the untouchables constituted a 'quam', a distinct religious community like Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and their 'quam' existed in India from time immemorial

*Affirmative Action and Social Change, Social Mobility of Dalits* (2001) by J. Prabhash is a study of the impact and consequences of reservation on the scheduled castes in Kerala. After analyzing the dalit mobilization process in pre-independent Travancore and the constitutional mandate and scheme of reservation, the work examines in detail the extent of educational, occupational, economic and political mobility of scheduled castes as well as the social mobility dimension and their role perception, substantiated with empirical facts. The study holds the view that the emancipation of dalits lies in their capacity for social consolidation and political mobilization.

*Dalits and the State* (2002) edited by Ghanshyam Shah, examines an important question concerning dalits in India after the long years of independence: the changes that have taken place in the socio-economic status of dalits and the role the state has played in the process. This volume examines the various aspects of this concern in different themes as Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice and the role of the state, economic and educational status of dalits, the nature and extent of untouchability in rural and urban areas, condition of scavengers, atrocities against the dalits and reservation.

An attempt has been made to understand the Dalit Leadership and many other related issues with them in India by Vivek Kumar in his work "*Dalit Leadership in India*"(2002), The study tries to trace its origin, growth and development and examine its nature and dynamics, besides inquiring into its strategy or strategies adopted for mobilization and empowerment of the Dalit masses.

Swapna H. Samel's *Dalit Movement in South India, 1857-1950* (2004) is a historical study of the movements for subaltern sections during the colonial period in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. One of the important characteristics of this work is that it deals with the socio-economic, political and cultural background of the emergence of such movements and their influence on the upliftment of marginalized groups. Along with the analysis of the uprisings of dalits, a detailed account of the emergence of organizations of backward communities is also elaborated in the work.



Raka Ray, Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, 2005, *Social movements in India: poverty, power, and politics*. Social movements have played a vital role in Indian politics since well before the inception of India as a new nation in 1947. During the Nehruvian era, poverty alleviation was a foundational standard against which policy proposals and political claims were measured; at this time, movement activism was directly accountable to this state discourse. In the first volume to focus on poverty and class in its analysis of social movements, a group of leading India scholars shows how social movements have had to change because poverty reduction no longer serves its earlier role as a political template. With distinctive chapters on gender, lower castes, environment, the Hindu Right, Kerala, labor, farmers, and biotechnology, social movements in India will be attractive to students and researchers in many different disciplines.

*Dalit Movements In India: Role Of social Reformers And Its Effects* , Baij Nath Research Scholar, UGC-NET (Law), Department of Human Rights, SLS, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University (A Central University), Lucknow

According to Bajit Nath, The human rights violation in India country is one of the major problems since centuries. The socioeconomic milieu of Indian society is inherently hostile towards protection of human rights of Dalits. It is the caste and Varna system of social stratification which promotes the societal violation of Dalit human rights. The rule laid down by the Hindu law giver, Manu, is that there are only four Varna's of Hindus and there is not to be fifth Varna. The four Varna's are Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Gandhiji and others in their campaign against untouchability contended that untouchables and scheduled Tribes fall under the fourth Varna namely Sudras on the basis of Manu's law of stratification. Dr. Ambedkar has pointed out that this theory is not acceptable because Manu speaks of untouchables as varn-baya which means those outside the Varna system. The four classes of Hindus are called Savarnas while those outside the four classes like the untouchables are called Avarnas. Manu has stated in his smiriti that the dwelling's of the Chandals shall be outside the village, that they must be made 'apapratras' and their wealth shall be dogs and donkeys, their dress shall be the garments of the dead, they shall eat their food in broken dishes and black iron shall be their ornaments, they must wander from place to place and they shall not sleep in villages and towns at nights. It is well known that in villages the untouchables live in separate localities, while other castes live in the main village. It cannot, thus be denied that untouchables are not part of Hindu society and they

must remain separate and segregated. Here the Bajinath says about the, Factors That Led To Dalit Movements, Dalit Movements In Modern India(The modern Dalit Movements finds its origin in 19th century when Dalit began to change their lives and Dalit aspirations began to be taken seriously. Most of the sources materials for the background of the movements were written not by the Dalits themselves but by those foreigners who), Contribution Of Social Reformers, and one of major hw says Effects Of Dalit Movements (Due to the efforts made by the social reformers of before mentioned Dalit movements. Various provisions were laid down in the constitution of India and various other legislations for the upliftment of Dalits so they can live with dignity and security of their persons.)

*Dalit Movements in India: A Perspective from the Below* NANDU RAM Dr. Nandu Ram is Ambedkar (Chair) Professor of Sociology at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. In his study, Dalits in India, earlier known by different nomenclatures, have asserted, through the ages, for their rights of justice and equality, and organised numerous types of movements in several parts of the country. A few of these movements have achieved partial success in their goals but many of them have failed miserably due to reasons like structural rigidity of the Hindu society being eulogised by the religious scriptures, economic vulnerability of the people involved in the movements and the resultant lack of their sustainability along with asserted leadership and so forth. No doubt, even partially successful Dalit movements have left some definite marks on little improvements in socio-religious conditions of the Dalits and proved to be instrumental, at least indirectly, in bringing some changes in others' attitudes and behaviour enabling them to be somewhat liberal and accommodative. At the systemic level, these movements have also created some situations locally which, either separately or through their organic linkages, have forced the society for introspection and for undergoing varieties of changes. This has certainly been coupled with active roles played by other social forces operative at a much wider scale.

This paper analyses the nature and phased development of Dalit movements in India and enquires into the issues raised and fought by them. Besides examining whether these have succeeded in their goal of bringing desired improvements in the socio-religious and economic status of the Dalits (the ex-untouchables) it elucidates how since early times they have generated a considerable degree of social consciousness among them with which they have been resisting against their exploitation and social degradation and also striving for achieving a respectful collective identity in the society. In the process the paper also analyses the

interfaces between caste, class and gender dimensions of Dalit movements in the light of multiple forms of social contradictions existing between Dalits and non-Dalits, on the one hand, and between different sections (castes and status groups) of Dalits, on the other. Finally, it enquires into their effectiveness *qua* ineffectiveness in regard to changing social reality in the contemporary period in India. The paper, thus, analyses these and a few other related issues in the perspective discussed.

*Agrestic Slaves in Cochin State: Perspectives from Pulaya Untouchables in Pre- Colonial and British Rule(2015)* a article by Remani K.K ,in this paper Slavery was very strong in Kerala in the pre-colonial period; the Pulayas or Cherumas were living as slaves, in condition of barbarity and cruelty which defies description. When the British established their supremacy over Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, an agrestic slave was widely prevalent throughout the region. The impact of utilitarianism upon the British government to take drastic measures to abolish slavery. The second half of the 19th century the legal abolition of agrestic slavery in Cochin State buying, selling and possession of slaves were prohibited by law. This alone as we have seen did not release the Pulayas either from their miserable existence or from the hold of their former masters. They had to wait till the dawn of the present century when the winds of change began to blow over Kerala, sweeping away many of the rigid customary practices that had prevailed for generation and shaking the socio-economic order to its roots. A study of the steep road to abolition of their bonded labour of the winds of modern change which swept over the Kerala, the upsurge for human rights and the success in securing a new deal for the Pulayas has a national importance in the perspective of the civil revolution in our country. The transition of the traditional society and the emergence of the modern age had its impact on Kerala society in general and Pulaya community in particular.

