

PORTRAYING WEAKER SECTIONS VIS-À-VIS INDIA'S URBAN SOCIAL SPACE: MANIFESTATIONS FROM JAMMU CITY IN THE STATE OF J&K

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Abstract: *Defining urban space as modern assumes that there is a complete annihilation of the traditional space in the city. Interestingly, the post-modernity constructs a different notion of the space. With the introduction of modern urbanization in India, significant changes occurred in different areas of traditional urban, social and cultural life. The present work thus explores the social space of a traditional Indian city (here Jammu city, in the state of J&K) and similar aspects with special reference to the location of lower castes areas, history of their settlement and strategies of assertion and relationships changes. One may deduce that historically, the so called scheduled castes were residing in the periphery of the Jammu town but with the gradual pace of urbanization they have become part of the main city today.*

Key words: *Urban social space, Weaker section, Caste, Weaker sections, Jammu city*

Backdrop:

Development in the modern context connotes that all the advances in science and technology, democracy, values and societal organization fuse into the mega humanitarian project of producing a far better world. In its stronger sense, development means using the productive resources of the society to improve the quality of life of the peripheral people. In true sense, development means improving the conditions of life. Majority of developing countries thus provide a great deal of emphasis on creating and

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strengthening infrastructure facilities and reflecting development as higher expectations of the material welfare. These expectations are generally crystallized at the level of planners and policy makers and it is the experience of many that such expectations do not find affirmation through the responses of the people on whom such a benefit is meant to be bestowed. The proponents of alternative development feel that the chasm between the perceptions of the people at large seems to be widening. It is seen that in the dominant development paradigm economic development is considered to be synonymous with large projects and thus excluding the 'marginalized' communities. Seeing development in terms of the substantive freedom of people has far-reaching implications for our understanding of the processes of development and also for the ways and means of promoting it. On the evaluative side, this involves the need to assess the requirements of development in terms of removing the unfreedom from which the members of the society may suffer. The process of development, in this view, is not essentially different from the history of overcoming these unfreedoms. While this history is not by any means unrelated to the process of economic growth and accumulation of physical and human capital, its reach and coverage goes much beyond these variables. In focusing on freedom versus evaluative development, it is not being suggested that there is some unique and precise "criterion" of development to which the different development experiences can always be compared and ranked. Given the heterogeneity of distinct components of freedom as well as the need to take note of different persons' versus diverse freedoms, there will often be arguments that go in contrary directions. The motivation underlying the approach of "development as freedom" is not so much to order all states- or all alternative scenarios- into one "complete ordering," but to draw attention to important aspects of the process of development, each of which deserves attention. Even after such attention is paid, there will no doubt remain differences in possible overall rankings, but their presence is not embarrassing to the purpose at hand.

It should be clear from the above discussion that the term 'freedom' here is

being felt on the lines of equality and liberty to all sections of society, be it Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or any other minority. It involves not only the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions, but also the actual opportunities that people have, in spite of their personal and social circumstances. Unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes (such as the violation of voting privileges or other political civil rights) or through inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve (including the absence of such elementary opportunities as the capability to escape premature mortality or preventable morbidity or involuntary starvation). It is very important to see freedom in a sufficiently broad way. It is necessary to avoid confining attention only to appropriate procedures (as so-called libertarians sometimes do, without worrying at all about whether some disadvantaged people suffer from systematic deprivation of substantive opportunities), or, alternatives that bring the opportunities about or the freedom of choice that people have). Both processes and opportunities have importance of their own, and each aspect relates to seeing development as freedom. While presenting empirical studies; Sen (1999) discuss a number of instrumental freedoms that contribute, directly or indirectly, to the overall freedom i.e. people have to live the way they would like to live. Thus, diversities of the instruments involved are quite extensive. According to Sen, the freedom can be viewed on three parameters viz: - political freedom, economic freedom and social freedom.

Speaking about the contemporary conception of space, the post-modern construction reflects it as a blurred reality governed by fuzzy logic (despite the fact that the logic of urban space continues to be governed by instrumental rationality). The post-modern concept of the urban space has veiled and hidden much more than what the modernist discourse did a little earlier. The market creates differentiation on the basis of the exchange value of the commodity that an individual possesses. Thus what we find is that certain features on the basis of class, as the term has come to exist to denote urban community, characterize the urban neighborhood. The conflicting

currents in modernism spawn both explicit dialectical tensions and less deliberate inconsistencies. 'Far from abandoning modernity, we are experiencing its intensification and acceleration, indeed globalization, with its procedures reaching deep into patterns of cultural transmission. This is not to deny that mutations have taken place: the ongoing dynamic of modernity certainly has dissolved its older forms and the blinkered belief in technological progress is widely challenged. It is now broadly accepted that cultural (and scientific) outlooks are constructed and negotiated. Modernization is transgressed in its willingness to destabilize tradition, but has a bland uniformity in its ability to turn difference into equivalence, to make objects fungible. Modernization can also be characterized by an awareness of history as opposed to awareness of tradition. History is the rapid transformation of space by time and tradition is the re-assertion of space outside time.... .' (Gupta, 2000). His understanding clearly points towards negation of rural space in the process of modernization; whereas it is quite possible that non-contemporaneous formation may simultaneously co-exist. Defining urban space as modern assumes that there is a complete annihilation of the traditional space in the city. Interestingly, the post-modernity constructs a different notion of the space.

Indian society is said to be caste-ridden in whatsoever form caste exists, whether in old or new or even newer form. It is to be emphasized that Indian social structure has always been marked by resilience concerning Indian traditions but it should not mean as complete overhauling of the structure of Indian society. One may however, observe that India is changing rapidly, industrialization and urbanization growing exponentially, and yet our distinctly un-modern attitude still conditions our social relations. 'Modernity has been mis-recognized in India because of the tendency to equate it with technology and with other contemporary artifacts. The possession of modern technology, however, does not always signal modernity. Modernity has to do with attitudes, especially those that come into play in social relations. A study of urban social structure and organization, apart from contributing to a fuller understanding of

Indian social institutions, has relevance in the context of wider theoretical problems. Sociologists focus sharply on the study of urbanism and urbanization in terms of structural and organizational aspects, and of processes of social change. The ecological approach well known as the Chicago School, had assumed a significant place in urban studies in the thirties in different parts of the world. While Park and McKenzie considered the city as representing an externally organized unit in space produced by laws of its own, Burgess treated the growth of the city in terms of its physical expansion and differentiation in space.’ (Rao, 1974). With the introduction of modern urbanization in India, significant changes occurred in different areas of traditional urban, social and cultural life. Hence it is necessary to investigate what has happened to such major social institutions such as caste, marriage, family, religion and politics. It is also necessary to investigate what are the factors responsible for migration of people into towns and cities? What happens to the people who migrate? How do they adjust themselves to the city life and become a part of it?

