CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Caste System of India is one of the major problems, where people in India are socially differentiated on the basis of class, caste, religion, gender and language. One or the other forms of differentiation exist in all human societies, it becomes a problem when one or more of these dimensions overlap each other and become the sole basis of systematic ranking and unequal access to valued resources like wealth, income, power and prestige (Sekhon, 39). The Indian Caste System is considered a closed system of stratification, which means that a person’s social status is obligated to which caste they were born into. There are restrictions on interaction with people from one to another class or caste. This is one of the predominant problems of Hindu religion, which has changed its face into many ways.

Poona Pact of 1932 has changed the Indian Political history and the destiny of millions of Dalits across the country. It is like pouring water on the stone where nothing grove on it. Though the opportunities are given to dalit, position still remained unchanged. Because, dalits became stooges for the ruling class. It becomes imperative to analyze the historical reasons and the forces behind the signing of the poona pact, its impact on the Dalits and their political participation. Therefore, an attempt has been made to understand the contents and aftermath effects of Poona pact from the point of view of different stakeholders.
Caste System in India

India is a nation of diverse multi culture not only that holds good but also a land of diverse problems. Caste is the roots cause of all the social problems. Religion is a dogma of belief and values can be changed anytime in the life, but caste is a plane which don't change even occupation and social status of the people. Caste feeling is deep rooted in the society. We can't change caste but we can eradicate caste from our society .we can't expect politician to talk about casteless society because they want people to be divided. Every person is recognized and backed by caste. Every one playing with a caste card to rule the people on caste but don’t want to change the conditions of the sc/st people. It is the need of the hour to think and act properly to change the mind set and reclaim the ideals of social justice of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar.

Effect of caste system

Caste System Vs Societal Democracy — The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government, Parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is more than a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living together. The roots of democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in terms of associated life between people who form a society. Dr. Ambedkar said Caste is the most confused knot of all social problems. Indian society is caste ridden. Religion is just a belief and it can change anytime in the life, but caste is a constant factor which don't change even when religion changes. It does not change either occupation changes or social status changes Caste remains constant. It is like a omega value simply a mere constant don't change in any situation. Caste system does not allow for upward mobility in society. If a person comes from the lower economic strata, in a society based on a caste system, that person will
forced to remain within the system. Caste system creates and develops prejudiced mindset and stereotypic attitude in the people the society. Caste system, base for inequality and injustice this division of society into so many castes and sub castes comes in the way of the unity and integrity of the Indian nation. Caste System is the root cause of women slavery, child marriage and opposes widow remarriage etc. Every caste discriminates against all, No caste is free from evil practices, it does not allow to move to caste to caste. Caste System produces Communal Violence by continuously suppressing a section of people. Social moments and aggression against the system is the outburst experience of injustice and inequality.

To this day, the level of violence against Dalits and other 'lower’ Castes is atrocious. Social degradation perpetuated under the Caste system has very few parallels in human history. Such treatment continues to this day. Discrimination is extended to all aspects of life: whether in employment, education, health, land holding, security, and all aspects of women's rights. The psychological effects on 'inferior' Castes constitute gross human rights abuse and a continuing cruelty and thereby affecting the democracy. We have to remember and recollect the fact that the Indian society does not consist of individuals. It consists of innumerable collection of castes, which are exclusive in their life and have no common experience to share and have no bond of sympathy. The existence of caste system is a standing denial of the existence of those ideals of society and therefore of democracy. Caste System Vs Political Democracy Caste system is a bane to democracy. Castes are not equal in their status. They are standing one above another. They are jealous of one another. It is an ascending scale of hatred and descending scale of contempt. Democracy is essentially an alliance building exercise based on ideology but in
our country alliance building was a criminal alliance of one particular community with
other one (both stronger ones and numerically powerful one) resulting in the
marginalization of the other communities. —The government, which was designed for
the people, has got into the hands of the bosses and their employers, the special interests.
An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy. Woodrow Wilson
says Caste becomes important in politics because politics is highly competitive. Its
purpose is to gain power for certain ends. It, therefore, exploits all kinds of loyalties in
the society to gain and consolidate certain political positions; organization and
articulation of support are important in the above process of politics in our country. Caste
is one such organization with which the people are associated. The linkage between
politics and caste is thus important and in the process both interact so closely that they are
transformed. Party programs also cut across caste loyalties and members of one caste
may be divided on the basis of ideological affiliations. There is no denying the fact that
the politicization of caste has benefited the lower castes and other backward groups,
especially in the southern region of India. But the question arises: Have political parties,
which mobilize different groups in the name of caste, ethnicity and religion, been able to
bring about a society which is just an egalitarian? Generally speaking, the leaders of such
parties have taken the advantage of the in egalitarian system but unfortunately they have
failed the common people belonging to the weaker sections. These leaders, mobilizing
the lower and backward caste groups, have become another kind of elite keeping most of
the people out of the purview of development and egalitarianism. It is important to
mention here that such tendencies have afflicted the Indian society because the leaders
have paid lip-service to the ideal of social democracy. The upper-caste groups have not
provided sufficient space for the lower and backward caste groups. They are still trying to maintain their ideology of an unequal society, based on either caste or religion.