*The Social Reform Movements In Kerala: A Role Of Narayana Guru In The Development Of Ezhava Community* (oct 2015) S. ARCHANA in this study ,The traditional Indian society was stratified based on caste. The hierarchical caste society suppressed the lower strata of the social order. Ezhava was one among them, who faced suppression and they started protest against the order with an ideological base of Narayana Guru. The philosophical work of Narayana Guru influenced the Kerala society in different ways. An untiring endurance of Narayana Guru and his Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement (S.N.D.P) brought many changes in the society. The movement established new schools and created new social

idioms for Ezhavas. The movement created a public space for women. The present article discussed about the emergence of Ezhava community and the role of Narayana Guru and S.N.D.P. From this available literature the researcher also used to this materials and relate the S. N.D.P with the KPMS. In the establishment of the KPMS it was the stringest one. KPMS also made lot of changes to the community. They introduced many programmes to the upliftment of the pulaya community. In this study the researcher is look at the current status of the community.

*Education as a Means of Change: Social Changes among the Pulayas of Cochin State.(2016)* a journal by Remani K K , This study emphasizes the contribution of the missionaries in developing education among the depressed classes in Cochin State. The responsibility of the state in imparting free primary education to all irrespective of caste, creed or race had already been officially accepted. It can be traced to a deep –rooted longing for equality in education .Cochin Pulaya Mahasabha intensified its effort to nurture the new vigor and confidence of the Pulaya community. These people to give up their orthodox practices, superstitions and unrefined dress habits. They were not allowed access to public venues and their meetings were held on unused or government land , later they get freedom to travel without restriction. Sabha achieved through a favorable change in the attitude of the privileged community and also awake the lower caste people and brought them back into the mainstream society.

The following news paper report appeared in the India Times on February 5, 2017 is present a news titled “Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha to take out March on Monday”. Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha(KPMS) will organize a march from Ambalamukku to the residence of Kerala Law Academy principal Lekshmi Nair inside the college campus on Monday to protest against the caste discrimination and torture faced by the students. KPMS district president Cheruvakkal Arjunan criticized the delay in arresting Nair who had been accused of caste discrimination among students. "A case has been filed at the Peroorkada police station. The government is trying to sabotage the issue and take it for granted. The students from backward communities have been forced to serve food at her hotel. Despite receiving such serious complaints , police is not taking action," he said, adding that authorities were delaying legal actions in order to help Nair flee the country and avoid arrest.

This news paper report has relevance to present study. It is useful in the further analysis of the study. The researcher also uses this and connects other activities conducted by the KPMS.

In Indian context many Studies on Dalit, Dali movements and Social Reforms have been undertaken, In the context of kerala there are only few studies were done related with KPMS. All of this available literature is made the problems faced by the dalits. And most of the studies revealed that this community want a change in terms of government policies as such measures. KPMS as a movement is help to the pulaya community to overcome their problems and also helped the pulaya people to bring out the mainstream society. With this aim the KPMS is introduced many programmes and activities for the communities. Here the present study is focused on that contemporary analysis of this movement and how its work to the upliftment of the Pulaya community.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Title**

### **KERALA PULAYAR MAHA SABHA (KPMS) AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: A CONTEMPORARAY ANALYSIS**

### **GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION**

What is the current dynamics of KPMS as a prominent social movement of Kerala?

### **SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTION**

1. What is the Organisational Structure of KPMS ?
2. What are the various activities & programmes by KPMS?
3. What is the Leadership Pattern of KPMS?
4. What are the major interventions of KPMS in the region?

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

Ethnographic case study design will be used as deeper understanding of a community based organisations is needed to carry out the study.

### **DATA COLLECTION**

Primary data and secondary data will be used in the study.

Primary Data will be collected from the members and office bearers of the KPMS unit of Venganoor and its 3sub units (Panangode , Venniyoor ,Kattkulam) and the members in the community Secondary data will be collected from Journals, Books Historical and Official documents. The method of data collection is unstructured interview and observation

## **PRESENTATION OF DATA**

The researcher presented the data by starting with a description of the general background of the movement. KPMS are a caste based organisation that has emerged as a social movement all over Kerala. The place chosen for this study is in Venganoor; Venganoor has been described as a very ordinary village near the southern end of Kerala,. It is known as the birthplace of Ayyankali, the great Harijan leader of Kerala. Venganoor is very famous as the birth place of Lord Ayyankali. There were many agitations on the caste system that existed there, from anywhere in the eye of Ayyankali. In 1934, Gandhiji arrived at Venganoor to see Ayyankali. During this visit, Gandhiji visited the school of Ayyankali at Venganoor. Now, Venganoor is a village that has 20 wards. 36,000 people live in 20 wards and 20% of them are Dalits. However, everyone lives together without caste-based differences. Every sector has been developing. Ayyankali was the first to establish a school for Dalits, who were previously denied study, Today there are 6 schools functioning including a CBEC school. There are many families that are backward. Even after having a chance to study, the study will be abandoned by the circumstances in the home. Socially living is like everyone else, but there are a lot of economically and educationally backward ones.

### **Ayyankali and Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham (SJPS)**

Basic information about Ayyankali and SJPS that was collected from given from KPMS's executive member, **Vishwanathan**. He explained the emergence of SJPS and the detailed history of Ayyankali

*"I'll tell you what's on my mind and what I heard. Perhaps those are the information that you've learned and read. To learn about KPMS, the first one should know Ayyankali and the SPJS, because it came from KPMS "*



*School for Dalits Established by AYYANKALI (photo taken on 15/7/2017)*

### **Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha (KPMS)**

The president of the first unit of KPMS said that: SJPS was driving through KPMS. The reason he said:

*“The Gandhiji Called Ayyankali As A Pulaya Raja, The other Dalit castes did not like it This is the beginning. After that, all except the Pulaya community started to leave. After the death of Ayyankali, SPJS stopped functioning completely. Thus, they decided to create an organization for the Pulaya community and other Dalit cast members in Kerala. Thus the KPMS was formed in P.K Chathan Master’s Leadership “*