Jammu city, the winter capital of Jammu & Kashmir State is an important historic centre. It has experienced phenomenal growth in the last three decades and has gained tremendous commercial, social, and political significance. Its physical and population growth reflects its rising role in the regional economy, polity, and culture. The city has a history of mass migrations in different times; the most recent being the influx of Kashmiri Pundits from Kashmir Valley in 1989-90. Besides, it has been receiving a slow flow of people from the surrounding region. It has traditionally been a multi-religious and multi-castes urban settlement. Against this backdrop, the present paper is an attempt at analyzing the matrix of weaker sections vis-à-vis other caste groups in the city and urban social space. How do various caste groups interact with the scheduled castes? What are the physical locality of scheduled castes and their neighborhood in the city? Are scheduled castes still secluded, exploited and discriminated in the urban space? Do city and urban social space reflect the freedom, equality and mobility of the weaker sections? The present work thus explores the

social space of a traditional Indian city (here Jammu city) and similar aspects with special reference the location of lower castes areas, history of their settlement, strategies of assertion and relationships changes. The present paper also highlights the relevant review and status of scheduled castes in the State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), especially Jammu region.

City life ramifications of Urban Space:

Many of the basic problems in societies stem from the attempts by one dominant section to displace another from power, and from the domination and exploitation of one section by another. How certain groups come to occupy positions of domination and others are relegated to subordinate positions are important questions of social and historical inquiry. As referred by D'Souza¹, urbanization is one of the major forces of our times, changing and restructuring social reality in its own characteristic forms and throwing up social problems stamped with its own peculiarities. Although urbanization has a rather long history over 5,000 years, it became a major force in history only during the last 200 years or so when, coupled with industrialization, it began to make rapid strides and brought about large-scale and fundamental changes in society.

'The theory of urbanization refers to the positive aspects of urbanization as a process of development. Starting with the assumption that a city comes into being to fulfill the needs of its region, the theory of organization propounds a symbiotic relationship between the rural and the urban areas. There is thus an intimate interdependence between the city and its region, the latter giving sustenance to the former and the former triggering the growth of the latter, resulting in an integrated rural-urban development.' (D'Souza, 1975). Attention may be paid to some of the important details about the differences in rural-urban population composition, which

¹ See Sandhu, R.S. (eds.). 2003. *Urbanization in India- Sociological Contributions*, New Delhi: Sage Publication.

seem to underlie much of the social tension in our country. First, in every region the religious minorities of the region are over-represented in the urban areas. Second, the higher castes, except the cultivating ones, have more than their share in the urban population (NSS 14th Round); conversely, the Backward and Scheduled Castes are under-represented to a great extent (ibid.).

Speaking about the understanding of 'city', Aristotle's defense of the naturalness of the city may seem so straightforward as not to need a careful study. It is brief; it occurs only once and so takes only one shape; it is typical of what we think we know about Aristotle, for it tries to present both a noble defense of the city and one which grants it generous authority over the individual; and it is often summarized in more or less the same way. The very first sentence of the Politics asserts that the city is the supremely authoritative association, that it encompasses all other associations, and that it aims at the most authoritative good. But if Aristotle begins by thus seeming to confirm the city's authority, he immediately proceeds to point out that some deny that the city is truly as authoritative as he has declared.

Aristotle's account of the natural genesis of the city traces the city's ancestry to two associations which are said to be formed out of necessity. The first of these is the association of male and female; the second is that between the "naturally ruling and ruled." What most needs to be stressed about these associations is that neither simply describes the relationship between two human beings. Aristotle emphasizes that the coming together of male and female is hardly unique to human beings; it extends to plants as well as animals. He notes that this account of the growth of the city is relatively silent about man's role as cause and beneficiary of this growth. It does not derive the city's naturalness from its contributions to the complete human life. Of course man's needs must lie behind the growth of the city, but Aristotle does not yet put them in the fore-front. We see an emphasis on the completeness of the city rather than on that of men in the city. The city is seen at first not as a creature of men's needs but as a natural creature with a life of its own. If man is related to the city as part to

whole, it would seem that the superior and natural being which is the city must guide the lives of the men who are its parts².

Sociologically, Weber makes a distinction between the economic and the politico-administrative concepts of the city, yet he tends to cover most of the aspects of the fundamental differences between the city and village as well as modern city and the pre-modern city (that would include the ancient town and the medieval cities). Four major characteristics emerge from the reading of Weber's views on the nature of modern city. These are density of settlements, impersonality, permanent market and administrative set up. The variation in the ideal existence of the four characteristic determine the character of medieval cities, oriental cities and the modern western cities (Weber 1958). Park who wrote his article in the 1920's belonged to a different tradition of sociological imagination. For him the city is "a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and the transmitted with this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is the product of nature and particularly of human nature." (Park & Burgess, 1967). Braudel (1981), as a historian has dealt with the evolution of cities in the historical and comparative perspective. He makes it clear that the city presents a complex division of labour, but the foremost feature of the city is the market. Without market there cannot be a town. City also symbolizes power.

The empirical approach to the definition of the city entails the identification of measurable indicators, which is convenient device to identify the process of transition of rural areas into an urban one, particularly in developing countries like India. A city in India is looked upon as an arena for the development of different dimensions of Great traditions. To Rao (1974) in India, since different civilization flourished at different points of time in the past, the traditional cities reflect the social organization

² See Ambler, W.H. 1985. 'Aristotle's Understanding of the Naturalness of the City', *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (April), pp. 163-185.

of not one but a plurality of civilization in their interaction. To him, the cities existed in and beyond the Indus Valley as early as about 2500 BC. The noted ones were Harappa in Punjab, Mohenjodaro in Sind, Halar and Lothal in Saurashtra and Telod near Narmada. Of these, Mohenjodaro clearly revealed many features of urbanism. It is possible to deduce from the physical features of these cities a high civic intelligence, systematic town-planning, and differentiation of functions To Ghurye³ of Great cities, India had seventy-five in 1951. Even though the number of great cities may be relatively small, they can discharge their socio-economic functions so as to serve their country more or less properly.

One may observe that theorizing the city is a necessary part of understanding the changing post-industrial, advanced capitalist, postmodern moment in which we live. The city as a site of everyday practice provides valuable insights into the linkages of macro-processes with the texture and fabric of human experience. The city is not the only place where these linkages can be studied, but the intensification of these processes – as well as their human outcomes – occurs and can be understood best in cities. Thus, the ‘city’ is not reification but the focus of cultural and socio-political manifestations of urban lives and everyday practices (Low, 1996).

With the emergence of the Chicago School in the 1920s and 1930s and the development of an urban ecological perspective, the city is viewed as made up of adjacent ecological niches occupied by human groups in a series of concentric rings surrounding a central core. Class, occupation, world view and life experience are coterminous with an inhabitant’s location within these niches. Social change occurs through socioeconomic transitions, with each group replacing the next in an outward spiral. The image of the ethnic city, which has deep historical roots, focuses on ethnic politics and ethnically based urban social movements. The ethnographies that portray the differences in the structure of opportunity, access to power by generation, location of headquarters and subsidiary relations, and self-conscious creation of collective

³ See Rao, M.S.A (eds.). 1974. *Urban Sociology in India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman. Pp 178.

identities define the parameters of group success and failure in the urban model. There are two dominant streams of research: a) studies of the ethnic city as a mosaic of enclaves economically, linguistically, and socially self-contained as a strategy of political and economic survival; and b) studies of ethnic group that may or may not function as enclaves but that are defined by their location in the occupational structure, their position in the local immigrant social structure, their degree of marginality, or their historical and racial distinctiveness as the basis of discrimination and oppression. Studies of urban ethnic communities provide important insights into collective ethnic politics (ibid.).

The cultural meaning of Urban Space reflects an attempt to understand “the meaning of urban spaces through the knowledge of the people who live within them”. The studies are characterized by the search for the underlying social and cultural values and power politics that give form and meaning to the cityscape and the built urban environment. McDonogh’s ethnography of “emptiness” provides an evocative theoretical category that marks not an absence of urbanness but a zone of intense competition that betrays the imposition urban power. Low focuses on the historical emergence of spatial meanings of power relations in the Spanish American plaza, while others are concerned with the symbolic mapping of contested arenas of urban social interaction such as privacy, neighbourhood and schooling. Research on the design of housing and place attachment to urban space also contribute to this ongoing venture (ibid).

Simultaneously, modernity defined and explicated in the western mould simply and, sometimes in a complex jargon, signifies the industrial-capitalist rationality. Since in capitalism man appears as a possessor of commodity and in the case of worker his labour power is commodity, his primary objective and concern is to dispose of his possession in the market situation as exchange value. Capitalism thus enables the individual to transcend his all other positions and identities by transforming him into an objectified subject. Seen from this perspective of the capitalist rationality,

there is an inbuilt assumption that the market, which gives identity to the city as both the place of commodity circulation and centre of power, provides uniformity to its structure and functions that is linked with the logic of capitalism.

In the construction of the urban space in the capitalist modern societies, the notion of class has been the governing principle of locating and situating people. Three forms of examination of the urban space have emerged. In the first place, the urban space was defined as something enumerable and classifiable, whereas certain notions of community have been changed to fit into the description of urban neighbourhood. Secondly, the objectification of the urban space was carried out in terms of spatial features of the city and the size of its population and its distribution by simultaneously taking into consideration the migration of the people to the city. Thirdly, the urban presents a way of life distinct from its binary opposite called rural space. Gupta (2000) has lucidly worked out the relationship between space, time and modernization that has implication for the understanding of urban-rural space distancing thus: 'Modernization, as it is generally understood, is a rapid thermodynamic engine on hot rails. Consequently, time past becomes distinctly different from time present, and time future is already round the corner promising further transformation. These changes destabilize space even when geography remains stable. The most recent contribution to the urban dialogue is Rotenberg's (1996) contention that the identity of the city also structures resident's urban experience, adding urban identity to place and time as universal sources of metropolitan knowledge.

Bearings of Caste on the Urban Space:

The origins of caste and of untouchability lie deep in India's ancient past. The dominant view traces the origins of caste and untouchability to the *Aryans* and to their ways of relating to the people of India with whom they came into contact. However, since the last few centuries, in India, winds of change have been blowing over many traditional institutions and concepts. The process of modernization and mobility is, the process of far reaching social and economic changes affecting the values and

institutions in society. New technologies in agriculture, industrialization and the growth of urban centres are bringing extensive changes in the ways, in which people are related of life, nature, time, work, family and the community. The study of occupational mobility is done by scholars like Srinivas (1966) and Rowie (1968), who have argued that one or the other type of flexibility existed in the caste system even during the early periods. “Theoretically, there were only two means of improving status. One was by opting out of society and becoming ascetic, the other was by ensuring rebirth in a higher social status in one’s next life----”. However, the group mobility was possible through a period by changing habitation, geographical location and occupation of the entire group⁴.

Historically, social inequalities have persisted in the Hindu caste structure and they continue to this day. Caste discrimination has existed not only in the form of social hierarchy but also in the location of habitations. Sheltering patterns of the so-called untouchables were such as to keep them separated from the mainstream society denying them civic amenities and other services available to the others. In fact, the settlements itself were evidence of these inequalities. For instance, the lower castes settlements were/are located invariably in the downstream of the villages, which is unsanitary in all possible manners. However, the relationship between the caste and the city in its numerous forms and dimensions has been partially explored in sociology and it is being relatively ignored, as the recent work on the Indian slums shows (Schenk, 2001). There is a reason for the relative ignoring of the castes in the cities. The first is that in comparison to a village, the city is large in size and, in the light of the limited time frame and resources; it is difficult to map the social structure of a city by keeping the caste identity in the centre of examination. Secondly, the conception of the city is based on the process of continuously becoming more and more complex division of

⁴ See Thapar, Romila. 1974. ‘Social mobility in Ancient India with Special Reference to Elite group’ in R.S.Sharma (ed.) *Indian society: Historical Probing*s, Delhi: Peoples Publishing House.

labour as a result of which the defining principle of city take cognizance of the economic process by pushing the sociological dimension to the backseat. Since in this economic view of the city market turns into a governing criterion of how the people interact with each other, the question of particularistic identities of the people in the exchange of commodities is expected to become irrelevant or relatively secondary. The market as the governing space in the urban milieu is a force that only recognizes capital due to which the market space is generalized into urban space. The underlying assumption that since all particularistic identities disappear at the time of exchange of commodities, it makes the urban space an egalitarian, libertarian and competitive space that recognizes no other hierarchy and difference than the class position. The economic division of the people in terms of class relationships makes the urban space a universalistic one.

As far as the marginalized groups are concerned, for the dalits the city acquired paramount importance when B.R.Ambedkar told them to go to the cities (Virdi, 2004). His emphasis on the relevance of city in the social mobility of the dalits puts Ambedkar in the category of modernists. City for him was the space that could decisively contribute to the dilution or elimination of caste identities, which could not happen in the villages. He reacted to the British construction of Indian village as little republic when he wrote, “In this republic there is no place for democracy. There is no room for equality. There is no room for liberty and there is no room for fraternity. The Indian village is very negation of the republic (Moon, 1989). It is obvious that in the village situation there is a close and intimate interaction and the socio-economic interaction is shaped and determined by traditions and caste. Caste identities are a powerful basis of the form and content of interaction among the people as they implicate inequality, power and exclusion. Moving from village to the city signified coming out of the entire socio-economic milieu. In this respect, one could see why Ambedkar addressed the dalits to go to the cities.