Kerala Pulayar Maha Sabha (KPMS) was established in 1970 under the leadership of P. K. Chathan Master. He was the leader of Pulayas in Cochin. Many activists of Cochin and Travancore Pulayar Maha Sabhas assembled at Nandavanam school in Trivandrum on 17th March 1968 and decided to establish a unified organization for Pulayas at the state level and a new ‘Ekopana Samithi’ (coordination committee) was formed and which started functioning



soon. The KPMS was formed as the result of the activities carried out through the 'Pulaya Ekopana Samithi' during 1968. P.K. Chathan Master received the active support of the educated and enlightened sections of the Pulaya community, particularly the government employees and young generation in founding the organization. The first branch of the organization was established at Venganoor-the birth place of Ayyankali. P. K. Chathan Master and K. Chandra Sekhara Sastri were the founding president and general secretary respectively

The first branch of the organization was established at Venganoor, **Prabhakaran** the acting secretary's words regarding the current functioning and branches of KPMS

*"We are able to provide the basic information on KPMS. But cannot give an adequate answer to the current form of KPMS and its activities. May be you all well known of the problem in the background of KPMS. KPMS is an organisation which emerged for the upliftment of pulaya community. But now it is splited into many groups. As the split among the political parties Such as **Punnala group, Babu/formal group, Cheruvaikkal group** so on. I am one of the member from the 1<sup>st</sup> branch of KPMS. due to the death of the president and elections not held to select new members to this group its functioning as got affected.*

Another active member, Ashokan spoke on how the organization is failing to achieve its real aims and how the organization is getting more and more politicalised by main stream political parties he said that;

*"Now I do not want to work with this organization. Because it is unable to conduct its regular activities. It is hardly conducting the meeting. Everything is only for the sake. Even though, aim still an executive member of KPMS. There are certain activities which are conducted by certain groups for fulfilling their own purpose only. Nobody is considering the aims and responsibilities of this organization"*  
*"Their organization has a motive to make money in the name of such caste based organizations. I can say that political parties play an important role in this organization. You can also notice it when there is a meeting or any other political occasions. This organization came out of the idea of communist leader. But now it is against the communist party and favoured the interest of other political parties. But the earliest units do not accompany their political parties. Both unit members and commun ity members have the same opinion on this particular issue .*

Mixed reviews were gathered regarding the functioning of KPMS. Certain units in Venganoor village are performing responsibly and sufficient activities for the upliftment of the pulaya community are conducted. Yet, it works in the interest of some political parties as well as showing their strength as an organization. In fact, even though there are a number of activities and programs organized in the name of KPMS, it is not up to the level of standard and commitment which this organization had at its beginning, as a social movement

This is one of the major problems of KPMS, right now they are divided into different groups with the support of different KPMS leaders and some political party. The groups are like **Babu group, Punnala group, cheruvaikkal group** etc..

### **DETAILS OF THE GROUPS**

KPMS groups in the region	Number of units	Formed year	Membership details	
			Number of family registered	Number of total members
FORMAL GROUP/ BABU GROUP	2	1970	260	931
PUNNALA GROUP	2	2013	63	209

## **The Objectives of KPMS**

The first unit executive member elaborates:

The mission of KPMS is the economic development of the community by giving importance to charity activities along with continuing agitation for social justice and for protecting constitutional rights of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The main objectives of KPMS are clearly enunciated in the bye-law of the organization as

1. To solve the social disabilities of the Pulayas and other allied categories of the Pulaya community
2. Achieve their economic, cultural, educational and employ mental growth’.
3. Organization also aims to ensuring the benefits of reservation to SC/ST;
4. KPMS aims to work in close collaboration with other SC/ST communities to protect their common interests; to fight against many uncivilized and expensive customs and traditions of the community
5. To set up of educational institutions, hostels and libraries
6. To increase the job opportunities and higher wages for Pulayas; to publish books, journals, news papers etc to educate the community; to earn money and run institutions for the community etc...”

In Venganoor two groups are working in local units they are formal group of KPMS Babu Group and another one the punnala group of KPMS. In the region 4 local units are working 2 units of punnala KPMS and 2 units of formal group. In this study, the researcher data will be collected from both groups

## **The Organizational Structure of KPMS**

All of the organization has an organizational structure and the organizational structure defines how activities such as task allocation, coordination and supervision direct toward the achievement of organizational aims. As the part of the study the researcher collected information in these lines ,the first unit of the KPMS, the current administrator of the first unit, said, KPMS's organizational structure is as follows

The administrative set-up of KPMS is hierarchically divided into

1. state executive committee
2. district committees
3. Taluk unions
4. branches at the local level(local units)

The state executive committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha at the state level and its members are elected for a term of 3 years. The state committee is composed of 35 members, including the president, general secretary, treasurer, working president, organization secretary, 3 vice-presidents, 3 assistant secretaries etc.

The Pulayar maha Maha Sabha has a patron also. He is the one of the leading leader of KPMS. The district committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha at the district level and its members are elected for a term of 3 years. Coming to the district level and , another important taluk level union and the local branch level union.the administrator , He added that the different dimensions of the district, taluk and local units.

*“KPMS has 9 district committees in the state except at Palakkad, Malappuram, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasargode districts. It shows that in the Malabar region of the state, KPMS has been yet to establish its hold. Comparing different districts, it is found that Alappuzha, Kollam, Ernakulam and Thrissur are the strongholds of KPMS. There is also a vibrant presence of the organization at Thiruvananthapuram, Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, Idukki and Kozhikode districts.”*

He points out that;

*“ Taluk union committee controls the activities of the Maha Sabha at the taluk level and its members are elected for a term of one year. If the number of branches in a taluk union exceeds 50, if necessary, that union may be divided into two or more separate union committees. Branches to form the primary unit of KPMS. The branch committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha in the village or locality and it is elected for a term of one year. A branch may be formed with a minimum number of 25 members. Four or five branches may be functioning in a panchayath where a sizeable number of Pulaya community resides”.*

There are around 3000 branches of KPMS at present and around 4 lakh registered members. The registered state committee office is located at Thiruvananthapuram. This committee is conducting all programs and activities of KPMS all over Kerala. In Venganoor total population of the village is 36000, here 20% are dalits majority pulaya community. So here 4 KPMS units are working, punnala groups 2 units and babu groups 2 unit. The researcher got received idea about the major two groups in KPMS which are playing the pivotal role in the lead of KPMS,

The power of any organization is its members, be it in power and in crisis an organization needs to stand united for its functioning . KPMS first unit president describing the functions and organization of the unit and about the **women participation** in the unit

*“In this unit almost 150 families has been taken membership and there are 350+ women members in the unit. We will organize three meeting in every month. The meeting will be held at the community hall and The Meeting consists of 6 executive members from KPYM , 6 executive members from KPMF and 12 Executive Members of KPMS. An important agenda is calling meetings at proper intervals. Providing assistance in wedding functions and .death functions in the community. As President I will be the Chairman of this Meeting.”*



(Records of members maintained by the unit )

**Various divisions of KPMS**

In the same region another group of KPMS recently formed **Punnala groups** are working. The first group unit members opinion about the Punnala KPMS unit like that;

*“Whether groups have more than one, but all have the same objectives and organizational structure. The quarrels or conflict is taking place between those who are in the position of authority to advocate for the particular rights of the pulaya community. But they are creating a face image among the people by separating that they are working for their community. Both early formed and new units have similar structure and aim. The punnala group has no right to use the name KPMS”*

The punnala group are a separated new group of KPMS. They are working at the same organization name of KPMS which is exclusively KPMS’s right , against this early formed KPMS babu group has filed a case in court. So is the trial going on, but the Punnala group are working in all district of kerala as KPMS.

There are more than 2 units of working except the first unit in this place. One is Punnala Group's KPMS another is early formed formal group Babu Groups new unit. Researcher Enquired whether there was a difference in the organisational structure between the groups. The organizing methods are same as the formal group of KPMS.

*“There are many KPMS groups that do not know where we should be working. So we have no membership yet”*“By referring to the background of early KPMS, one can say about the real actives and programs of KPMS as a pulaya movement. We are not remembering all things. However the activities after 1971 until 20<sup>th</sup> century are part of history. As compared with the present activities in the most part are doing just for a name.”

Divisions of KPMS has weakened the structure of KPMS

### **The Various Activities and Programmes of KPMS**

It is important to discuss the major milestones in the history of KPMS and various programmes organized by the movement during its different stages of growth. It was consistently involved in confronting different problems faced by the community for a long period. As the largest caste organization of dalits, the Sabha also took the lead in collaborating with other dalit organizations to address the varied problems faced by the whole dalit community in the state. KPMS also tried to exert pressure on the government to protect the rights of the community to implement varied welfare schemes and to grant several concessions for the downtrodden castes.

The organization had prepared its first memorandum concerning the various demands of the community on 30th May 1968 and organized agitations to achieve these demands under the aegis of the Harijan Joint Council, Though KPMS has been functioning in the state since 1970, the organization marked a vibrant growth and functioning from 1981 onwards only. The annual conference of KPMS held at Trivandrum in 1981 made certain changes in leadership and elected P.K Raghavan, P.K. Chathan Master and K. Chandra Sekhara Sastri as the president, general secretary and organizing secretary respectively. State conferences of the organization began to be regularly conducted. At that time conducted all programs are the part of Kerala history. The programs very useful to the upliftment of Dalits community

peoples. Coming to the 20<sup>th</sup> century KPMS initiatives and programmes are, The Mahatma Ayyankali Smaraka (MAS) Trust was registered on 19th January 2005 aimed at achieving economic justice for the SCs. It was intended to mobilize the economic resources of the dalit community for establishing educational, cultural and industrial initiatives and thereby to create employment opportunities for the members of the Maha Sabha and SCs in general.

In order to strengthen the economic prosperity of the members of the organisation, KPMS started the

1. '**Panchami**' small savings scheme at the branch level of the organization from December 2007 onwards. The main objective of the scheme was to foster the habit of saving and self-reliance among the members of the Sabha, to prepare finance and other basic factors for establishing self-employment initiatives, to create responsibility to take over such enterprises collectively and at the personal level.

Venganoor formal group of KPMS last year secretary says about the panchami. She says that;

*"Panchami' small savings scheme at the branch level of the organization. The main objective of the scheme was to foster the habit of saving and self-reliance among the members of the Sabha, to prepare finance and other basic factors for establishing self-employment initiatives, to create responsibility to take over such enterprises collectively and at the personal level. This saving scheme is very helpful to our women members of the community and also mens. Now there are many programmes doing under this scheme".*

But the schemes are not working properly today in other units of KPMS especially the formal group of Babu. The panchami scheme started December 2005 Onwards.

The word from the formal babu group member is that;

*"in Venganoor only two units are working they are KPMS's another divided punnala group. The leader punnala sreekumar actively participating in the activities and programmes of under panchami scheme in all over kerala. Because its a chance of publicity and growing their group and the leader. Punnala sreekumar is known as new pulaya raja in the community members".*



President of Venniyoor unit says;

*“ here we have panchami, it is not as much strong as the works and activities of punnala group of KPMS. Last year, there Was a project of kerala government. We have lost that project due to the failure in submitting the report on time. Because, it was a project which spent lakhs of money and we did not have much support and courage to take such a project.”*

It has been the just few details about the background activities and programs of KPMS conducted in starting to 20<sup>th</sup> century. Now all are changes different leaders different groups. So the programmes are also different types.

2. The new units in KPMS are performing notable activities to make their own signature in the history of KPMS. But such units are only working strongly among the areas of Punnala group and among the supporting members of the group. The kattukulam unit is one of punnala group supporting local unit.

3,Activities and programs are the key factor in the emergence of an organization. In the region the first unit and newly formed 1233 number KPMS unit are part of the earliest formed official KPMS group. As the part of the study, the researcher asked the various activities and programs of their groups. first the president of the Venniyoor unit, they replied:

*“Now the groups good in activities, as compared to previous year. We can bring the people together and we are able to work for the needs and rights of people in our community. I have been working in this unit for 10 years. Last year I became a board member of this unit. Being a local unit I try to change my best to combine the people together and to solve the problems of people in my local area. We conduct frequent meeting and in that meeting we will decide the activities and programs of the local unit, as per the needs of women, men, and students. Each unit conducts various programs, besides these programs at the local level. We are also conducting and participating in the programs which can decide in the state committee”.*

#### **4. Works for protecting the rights of the Pulaya community**

*“Now kpms are working for the rights and needs for the sc/st communities and protesting against the atrocities which take place against s/st communities. Moreover, KPMS taking a role in the activities for students to provide the back needs for their education. There are various programs for women, men, and unemployed. KPYM and KPMF are working for*

*youth and women respectively. There is a program called 'Panchami' for unemployed with an aim of self employment for women's*".

The respondent advocates they are performing better activities for their community. At the same the other unit of the early formed formal unit members do not have the same positive opinion on their activities.

The Venganoor first unit executive member has the opinion that;

*"Here, various programs and activities are conducted under the banner of KPMS. But it is doubtful about the positive reach of its benefits. About 50% benefits are not reaching properly to the community. All programs are organizing for, only to show that we are as powerful as other caste based organizations. However, certain programs are very useful for peoples. It depends on the perspectives and interest of the members in the local unit. I am very pity, as a member of this unity, bout the activities of our organization. Yet, I always try to do whatever I can do with the association, for the people"*.

Even though KPMS is conducting many activities and programs but the community members get less benefit out of it. KPMS started and functioning at Venganoor maximum number of members registered is here.. However, the activities organization are of poor quality or the standard it needs to be beneficial to the pulaya community is not met.