Ambedkar’s modernity in building a comprehensive critique of the village

community and encouraging urbanization among the dalits was based on the western notion of the city life. The post-colonial city in India could be an interesting landscape to know whether the movement of dalits from rural to urban areas has occurred. Further in sociological terms, it may be enquired whether the urbanization has brought change in the conditions of dalits. For example, three changes are expected to happen in case of the dalits living in the cities. First, they would experience the occupational change. In the village situation, they were supposed to be carrying out their traditional occupation because of the limited division of labour. Second, in contrast to close and face-to-face interaction in the rural setting, the city offered them with a sense of anonymity from the caste identity. Thirdly, their spatial distribution might have occurred on the basis of their economic conditions but unlike their separate and segregated settlements in villages, they could move to diverse localities thus avoiding ghettoisation in the city (Judge, 2007).

The above processes have led to great changes among all sections of population including the Scheduled Castes in India since its political independence. People belonging to the Scheduled Castes have availed relatively more facilities and enjoyed better social status in urban than in rural areas. After independence, the scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs) received special attention through the Constitution of India with special provisions in education, employment and political representation. Article 46, for instance, declares: “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation.” “Untouchability” was declared abolished under Article 17. Consequently, avenues had been opened to these people to enter into modern and secular sectors of development which are based on rationality as against the tradition and religion.

No doubt urbanization and industrialization have induced mobility in the stratification system. D’souza (1975), however, has maintained that the role of

industrialization in bringing change in the caste system and social mobility has been overemphasized. Urban areas do provide more opportunities for social mobility, but do castes in towns and cities succeed in raising their social status? Bopegamage refers to studies he made in Delhi. He compared two housing areas with the intention of assessing the degree of 'neighbourliness' in each. He asserts that the '*cul-de-sac*' form of housing lay-out is more suitable for people living for long times. It is also an exclusive caste or kinship arrangement of houses of which the original is still to be seen in the villages. While refereeing to Chamars's position in the eyes of higher castes has given them a sense of group consciousness⁵. The lower castes in urban areas showed strong inclination to maintain their traditional privileges and obligations. The caste system, however, does admit mobility; but it is the group as a whole which changes its position in the caste hierarchy. Scholars like Lynch (1969) and Saberwal (1976) speak about this issue. To Lynch, Agra city is divided into over 200 *mohallas* (neighbourhood). One of the first continuities with village organization that one notices is the tendency towards residential segregation by caste and caste groups within the *mohallas*. To him, with the opening of educational institutions and introduction of the parliamentary democracy (party politics, courts, panchayat system), the *mohalla* solidarity has broken to some extent. Patwardhan in his study of Poona⁶ showed the degree of social mobility that has been possible for some of the low, polluting castes in an urban context. Urbanization leads to alternative models of imitation, and these models may differ from group to group. Exposure to urban influence, availability of new economic opportunities, higher education, political participation and charismatic leadership, and conversion to other religion are some of the factors which have led to the changing models of emulation as well as the nature, type and degree of social mobility. Hardgrave, Ashish Nandy and others too have pointed out many instances where urbanization and industrialization have supported caste mobility. As rightly suggested by Nandy (2001), the anonymity and atomization in a city are doubly

⁵ See David Pocock in M.S.A Rao; 1974.

⁶ See Rao; 1974; pp 300

seductive in a society scarred by socio-economic schisms and cultural hierarchies. A Dalit, landless, agricultural worker or a rural artisan seeking escape from the daily grind and violence of a caste society has reasons to value the impersonal melting pot of a metropolitan city.....to loose oneself in the city is to widen one's freedom in a way not possible by migrating to another village, however distant from home. The colonial city made a place for itself in the India's fantasy life by promising freedom in place of caste-specific vocations, ascribed status, and the crosscutting obligations of the jajmani system.

Strictly speaking, Indian economic development in general as well as the reservation policy and the special component plan in particular has led to some improvement in the educational and economic status of the Dalits. The new economic policy also affected the Dalits adversely (Thorat, 1996). After about sixty years of independence, a paradoxical combination of unyielding deprivation and growing self-assertion among Dalits has been displayed. Still the core values of new India and the central ideological organizing principles of Hindu society appear to be incompatible. The absence of coordination between the new and the old India has led to many conflicts and movements making the Indian society as a disharmonic one. The deliberations ahead highlight some of these issues.

Though individual social groups have attained development, discrimination between the groups still persists on several grounds. A dalit settlement is one such widely prevalent discriminatory practice in most of the rural Tamil Nadu. Several housing schemes have been initiated for dalits but these are located far away from the main residential area. Of course, dalits are no longer "huttet like pigs", and their housing conditions have improved but the problem of untouchability still persists. Government programmes and policies in general are not bold enough to address such discrimination directly, that is, they never attempted to built the 'adi-dravidas' houses in the midst of other dominant communities or vice versa. In the early 1990s, Tamil Desiya Pothuvudamai Katchi (Tamil Nationalist Socialist Party) and its leading

functionaries, P Maniyarasan, Rajendra Cholan and Yoganathan, opposed the creation of 'colonies' and demanded collective housing where dalits could live among others. The government, however, failed to respond. The '*samathuvapuram*' (equality village) housing scheme initiated by the Tamil Nadu government during the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) under chief minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi, broke out of this mould⁷.

Government housing policies and schemes had confined themselves till recently to the economic dimension ignoring the social and cultural implications of housing. The spatial separation of housing settlements due to social exclusion on caste lines may cut off communication, interaction with other communities and sustain practices of social exclusion and untouchability. Thus, housing, in its broadest connotation, encompasses not only shelter, economic services and facilities, but also a harmonious social environment, conducive neighbourhood and peaceful coexistence necessary not only to build social capital but also to develop to human well-being. Since independence, the government has provided housing facilities for the untouchables in exclusively isolated places of the main village or at the outskirts of small towns. In other words, the government policies had not considered the integration of untouchable communities with mainstream communities. However, the DMK government initiated housing policies whereby all communities could live together in the village and share all civic and other infrastructure facilities. Lower castes, higher castes and those 'in between' were to live together in equal comfort, self-respect, and dignity with mutual respect and interaction. It launched one such housing scheme to establish social equality through spatial equality by the creation of model villages called '*samathuvapuram*'

Post-colonial government policies have not encouraged integration of different settlements. On the contrary, they have encouraged segregation indirectly by passive

⁷ See Sivagnanam, K. Jothi & M. Sivaraj. 2002. 'Samathuvapuram: Towards Spatial Equality', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 39 (Sep. 28 - Oct. 4), pp. 3990-3992.

silence about such inequalities. The government, of course, allotted lands/built 'cluster houses'/'group houses' under various special schemes for the dalits and all such efforts have changed only the nomenclature from *cheries* to colonies. However, the social and spatial distance between the nagar and colony has not been bridged. In other words, colonies are nothing but government-sponsored *cheries*, still at the outskirts of the village without any free access to the nagar and its civic amenities (ibid.).