*"Due to the difference in ideology and opinion of the leaders of KPMS on how the KPMS should functions, the group got divided. We follow the punnala group because it is they who are working seriously and sincerely for the Pulaya community. That in why the reason behind the origin of 'punnala' group. Now, we have 50 families registered and taken membership. We are trying to do programmes in accordance to the need of the community. We the executive board members are try to planning many activities for the growth of the new punnala group of KPMS"*.

#### **5. Activites for Women empowerment.**

.KPMF(kerala pulayar mahila federation) for the pulaya womens development activities and programmes. These are the main programes under the KPMS. *Like KPYM and PANCHAMI womens are contributing more to the development of KPMF. So theb KPMF has an aim to empower women in this community"*.



## **6.KPYM (Kerala Pulayar Youth Movement)**

The kerala pulayar youth movement has started to include all the youth in the activities and programmes of KPMS. KPYM is becoming a vital sub association of KPMS. The researcher could understand more about this group as the part of this study effectively. Members of the KPMS have shared their opinion on the works of KPYM which were positive. President of the unit has shared like this;

*“KPYM is the strength of KPMS in this locality. Through the immense effort of youth, we can do a lot of things for the common people. When the executive meeting of KPMS holds there will be at least 6 executive members from KPYM. There are conducting various programmes for both men and women.”*

## **7.Activities for educational upliftment of the community**

The secretary of KPYM has shared his words on the various activities, like this:

*“we are more focusing more on education. We are doing various activities for the educational upbringing of the student among us. One of the activities is conducting classes at the community hall at every working days. Moreover, we are organizing PSC coaching classes and combine studies.”*

In fact, KPYM is an important element of KPMS. But it is not same as in other places. For instance, in first branch of KPYM in Venganoor. The activities are not same as at the beginning. It is diminishing. When the researcher made a conversation among the youth in the region, didn't receive positive reviews, they don't really the youth movement seriously.

*“Actually, what is KPYM in fact, i do not know about it. I know that such unit is here, but i do not know much about it. My uncle is the president of KPMS even thought, most of the student didn't get any benefits from this unit.*



*.”( given below is a picture of a recently conveyed meeting of youths under the banner of KPYM)*

Though KPMS is trying to instil its values in the youth, its hardly achieving its targets. Youth are given membership but the shocking reality that the researcher could understand most youngsters don't even know the full form of KPYM.

The teasure of punnala KPYM unit says t;

*“ In fact, i am both in KPMS and KPYM. But i do not know what the exact purposes of this. I have appointed as the treasure when a meeting conducted. From that day onwards no other meetings or programmes conducted in our unit. In truth i do not know the explanation of the full name of the KPYM.”*

## 8. New Social Media Activities of KPMS

KPMS takes initiatives to spread their activities across the community through the new social media like Facebook, Whatsapp and Blog etc... it uses this method as a means to attract more people into KPMS. The two KPMS groups like punnala and Babu groups have their own official pages on facebook. Both have more than 10000 members in that group. This social media helps to promote inform their programmes to the members easily.



## 9. Other activities and Programmes

The other major programme is the state conference of KPMS and KPMS grandly celebrate the birthday & tranceday of Mahathma Ayyankali in Vengannoor. In that day all KPMS units all over kerala came in Vengannoor. June 18 KPMS conduct a programme of Ayyankali trance day celebration, but these programmes organize only one group of KPMS. Just see the poster of the tranceday celebration, in this poster the organizers are the formal babu groups leaders picture are put in the poster. Like this all programmes under the KPMS are organize any other group of KPMS. The other programmes are,

- State conference
- District conference
- Union conference
- Unit annual day celebration
- Membership campaigning

## LEADERSHIP PATTERN

Leadership pattern of KPMS is very vital. It includes the section of leaders and period and their activities. Generally now KPMS has two main groups so the leadership pattern of Taluk and local are divided by the group decisions. Members of punnala and babu groups have the opinion that their decisions are right and they also criticized the activities of other groups.

The president of the Venganoor unit responded that;

*“...we are forming a common panel to select the leaders and if there is any opposition to that panel a new panel I accepting with the opinion of all, sometimes the leaders are same person where leaders were in the previous year, it is according to the decision of executive committee...”*

In the present time KPMS has a support from any political party. A formal group executive member says how the support is about given and how leaders are selected based on the influences of any political party is that;

*“... of course, every group under KPMS is now supporting anyone political party, our formal group is associated with BJP. The punnala group of KPMS is going with and supported by congress party. But this relationship will not affect the leadership, only a common support is there. That's only...”*

The secretary of formal babu group kattukulam has said that;

*“We are selecting the leaders through a democratic way. We nominate the senior member in the group who capable and experienced as a member in the group. Senior members are often nominated as the leader. The ten out of the three will selected as an office barrier to Taluk committee, with the duration of one year. Ret of the members has the same opinion on this. But in the case of punnala group, even though the leadership patterns are same, but the nomination is based on the interest of the state and district leaders.*

Another Executive member of the formal group says about the leadership pattern of the punnala group:

*“They are selected the leaders in the way of politics. The member who is experienced in the KPMS supporting political party the member becomes the leader of local unit. It is the current situation of new KPMS unit’s selection of the leaders; we are not supporting and against this type of KPMS groups. The time period of the selected office barriers of the local units 1 year. After the 1 year another election will be done.”*

Between Political Parties and KPMS are supported by each other. It gives advantages to both. Even though the support does not appear so obviously.

In the case of Venganoor unit, the president says;

*“If you look at the last ward election, Sunil Kumar was a LDF candidate in the pulaya community. There are many number of pulaya category cast in the region, so to win the other political parties BJP and CONGRESS select candidates from the same community. Result of the election the LDF candidate win, but many community votes are goes to the other candidates”*

At the same time the punnala group of KPMS president said that;

*“The state and district committee executive leaders are selected in the conferees of state and district level. In the taluk and local unit leaders are elected by the normal election process. In the selection is based on the democratically experienced members will be selected on the office barriers of KPMS local units. The total executives are 11 in these each 1 member of a unit will be selected for the taluk committee and the time period is 1 or 2 year is the executive members of a local unit.”*

Another member of punnala group opinioned about the influence of leaders as follow;

*“... Our group is supporting congress party, there are benefits for both groups, and sometimes the parties are influencing the selection of leaders too...”*

## PRESENT LEADERS OF THE KPMS UNIT IN THE REGION

NAME OF THE LOCAL UNIT	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY	TREASURER
VENGANOOR (FORMAL)	M. Sundharan	A. Prabhakaran	R. Babu
VENNIYOOR(FORMAL)	Manikantan	Pradeep	Krishnan kutty
VENNIYOOR(PUNNLA GROUP)	Babu	vijayan	shivan
AMBEDKER(PUNNALA)	Abhilash	Aneesh. A	Siva Prasad

The apex body of the KPMS itself is facing conflict and groupism in the name of the leadership and the impact of this conflict are visible in the local units Duality in the administrative. Realm is appearing even in social media such as facebook when KPMS has two official pages. It embraces to prevent the activities of the particular leader. These pages will be promoted by the local body members who are selected by the leader.

### **The Major Interventions Of KPMS In Venganoor**

Two kpms groups are in the region and both are playing a important role inthe community. First of all the recently emerged the punnala groups unit in the region, the group members said their major interventions that are;

*“We are doing all, we can to help the wedding in the community. We will have Chairs for the wedding and the catering. The kpms will helps to solving the community peoples problems, some times interventions in family problems of community members. We are yearly distributed study matierials and give trophy,cash award for who will attaining high marks in sslc and plustwo students in the region. ”*



These are the major interventions of KPMS in the region Venganoor. At the time the early group of KPMS member said that;

*“ in a good time many progmes and interventions we are done in the region. Now nothing like that time, todays all are just for names. We are not doing any spcl interventions because, no people are actively coming and participating in the organization kpms. Just we will help the wedding functions and some other activities”.*

The member in a region is the people who know better the influence and activities and the depth of the activities of KPMS. The members opine that;

*“... In every year KPMS is providing help for a house in which a death occurs, the complete spending of the days is done by KPMS, also help is given at the time of marriage time ...”*

Abot the KPMS major interventions a student says that;

*“...they provide as the study tools for education and prizes for the winners with gud result, the tuition centre under KPMS is very useful to us...”*



Tuition center

KPMS has a strong belief that education is the only factor which caused the upliftment of the pulaya community. So the activities and interventions are focused more on the field of education. Everybody has the sense that only through education, we can upgrade our status. To attain better marks and education students are depending more on tuition centres along with the school education. But some time, students from the SC communities are failing to attain such education due to high fees in their educational institutions. Therefore, KPMS started to provide education by efficient teachers at the community hall for the economically backward students in this community, consequently the results of the students have increased.

Another person says that;

*“... They are doing the things that are according to the interest of leaders, people have no any benefit of it...”*

*We have lost interest in it, they should leave the concept of caste and work for community that is good according to us..”*

#### MARRIAGE FUNCTIONS ORGANISED UNDER KPMS

Apart from the above mentioned activities and interventions of KPMS, it has also taken initiative to conduct marriage ceremonies. About 22 marriage ceremonies have been conducted within the last five years. After the rituals like thalikettu and registration at the “Ayyankali smarithi mandapam” at Venganoor, KPMS is also providing the marriage certificates.



**കേരള പുലയർ മഹാസഭ (KPMS)**  
 Reg. No. S. 13/70. H.O. നന്ദാവനം, വികാസ് ഭവൻ പി.ഒ., തിരുവനന്തപുരം  
 മനസ് സെക്രട്ടറിയുടെ പേരും ഒപ്പും

**വിവാഹ രജിസ്റ്റർ**

ക്രമ നമ്പർ	വിവരങ്ങൾ	പുരുഷൻ	സ്ത്രീ
1	പുരുഷന്റെ പേരും മേൽവിലാസവും	പുരുഷൻ J S കുറുപ്പൻ വേലായുധൻ കുറുപ്പൻ മഹാലക്ഷ്മി	സ്ത്രീയുടെ പേരും പിറ പ്പത്തും, പിറ പ്പത്തും, പിറ പ്പത്തും
2	ജനന തീയതിയും വയസ്സും	11-7-1945	15-10-1935
3	തൊഴിൽ	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
4	മതം / സമുദായം	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
5	മാതാവിന്റെ പേര്	മുൻപ്	R. മുൻപ്
6	പിതാവിന്റെ പേര്	മുൻപ്	T. മുൻപ്
7	മതപരീക്ഷണത്തിന്റെ പേരും മേൽവിലാസവും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
8	ശാഖാസമിതിയിൽ അംഗ നമ്പർ / സെൽ നമ്പർ	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
9	പുരുഷൻ വിവാഹമെങ്കിൽ ആദ്യ വിവാഹം എങ്ങനെ ഭംഗിഞ്ഞു എന്ന്	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
10	വിവാഹ പുതിയതല്ലെന്ന്	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
11	വിവാഹ തീയതിയും സ്ഥലവും സമയവും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
12	ബ്രാ / വിവേകമുള്ളതല്ല	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
13	വയുവിൻ ഒപ്പിട്ട സംഭാവന / സമ്മാനങ്ങളുടെ വിവരങ്ങൾ	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
14	വിവാഹത്തിന് കാരണികത്വം വഹിച്ച പുരുഷന്റെ പേരും ഒപ്പും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
15	സാക്ഷികളുടെ പേരും ഒപ്പും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
16	വിവാഹ രജിസ്റ്റർ ചെയ്ത ശാഖാ സെക്രട്ടറിയുടെ പേരും ഒപ്പും മേൽവിലാസവും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്
17	യൂണിയൻ സെക്രട്ടറിയുടെ പേരും ഒപ്പും മുദ്രയും	മുൻപ്	മുൻപ്

Kairaniam Deepuraj  
 KPMS Union Secretary  
 Tvm.

Marriage register maintained by KPMS unit

## **DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS**

The present study aims at understanding “Empowerment of Dalits and the role of KPMS as a movements in KPMS appropriate .From its inception to the present day the dynamics of KPMS has changed drastically Today KPMS is working with several sub divisions within its. The groups such as Babu Group’; the Punnala group emerged from it. These are two groups working for pulaya community.

The first unit of KPMS started in Venganoor. This unit still working with good membership.A problem which affecting the work of KPMS is the competition between groups. The major challenge that faced by KPMS is working with the various sub groups.There are four units in Venganoor region. Two of formal group and the other two of the ‘ Punnala’ group.

One of the major findings of the present study is that KPMS is working with competition from various units which is weakening the KPMS organization. Present study focusing on the first unit in Venganoor as well as the other units in the region. The respondents to the specific question included office barriers in four units as well as members. The analysis part including the data collected from the interview with the former leaders also the current leaders also details of the interaction with the community members. The data acquired through observation are also included.