Today, the communal space has totally engulfed the life space of the city's residents, no matter what religion one belongs to. A combination of factors has led to ascendancy communal space over life space in Ahmedabad. About a decade and a half ago, a well-known geographer, John Friedmann (1988) argued that in the cities that hosted global economic activities, economic space ascends over the life space, and the people's survival activities are marginalized by the activities of the rising global business class. In much the same way, in Ahmedabad city, communal space has displaced people's life space, coinciding in times with beginning of Indian economy's global integrating. May be that is not a coincidence, and such a violent face of globalization can emerge in the developing countries.

Even the city has been influenced by globalization through many ways. In the 1980s, the textile industry was restructured because of emerging global competition in the textile sector. Thereafter, in the 1990s, when one thinks the real global integration of Indian economy started, the city level planning processes got influenced by global thinking. In many countries and in India too, globalization of cities has been launched through new systems of resource mobilization and urban governance, operationalised through privatization and commercialization of infrastructure. The cities, especially the metros enter into competition with each other to improve their economic efficiency, which they attempt to do through a process of exclusion - exclusion of marginal areas and marginalized segments of population who cannot afford the costs of living in the fast globalizing urban space. Future investment is attracted to the cities by allocating more land for commercial and other profitable usages, by improving city's macro

environment and large-scale infrastructure projects taken up through privatization (Mahadevia, 2002).

Apart from the caste based ramifications, the city has a history of terrible communal riots, in which the poor in general have suffered. The worst of all riots prior to the 2002 carnage in the city were the riots in 1969. Labour areas in the eastern part of the city were special targets of the communalists. Some Muslim labour activists were exterminated and the poor, mainly dalits and Muslims suffered. But, that did not lead to the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation discriminating against the Muslims or the poor. But now both forms of discrimination have been legitimized, that of the former by the communalization of minds in the city and the latter by the city's attempts to globalize. In this paper, we have seen various processes of exclusion institutionalized in the city. Exclusion started from the employment sector and extended to overall development processes, in a situation of ideological and institutional vacuum that-is pro-poor. The ideology that bound the city and that took care of the poor was 'economic prosperity would take care of everything' (ibid).

Hindu communalists surprisingly enough were found making confident claims about the communal friendship with the dalits against the Muslims in Maharashtra during the first phase of the recent troubles. Therefore, in view of this Hindu communalist claim, it is essential to raise the question as to why these Hindu communalist forces are trying to win over the dalits against the Muslims. In other words, why are these forces creating enemy image (anti-Muslim) among the dalits of Maharashtra? Being a political party and an important member of the Sangh Parivar, the BJP's main objective is to weld the Hindus into a political community. This unity is sought by the BJP for fulfilling its ambition of capturing political power in Delhi. Dalits, if mobilized as one political group and in any electoral combination can form a critically important element in the electoral politics of Maharashtra (Guru 1993).

Outlining Weaker Sections in the State of J&K :

Commenting on the socio-economic system of the Jammu and Kashmir State, the Census Commissioner of J & K in his report on the census 1911 has remarked that “The caste system in its true sense exists only in the ‘*Duggar Illaqa*’. Here the influence of Brahmanism has always been the strongest and there the complete hierarchy of castes and sub-caste is met with its perfection (Gupta & Prabhakar, 1988). All the Varnas of the ancient period were found, in this region. Among the weaker sections of the state, shudras consisted of ‘serving castes’ having access to higher castes. It includes various castes like Lohar, Tarkhans, Kumhar, Nai, *Jhewars* and others. They have been characterized as weak and under privileged category by the State government. On the other hand, the depressed caste people were termed as harijans⁸ by the higher castes. Prominent among them were *Megh, Doom, Chamar, Chura, Wattal, Ratal, Saryara, Jolaha, Koli, Barwal, Basith, Mussali, Halalkhor, Dhuyar, Gardi and Munchi*. During the first quarter of the 20th century, all such people came to be known as ‘Harijans’.

Characteristics, occupation and population of few prominent ‘Harijan’ communities in Jammu region are as follows: -

- i. **Megh:** - They constituted the largest segment of the ‘Harijan’ community.

The position of ‘*Megh*’ in the social hierarchy of harijans was somewhat

⁸ In Jammu and Kashmir the depressed classes constituted nearly *one fourth* of Hindu population of Jammu province, but stood at the base of the Hindu social hierarchy. The members of the depressed classes were put into the category of caste Hindus but latter humiliated and maltreated former in almost all fields. High caste Hindus avoided contact with the Harijians and the touch of the Harijian obliged them to purify themselves with the bath (*Census of India, 1961*). They were, infact, debarred from free social intercourse. So much so, they had no access to temples and public places, like wells and tanks. The condition of this section of society was indeed pitiable. (*Census of India, 1931*). Having been denied the basic rights, the depressed classes were forced to lead a precarious life in isolated localities. However, they were granted access to temples and other public places and admission to government schools only in 1931-32 A.D. (*Fortnightly Reports, Sept. 1930*).

like that of the Brahmins among the High castes. They acted as the priest of harijans and considered themselves distinctly superior to other harijans. Their main occupation was agriculture and weaving (Singh & Balour1a, 1929).

- ii. **Chamars/Ramdasis:** - They were leather workers usually called *Mochis* in the plains of Jammu region. There were two categories of *chamars*- one that skinned the dead animals, tanned the hides and ate carrion, while the others were shoemakers. The second were superior in status than the first.
- iii. **Others:** - Other prominent groups in Jammu region were *Dooms/Mahashas* (who were scavengers, basket makers and musicians) and *Barwalas*.

According to S. S. Soodan (1997) the numerical strength of the depressed classes, treated as untouchable, was recorded by the Census report of 1931 as 1,70,928 person i.e. 23.31 % of the entire Hindu population of the State, while in 1941, their total population in Jammu province was 1,13,422. The *Barwals* were most numerous in the Jammu and were found in Jammu province only; the *Basiths* predominated in Reasi and Mirpur districts, the *Chamar* mainly in Jammu district, the *Chura* in Poonch Jagir, the *Dhiyar* caste in all districts of Jammu province, the *Jolahas* in Reasi district only, the *Ratals* in Udhampur & Reasi and *Wattals* in Srinagar district of Kashmir.

S.D.S. Charak's (1979) work has explained the relatively heavy concentration of depressed classes in Jammu region. To him, it may be attributed to the fact that, here they could easily get land from Rajput and other High castes as tenant and they could earn their earnings by labour and other traditional occupations. They were not allowed to participate in social intercourse and had to suffer discrimination and untouchability. Before 1930s the condition of the SCs in the State was miserable. Narratives from the SC respondents revealed the following facts. They were not allowed to cover the upper part of their body. They could not wear turban or new clothes (especially white). During their marriages or any other occasions they were not allowed to sit on

horseback and they could not hire musicians and could not go for any public procession. Those who broke these social rules had to face atrocities. They had to face discriminations in different walks of life.