KPMS has an organization structure like other organization. It is included the administrative set up, conducting meeting, membership, roles, etc... Even though KPMS is working in various groups, the organizational structures of the groups are same. The works are hierarchically divided an administrative setup State, District, Taluk and committees. The primary units of KPMS following this system still the leading of the Punnala group is done by the owner. The administrative set-up of KPMS is hierarchically divided into state executive committee, district committees, Taluk unions and branches at the local level. The state executive committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha at the state level and its members are elected for a term of 3 years. The state committee is composed of 35 members, including the president, general secretary, treasurer, working president, organization secretary, 3 vice-presidents, 3 assistant secretaries etc. The Pulayar maha Maha Sabha has a patron also. He is the one of the leading leader of KPMS. The district committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha at the district level and its members are elected

for a term of 3 years. Coming to the district level and , another important taluk level union and the local branch level union. Taluk union committee controls the activities of the Maha Sabha at the taluk level and its members are elected for a term of one year. If the number of branches in a taluk union exceeds 50, if necessary, that union may be divided into two or more separate union committees. Branches to form the primary unit of KPMS. The branch committee coordinates the activities of the Maha Sabha in the village or locality and it is elected for a term of one year here 4 KPMS units are working, Punnala groups 2 units and Babu groups 2 unit. The researcher got received idea about the major two groups in KPMS which are playing the pivotal role in the lead of KPMS,

. Among the organization likes SNDP, which formed as part of the ezhava movement. Its activities as a social movement has vital role in the upliftment of the community. They have a fundamental root of working. One organization structure is an important part of its activities. That is what KPMS is lacking today, which is making KPMS weak compared to SNDP. The functional organizational structure of KPMS is coordinated by the leaders in the group. The control of Formal group(sub group) is done by KPMS president and secretary. The Punnala group is controlled by the Parton. The power of any organization is its members; this is the same with the organization, power.. In first unit has registered 200 families and another formal group Kattukulam in this unit almost 150 families has been taken membership and there are 350 plus women members in the unit. They will organize three meeting in every month. The meeting will be held at the community hall and The Meeting consists of 6 executive members from KPYM, 6 executive members from KPMF and 12 Executive Members of KPMS. An important agenda for calling a meeting, wedding death in the community. .The quarrels or conflict taking place between those who are in the position of power in these groups is a current issue now.. But they are creating a fake face image among the people by separating that they are working for their community. Both early formed and new units have similar structure and aim. The Punnala group is illegally using the name KPMS , to fake an image in the community and amass popularity.

The lack of organizational structure and proper planning. It is a major issue at KPMS and its results are reflected in its activities. These disputes regarding the leadership and the corruption in the activities are reasons for the division of groups. Even there is a case in the High Court is regarding the issue.

Activities and programs are the key factor in the emergence of an organization. Another specific research question was regarding the various activities and programmes of KPMS. The activities of KPMS were analyzed from the activities in the units of Venganoor. The office barriers and members respond differently regarding the activities in four units fewer than two groups.

The activities of the first unit of the formal group of KPMS was not much good as earlier, still their activities are use full for the community members. But the another unit of formal group of KPMS god in their activities and programmes. they can bring the people together and able to work for the needs and rights of people in the community. The unit conduct frequent meeting and in that meeting they will decide the activities and programs of the local unit, as per the needs of women, men, and students. Each unit conducts various programs, besides these programs at the local level. And the formal group local units are also conducting and participating in the programs which can decide in the state committee. But it is doubtful about the positive reach of its benefits. About 50% benefits are not reaching properly to the community. All programs are organizing for, only to show that we are as powerful as other caste based organizations. However, certain programs are very useful for peoples. It depends on the perspectives and interest of the members in the local unit. Even though formal group KPMS Venganoor first unit conducting many activities and programs but the community members get less benefit out of it. KPMS started and functioning at Venganoor, its first unit it has the maximum number of members registered under it. However, the activities organized here have either quality or the standard it needs to be beneficial to the pulaya community.

As the Punnala group is a unit there, the venniyoor unit presented Punnala's activities very badly. According to Punnala group they are working well than the earlier group of KPMS than the earl years. As they are a new unit, their activities are like focusing the mind of people. Another specialty is that Punnala group started their activities. Still not many changes are happening in the community.

The competition between groups is the main reason for having various units in the same place. And their activities are becoming like they need a name there not for the good of community. Even the leaders have only 50% of assurance regarding the welfare of community through their activities. According to the communities activities of units are for their help and needs, but at the same time units are only aiming to organize people and

increase their popularity, through the process of observation it was found that some community members are not satisfied in the working of some units.

The women and youth participation in any organisational activities is very huge. Which are KPMS group they many belong. The KPMS some major programmes are KPYM(kerala pulayar youth movement) for the youth, KPMF(kerala pulayar mahila federation) for the pulaya womens development activities and programmes and finally PANCHAMI named a self employment scheme. These are the main programes under the KPMS. But still a question is arising there regarding the success of these. Even some of the members in KPYM and KPMF don't know what its aim is and for what ifs formed.

The kerala pulayar youth movement has started to include all the youth in the activities and programmes of KPMS. KPYM is becoming a vital sub association of KPMS. KPYM is the strength of KPMS in this locality. Through the immense effort of youth, they can do a lot of things for the common people. When the executive meeting of KPMS holds there will be at least 6 executive members from KPYM. There are conducting various programmes for both men and women. KPYM activities are more focusing more on educational upbringing of the student among us. One of the activities is conducting classes at the community hall at every working day. Moreover, organizing PSC coaching classes and combine studies. In fact, KPYM is an important element of both two groups of KPMS. But it is not same as in other places. For intense, in first branch of KPYM in Venganoor. The activities are not same as at the beginning. It is diminishing. Also the KPMS punnala local units will start KPYM in their units, for attracting the youths for KPMS. Actually the youths in the region don't know about the KPYM. They are members in the programme but the peoples do not get any benefit in it. This is the current situations of KPYM in the rgions majority unit. Only one unit will conduct proper activitsy to the youths. That unit is formal group of KPMS venniyoor unit.

In order to strengthen the economic prosperity of the members of the organisation, KPMS started the 'Panchami' small savings scheme at the branch level of the organization from December 2007 onwards. The main objective of the scheme was to foster the habit of saving and self-reliance among the members of the Sabha, to prepare finance and other basic factors for establishing self-employment initiatives, to create responsibility to take over such enterprises collectively and at the personal level. This saving schem is very helpful to our women members of the community and also mens. Now many programes doing under the scheme.todays In the case of panchami is also like the KPYM. the scheme not working

properly today in other units of KPMS especially the formal group of Babu. The leadership is the main problem here no one take responsibility to conduct activities under the scheme. Because the panchami working the Venganoor units just for name.

The other major programme are the state conference of KPMS and KPMS grandly celebrate the birthday & tranceday of Mahathma Ayyankali in Venganoor. In that day all KPMS units all over kerala came in Venganoor. June 18 kpms conduct a programme of Ayyankali tranceday celebration, but these programmes organize only one group of KPMS.

Another major findings of the study is the KPMS of Venganoor village units are unable to conduct its regular activities. It is hardly conduct the meeting. Everything is only for the sake. Even though, aim still an executive member of KPMS. There are certain activities which are conducted by certain groups for fulfilling their own purpose only. Nobody is considering the aims and responsibilities of this organization. But in contrast to this certain unit in Venganoor village are performing responsible and sufficient activities for the upliftment of the pulaya community especially formal groups venniyoor local unit . other units are works in the interest of some political parties as well as showing their strength as an organization. In fact, even though there are a number of activities and programs organized in the name of KPMS, it is not up to the level of standard and commitment which this organization had at its beginning, as a social movement.

Coming to another specific question the respondents answered the leadership pattern of the organization KPMS. Leadership pattern is a defined way of approaching a position of authority sends executing managerial task. There are many leadership roles, depending on the circumstances. And there is just coinciding leadership style. Just follow these guidelines to choose a leadership pattern. The researcher asked this question to understand the selection process, role and the service period of the leaders.

The leadership pattern of KPMS is very vital. It includes the selection of leaders, service period and their roles. Now KPMS has two main groups. So the leadership patterns of the two groups are also different, Taluk and local units are divided by the group decision. The members of Punnala and Babu Groups are said that their decision is right and they also criticized the activities of other groups. In the first group and the first unit of Venganoor KPMS members responds the selection of leaders. At first they are forming a common panel to select the leader and if there is any opposition to that a new panels a new panel accepting with the opinion of all. Sometimes the leader is the same person in the previous year, and it is according to the decision of the executive committee. At the time the other group of KPMS



Punnala, their local leader's selection was also like the formal group panel or experienced service person becomes the leader and executive member.

The ten of the three will selected as an office barrier to Taluk committee with the duration of one year. The Rest of the members have the same opinion on the question. Under the KPMS method the service period of the leaders is one year, but the acceptance of the executive committee and the state committee the leader becomes more years to lead the unit. The role of the leaders of the both groups, the district committee coordinates the activities of Kerala Pulayar Mahasaabha at the district level and its members elected for a term of three years. Taluk union controls the activities at Taluk level. The branch coordinates the activities of the KPMS in the village locality. In Venganoor village have four units. The role assign by the unit leaders to conduct various programmes and activities at the local units.

But here the selection of the leaders and their coordinating of local unit programme are not working very well. Leadership error see in the initiating the programmes and activities. Lack of the correct leadership pattern is another major problem of KPMS. This where political parties are taking advantage in KPMS.

In KPMS the political parties play a crucial role in the selection of leader, leaders and e other programs and activities of the organization. As a Dalit movement a Dalit organization, we know that there are political interventions in the political parties. The 'Dalit politics' of mainstream political parties are primarily aimed at protecting their own interests rather than that of Dalits. They count Dalits merely as a vote bank and are discriminated at different levels within the party. They are not given crucial roles in the party leadership or in the decision-making process. As part of caste discrimination, domination by the upper castes is prevalent in the party. Besides, though the role of Dalit political parties is crucial in empowering Dalits politically, their influence among the Dalit masses is not widespread or potent enough. They are often unable to stand united and the disunity among organizations constitutes a major problem in tackling different Dalit concerns. They often fail in politically mobilizing the people or in organizing diverse and frequent agitations and protests. Consequently, their political interventions often tend to concentrate on conscientization programs. However, recently there is growing tendency among dalit masses to organize and transform themselves into a politically empowered people. The emerging concept of dalit communitarian politics is a positive sign of their growing political consolidation. Thus the

present chapter, based on the analysis of the role of Dalit movements and Dalit politics, looks into their real potential and limitations in empowering Dalit society.

In the political party influence and interventions also seen in the in selection of leaders. The every group under the KPMS (Babu& punnala) are supported anyone political party. The formal babu group associated with the BJP and the Punnala group of KPMS is supported by the congress party. Some units of both two groups working fully with the support of political parties. The leaders will be selected by the politicians. The support will helps to the KPMS groups to financially and ideology.

Between Political Parties and KPMS are supported by each other. It gives advantages to both Even though the support does not appear so obviously. If you take the matter of election and voting, without the support the candidate of any political party will not succeed. Especially the pulaya community has their one of the pressure group. So the time of election was going on the political parties like BJP, congress give to KPMS a written request for voting the candidate. Because they know the value of community members vote. But all units are not suggesting voting for a party, because it will be way to the inner division of the unit.

The apex body of the KPMS itself is facing conflict and groupism in the name of the leadership and the impact of this conflict are visible in the local units Duality in the administrative. Another major finding of the study is the lack of the proper leadership pattern.

An intervention is the act of inserting one thing among others, like a person trying to help. Here the researcher understood the major intervention of the KPMS in the region. Two KPMS groups are in the region and both are playing an important role in the community. In a good time, many progms and interventions KPMS are done in the region, like the land issue, house build for the community members, financial help etc. but in today's the interventions are less because they fail in conduction value programs and activities for the community.

The major interventions of the KPMS the first unit of KPMS Venganoor, they are helping the wedding in the community and give Chairs for the wedding and the catering. The KPMS will helps to solve the community people's problems, sometimes interventions in family problems of community members. Yearly distributed study materials and give trophy, cash award for who will attain high marks in SSLC and PLUSTWO students in the region. This is the interventions of KPMS in the region. Another group also does the same interventions in the community. Major intervention is noticed in the community is the free tuition centre for the students and the conduction marriage ceremonies for the community peoples.

In the view point of the researcher, the interventions of an organization in current very lesser than the previous years. Also the community members and the office barriers of the venganoor's local units point outed they have conduct programs and activities, but its benefits to the community is a very less .. Anyone looking out from outside will not be able to understand this, Because the outside image of KPMS is an a strong organization.. But inside in the KPMS going groups competitive match. It doesn't lead to a strong and healthy relationship between the organization and the community peoples. Finally the researcher understood from the community peoples with the interaction and observation that the people don't like being part of the organization, which indicates that in the contemporary times such Dalit movements are failing to achieve its targets.

## CONCLUSION

Today the KPMS is considered by other as an organizations which works at all spheres of the life of pulaya community. But, at the end of this study, the researcher could understand that the problems within this organization and its weak internal structure. In the Venganoor region, there are two groups of KPMS. Researcher could find that if they unite as one group, KPMS will become a stronger popular organization working for its real goals

The strength of every organization is youth and women. But, today the participation of youth and women in KPMS is decreasing. The researcher could not find out any active programmes or activities for the upliftment of these two groups. This cause the decrease in the membership of women and youth in KPMS. This internal conflicts and lack of good programmes and activities are due to the absence of efficient leader and leadership in general body and local units of KPMS. KPMS can exist and survive in these modern times only through a good leader and leadership.

There are political influences in the selection of leaders and its other activities. It gives benefits to both parties. However, different units of KPMS support various political parties. There, it exists as a political identity. The objectives of KPMS are to bring out the Dalits, especially the pulaya community to the main stream of the society. But the initiatives are hardly reflective of its role .But the local units in Venganoor region contrary to assumptions make notable contributions to the development of pulaya community. Due to the participation of members of this unit, its work is effective. Today, the initiatives of KPMS in the community are decreasing. Yet role of KPMS In Empowerment of Dalits even today is of high relevance.

## **LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

This present study on “kerala Pulayar maha sabha(KPMS) was carried out in the midst of some limitations. There was difficulty to getting the documents from the units. Another one is Lack of existing studies on this movement was yet another limiting factor. So, the primary data was the only source of information.

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