Table 1: Overall socio-economic profile of Scheduled Castes in J&K

Parameters	2001
<i>Population¹ (%)</i>	7.6
<i>Sex ratio (per 1000 males)</i>	910
<i>Literacy² (%)</i>	59.0 ⁺
<i>School going children (5-14 years) in %</i>	69.8
<i>Work Participation rate³</i>	Total: 36.7 (All India: 40.4) Male: 50.3 (All India: 50.7); Female: 21.7 (All India: 29.4)
<i>Category of Workers⁴</i>	Cultivators: 49.7; Agr. Labourers: 8.7; HHI workers: 1.7; Other workers : 39.8
<i>Religion⁵ (%)</i>	Hindu (98.7); Sikh (1.3); Buddhist (0.02)
<i>Special Central Assistance⁶ (2006-7)</i>	145.53 lakhs⁺⁺
<i>Atrocities against SC's⁷(Cases)</i>	2

(Based on Office of Registrar General of India, census, 2001)

1 Out of thirteen SCs, Megh is the most populous caste having a population of 300,980, constituting 39.1 per cent of the total SC population. They are followed by Chamar with 187,277 population (24.3 per cent) and Doom having a number of 159,908 (20.8 per cent).

2 Level of Education: Literate without education (3.0%); below primary (21.8%); primary (29.0%); Middle (27.7%); Intermediate (16.3); Technical (0.1%); Graduate & above (2.0%). Further, among all SC's Chamars have shown the highest literacy rate (65.5%) highest proportion of matriculates, followed by Megh. Dooms have registered the lowest percentage of matriculates preceded by Batwal.

3 Among the major SCs, Megh have registered higher overall (37.2 per cent) as well as female WPR (23.5 per cent) than those of all SCs at the State level

4 Almost half of total SC workers are engaged in cultivation¹ and this percentage is more than twice that of the national average (20 per cent) in respect of all SCs. 'Other Workers' also have a significant share of 39.8 per cent showing higher proportion than that of the country (30.5 per cent). 'Agricultural Labourers' constitute 8.7 per cent which is significantly lower if compared with the national average (45.6 per cent). At the individual caste level, Megh and Chamar have maximum proportion of 'Cultivators' whereas Batwal and Doom have the highest percentage of 'Other Workers' in their total working population

5 Hinduism is the predominant religion of the Scheduled Castes in the State.

6 The total State Component Plan outlay during 1997-98 was Rs. 155.44 crores and State utilization was 54.83%; During 1998-99 it was Rs. 103 crore, i.e. 5.42% of State Plan outlay. Since the flow towards SCP has not been in accordance with the GOI guidelines, so GOI directed the State to work sincerely in future, keeping in mind the population of SC's (Vth Annual Report of NCSC, India).

7 J&K ranks 28th (All India) on atrocities against SC's. (National Crime Record Bureau, GOI, 2006)

⁺ This figure is higher than the national average of 54.7 per cent in respect of all SCs.

⁺⁺ Based on Annual Report 2006-07, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

Factually, high caste Hindus avoided contact with the Harijans and the touch of the Harijan obliged them to purify themselves with the bath (Census of India, 1961). They were, infact, debarred from free social inter-course. So much so, they had no access to temples and public places, like wells and tanks. Not only this, they were also denied admission to public schools. These classes had neither social status nor civic rights. The condition of this section of society was indeed pitiable (Census of India, 1931). Having been denied the basic rights; the depressed classes were forced to lead a precarious life in isolated localities. However, they were granted access to temples and other public places and admission to Government schools only in 1931-32 A.D.⁹

It is an established fact that historical background has had its impact in the shaping of socio-cultural aspect of contemporary society. The socio-religious reforms, economic gains, role of the rulers and State and other dominant agent has resulted into the flexibility in the caste system and thus upliftment of scheduled caste population in the State (Saxena, 2009). The present scenario of the scheduled castes is mentioned in Table 1 above.

Mapping Weaker Sections in Jammu City¹⁰:

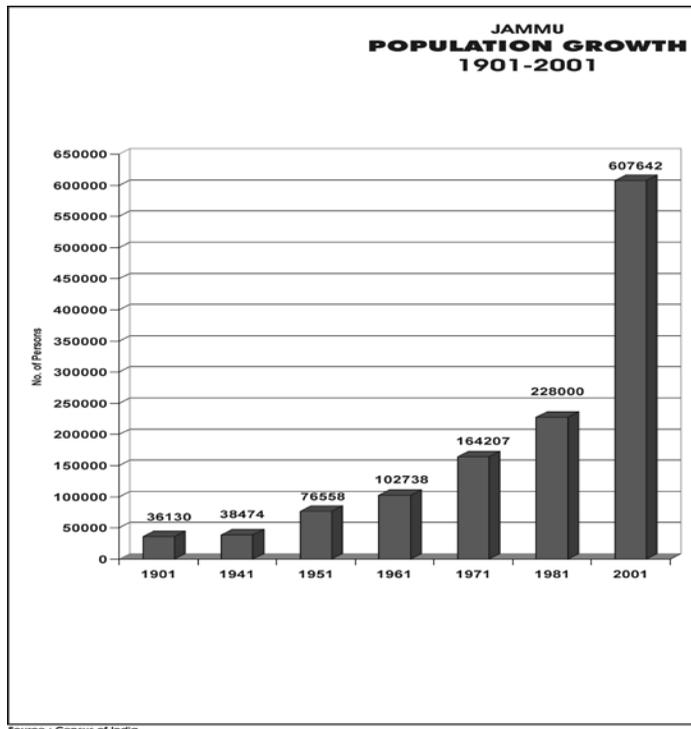
It is a fact that considerable attention has been given to the development of

⁹ *Fortnightly Reports of the Resident of Kashmir for the first half of September 1930, G.O.I., P.D.F. No. 22-P (sec) of 1930, Crown's film A.C.C. No. 291, (N.A. I), p. 24: A brief Note on the administration of the Jammu and Kashmir of for the year 1932, J&K Govt. Publication, p. 10; Govt. J&K, Vol. 4, No. 4, April, 1947, p.3).*

¹⁰ See Ashish Saxena & Devinder Singh, 2010. 'Urban Social Space and Weaker Sections: A Case Study of Jammu City', monograph series, Jammu: Ambedkar Studies Centre, University of Jammu.

areas based on ethnic groupings in the western cities and it is surprising that the inherent diversity of Indian urban places has not been able to prompt many studies of neighbourhood morphology (Noble & Dhussa, 1982). To Sharma (1993) historicity of majority of the urban places in India and development of the distinct socio-spatial units popularly called *mohallas*, the basic morphological functional unit and basis for personal interaction and community cohesion should have provided additional impetus for such studies.

Figure 1: Population growth of Jammu City (1901-2001)



Jammu, the winter capital of Jammu & Kashmir State is an important historic centre. It has experienced phenomenal growth in the last three decades and has gained tremendous commercial, social, and political significance. Its physical and population growth reflects its rising role in the regional economy, polity, and culture. The city has a history of mass migrations in different times; the most recent being the influx of

Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir Valley in 1989-90. It has traditionally been a multi-religious and multi-castes urban settlement. The 1941 census provides a pre-independence picture of social composition of the city, with the Hindus forming the largest group (60.66 per cent), followed by the Muslims (31.60 per cent), the Sikhs (4.23 per cent) and the Jains and Christian both accounting 3.49 per cent. The population of Jammu had trebled during 1901-1961 from 36,130 to 1, 02,738 (Figure 1). The population almost doubled in the decade of 1971-81 from 1.40 lakh to 2.28 lakh. The 2001 Census has recorded 607,642 persons for the city. In 1973, Jammu city was spread over an area of about 41.78 sq. kms. which rose to 143.6 in 1995. Till 1950, its physical spread was confined to the right bank of the river Tawi and now an equally large city has come up to its left bank. It is this part which contains some of the planned and posh localities like *Gandhi Nagar, Trikuta Nagar, Channi Himmat, and Sanik colony*. Other large and unplanned localities include *Nanak Nagar, Sanjay Nagar, Digyana, Gangyal* and Bhitindi etc. The phenomenal rapid growth in the western parts of the old city is associated with the recent migration of Kashmiri Pundits.

The density picture of the city resembles the old cities of India with the oldest parts being denser than the newer segments. The recently developed areas to the southern and western sides of the old historic centre are less dense. Slums are temporary phenomena and only found in few vacant government or private lands and house migrants from other states. The city's Master Plan - 2021 shows 3.50 hectares occupied by 7825 squatters.

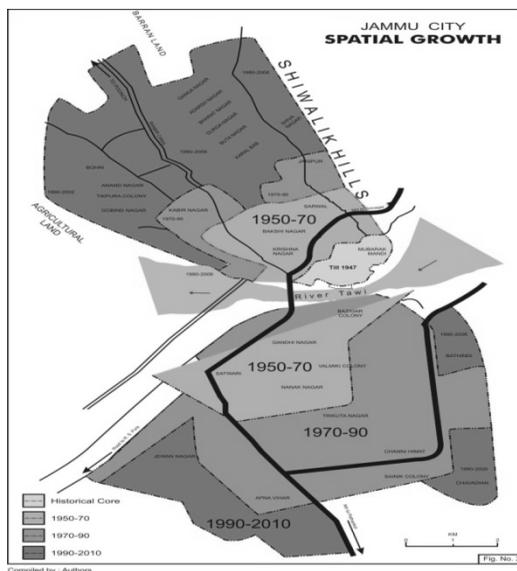
Urban Social Space of Jammu City:

There is an intrinsic relationship between the social rank and place in a traditional Indian town. And, there is evidence to show that all over India urban places have shown conformity to this traditional pattern (Ahmad, 1999:35). The Jammu city seems no exception of this wide spread urban socio-spatial reality. The 1911 census documented the existence of separate colonies of depressed classes- *Chamiars, Dums,*

Churas, and Meghs etc. on the outskirts of the city. These localities were *Amphalla* and *Rehari* on the north-west and *Gandu Chowni, Jogi Gate and Churia mohalla* on the south. It was not the simple relationship of socially marginal social groups on the margin of the town. In addition, the inferior qualities of these localities (generally, lower elevation and steep slope) added another dimension to this unequal and hierarchical urban social space.

Sharma¹¹ has also reported occupation of disadvantageous sites by lower castes in some Himalayan towns in Himachal Pradesh. The roots of traditional seclusion of these groups in urban India lied in stigma conveyed by the spatial association with untouchable (Duncan & Duncan, 1980). This traditional principle of pollution by touch or proximity shrunk the social and religious spaces of these lower castes. For example, none of the low castes, such as *Meghs, Dooms, Chamars*, etc., were allowed to enter the court-yard of a Hindu temple, nor any Hindu would like to come in contact with them (census of India 1901).

Figure 2: Spatial growth of Jammu city

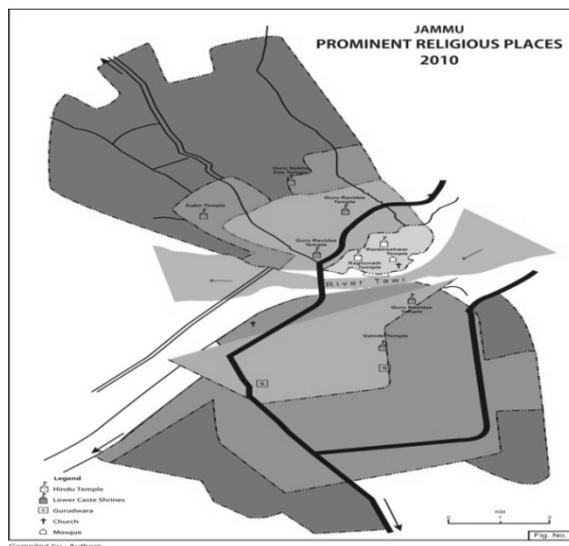


¹¹ See Sharma, K.D. (1993), "Social Morphology of Himalayan Towns"

Therefore, the placement of the depressed castes in the urban social space and social relationship were rooted in centuries old social system. However, this period witnessed significant initiatives both at societal and government levels to bring about reforms in the social system. These reforming initiatives were part of the liberal atmosphere created by development of the democratic and political ideas and the advancement of education in the country as whole. The note worthy influences came from the Arya Samaj Movement and Christian Missionaries. The Arya Samaj (Vidayarthi 1978) established its first branch in Jammu and Kashmir at Jammu in 1891. The role of Arya Samaj movement in the upliftment of the submerged castes is reflected in the fact that out of 1047 Aryas in Jammu and Mirpur, no less than 429 were Megh (Census of India, 1911).

The Christian Missionaries opened the Alexander Missionary School in 1892. The Christian population in the state rose from 204 in 1891 to 422 in 1901 .Of the total in 1910, over 202 were converts. The erstwhile *Churian mohalla* and now Christian colony seems to be hub of Christians in the city in Pre- independence period (See Figure 2, 3 & 4).

Figure 5: Prominent Religious places 2010



Another new element of social space has been the assertion of identity by creating symbolic landscapes (Figure 5). This aspect has shown a close link between social space and politic. Whelam (2002) rightly suggests that where cities evolve in contentious political circumstances, aspects of the urban landscape such as political monuments, street nomenclature, buildings, city plans and urban design initiative take on particular significance. Collectively they demonstrate the fact that the city is a product of a struggle among conflicting interests groups in search of dominion over an environment. About the contested space an illustrations is as follows - *Buta Nagar*, a small locality in the west Jammu was named after a venerated old community member of the lower caste group in 1980's. A banner was put up at the main entrance in presence of a local political leader. In 1990's, this locality experienced rapid growth due to migration of Kashmir Pandits and migration from other areas. A group of new inhabitants made several attempts to give new name to the locality. They removed the old banner and put another banner with new name. The conflict about identification of space persisted for few days and finally resolved with the intervention of local authorities and local political leaders. Here, table 2 & 3 are indicative of the emerging new localities in urban sphere.

The formation of community organizations has been another prominent practice of this period. These politico-religious institutions, emulated from the high castes, have been used as platform for assertion and development of new identities at macro-level. For example *Megh Sabha* merged into *Kabir* or *Bhagat Sabha* and *Chamar Sabha* into *Guru Ravi Dass Sabha*. And, this new mergence has given rise to the political mobilization and assertion through annual processions (*shobha yatra*) in the memory of the prominent iconic figures of the downtrodden community. These processions are perceived by the communities as means to enhance the political visibility and identity assertion of the community. Besides, it is also perceived as the reflection of freedom for the social space. Viewing urban social space in this sense, one finds it as becoming more contested, fragmented and attained more complexity.

Table 2: Decadal variation in Scheduled Castes Population in Jammu City (1961-1981)

Sl. No	Mohalla/ Locality	% of SC Population			Decadal Change in %	
		1961	1971	1981	1961-1971	1971-81
1	<i>Amphalla</i>	34.99	20.25	24.49	-72.79	+17.31
2	<i>Rehari</i>	26.64	24.29	19.70	-9.67	-23.29
3	<i>Mohalla Ustada</i>	12.67	16.01	11.99	+20.85	-33.52
4	<i>Naraniana</i>	11.44	7.60	6.29	-50.52	-20.82
5	<i>New Plots</i>	49.76	31.00	23.87	-60.51	-29.82
6	<i>Rehari Colony</i>	9.33	8.54	1.48	-9.25	-477.02
7	<i>Krishna Nagar</i>	29.39	30.99	33.65	+5.16	+8.17
8	<i>Company Bagh</i>	18.55	23.73	9.17	+21.82	-158.77
9	<i>Roulki Colony</i>	14.68	4.49	20.90	-200.20	+76.60
10	<i>Gondu Chowani</i>	24.73	33.69	17.63	+26.59	-91.09
11	<i>Chand Nagar</i>	20.55	7.17	22.53	-186.61	+68.17
12	<i>Rani Mander</i>	29.85	16.77	17.00	-77.99	+1.35
13	<i>Gumat</i>	21.16	6.61	5.98	-220.12	-100.53
14	<i>Mohalla Phararian</i>	10.93	10.58	5.57	-3.30	-89.94
15	<i>Jogi Gate</i>	10.28	9.42	1.32	-9.12	-613.63
16	<i>Talab Khatika</i>	17.38	0.53	7.92	-3179.24	+93.30
17	<i>New Basti</i>	13.21	6.90	7.32	-91.44	+5.73
18	<i>Kanji House</i>	4.0	16.80	6.07	+76.19	-176.77

Source: Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981

Table 3: Decadal variation in SC's Population in Jammu City (1971-1981)

S.No	Mohalla/ Locality (New localities)	% of SC Population		Decadal Change in %
		1971	1981	1971-81
1	<i>Dogra Hall</i>	10.58	12.56	+15.76
2	<i>Reshamghar</i>	9.97	12.14	+17.87
3	<i>Residency Road</i>	8.75	8.62	-1.50
4	<i>Gandhi Nagar</i>	3.62	5.79	+37.47
5	<i>Talab Tillo</i>	10.02	10.30	+2.71
6	<i>Rajpora</i>	44.05	34.83	-26.47
7	<i>Nawabad</i>	28.53	3.23	-783.28
8	<i>Nagrota</i>	20.5	7.16	-169.38
9	<i>Narwal Bala</i>	37.81	32.86	-15.06
10	<i>Satwari</i>	36.06	16.65	-116.57

Source: Census of India, 1971, 1981

Note: All localities in the above table appeared for first time in 1971

Contemporary Affirmative Actions by SC's of Jammu Region:

The scheduled castes of Jammu region have shown their contemporary dalit assertions on following grounds:

- i) **Religious congregations and procession:** The scheduled castes of Jammu region come together for the celebration of birth anniversaries and 'shoba yatra' of great persons of their community. Celebration of anniversaries or 'prakash divas' of the personalities like Ambedkar, Ravi Dass, Kabir, Nabha Das and others are significant because this collectivity and its demonstration is in public sphere i.e the main city area and they are allowed now without any obstacles and also sometimes with the support of few political leaders.

- ii) **Reservation issues:** Recently various scheduled caste organizations have come together to represent their protest against reservation policies framed by the government. State regulation order (SRO) - 294 passed by the government is one such issue. The concerned SRO has become the bone of contention owing to the due reservation and also to exclude the state formed reserved areas out the purview of the reservation policies. Their demand is to increase reservation seats from 8 percent to 9 percent and to enhance overall reservations in the state from 43 percent to 50 percent as practiced in other states of the country. For raising these demands they are even trying to develop alliances with ST and OBC organizations for showing more strength and thus putting effective pressure on the existing government. It is amazing to see the convergence of the three separate entities (SC, ST and OBC) under one umbrella for a common cause. This dimension not only reflects to horizontal mobilization of the SC's but also their vertical linkage with the other down trodden or marginalized categories of the society, in order to show their numerical presence to the ruling parties.
- iii) **Inter-district recruitment bill:** Passing of amended inter-district recruitment bill (The J&K Civil Services Decentralization and Recruitment Bill, 2009) by the State government, for thinking about institutional representation and recruitment as part of a radical democratic politics for the underprivileged, in light of recent reconsideration of pluralism and recent concerns about the J&K state as an institutional site for such politics. Evaluating the bills against Ambedkar vision on minority representation, he rightly said that equal treatment of all the minorities in the matter of representation is only a part of the problem of the representation of minorities.

Concluding Remarks:

The tables and figures cited above are indicative of the population growth and territorial expansion of scheduled castes in Jammu city. Table 2 & 3 are indicative of the emerging new localities in urban sphere. One may deduce that historically, the so called scheduled castes were residing in the periphery of Jammu town but with the gradual pace of urbanization they have become part of the main city. One can infer the spatial mobility of the weaker sections in terms of their proximity to the main city. Few localities like *Valmiki colony, Kabir Nagar, Krishna nagar, Talab Khatika* etc are heartland of the Jammu city and are dominated by the inhabitation of weaker section. Although government had rehabilitated them in separate colonies and which unintentionally segregate them from the mainstream localities. However, the evolutionary process of urbanization had diluted the air-tight compartmentalized segregation of the weaker section and paved the way for living with the other high caste groups. It has not only brought equality of spatial living but has also provided them with a new level of assertion. The maps are indicative of their population growth as well as emergence of new localities. It is also resulting into erection of new monuments, temples, buildings and statues symbolizing their identity and assertion. Common gatherings and congregations in these spaces reflects high level of mobilization and assertion among the weaker sections belonging to Jammu city and its surroundings.

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