Role of caste in elections has two dimensions. One is of the parties and candidates and the second is of the voters. The former seeks support of the voters projecting themselves as champions of particular social and economic interests, the latter while exercising their vote in favor of one party or candidate based on caste. People vote on the basis of caste and religion and do not take the merits of the candidate into consideration. Democracy itself has become a mockery owing to this evil. India is the world’s largest democracy but everyday democracy fails. Even today one can’t find a dalit candidate contesting in the non-dalit reserved constitution and politicians will not talk about casteless society because they want people to be divided. Every party in India is strongly backed by a caste. So they don’t allow people to get united in casteless society because it difficult for minor caste party to remain in the politics. Since independence no changes has come in this. Top leaders and politicians play caste politics to sustain in power and earn wealth. No equality in the society both economically and politically. We can see this in our Tamilnadu itself, for example, In Pappapatti, nattamangalam and keeripatti in Madurai district, kottakachiyendal in virudhunagar district – Election didn’t take place only because of caste problem and women candidate from lower caste becoming president is the toughest one in any constituency. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. It means an associated living among people without any discrimination. But caste system enforces
discrimination and discrimination causes suffering, often very deep forms of inner suffering. People who are thus made to suffer withdraw. As result, they also refuse to co-operate. In such circumstances, if tolerance is to have any meaning, it must be sufficiently genuine and strong enough to restore co-operation. Thus discrimination and toleration both reflect the quality of compassion, mercy and justice. If there is a perception that these qualities are missing, the legitimacy of the social organisation and the political system as whole will be under challenge. It is where Dr. Ambedkar came in and his concerns were really about the constitutional provisions for the lower class. He realized that Democracy was a broadly a majoritarian concept and cannot really be confined to electoral exercise and therefore a mere political alliance of communities which lead to political power cannot be the only objective of a democratic exercise. Instead, he felt that our institutions should be strong enough to protect the constitutional provisions made for the most marginalized communities. He felt that the lower class people did not understand much about discrimination and rights as it was thoroughly disempowered one. He also realised that communities which remain in enslavement and hunger because of various ideologies and philosophies injected in their minds and they didn’t know or understand what their rights are. So, he wanted to ensure constitutional rights so that the lower caste or the oppressed do not become victim of majoritarian assertion during the elections. That is why he fought for the separate electorate in 1932 and which was awarded by the British, known as communal award. In all his life time, Dr. Ambedkar addressed the issue of the untouchables from the view point of a democratic polity and not just politics and after India got independence and Dr. Ambedkar led the drafting of the Indian constitution, Dalits got 17.5% seats reserved in
parliament and state assemblies. We can see the caste system and its effect in politics in two most populous states of Uttar-Pradesh and Bihar. Both were the first one where the National parties got thoroughly marginalized and a large number of the Dalit-OBC (the Other Backward communities, artisan-peasantry) dominated the political process since 1990. But because the individual leaders and their egos became bigger than their political parties which became one man/woman show and no internal democracy in these parties which resulted in collapsing these forces. Acts & Constitutional Provisions for a Casteless Society India has one of the best constitutions but it is rarely implemented fully. The below provisions are the results of the sincere efforts taken by the Great Indians. Protection of Civil Rights Act-1976 Prevention of atrocities against SC & ST’s Act -1989 5. Fundamental Rights – First Right is the Right to Equality Article 14 – Equality before law and equal protection of laws. Article 15 – Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 16 – Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 17 – Abolition of untouchability and prohibition of its practice. Article 18 – Abolition of titles except military and academic. 6. Fundamental Duty 51A- (e), to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities and to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women. 7. Directive Principles of State Policy Article 38 – To promote the welfare of the people by securing a social order permeated by justice – social, economic and political – and to minimize inequalities in income, status, facilities and opportunities. Article 46 – To promote the educational and economic interests of SCs, STs and other weaker sections of the society and to protect them from social injustice and exploitation. Article 330 – Reservation of
seats in Loksabha for SC and ST’s. Article 332 – Reservation of Seats in State Assembly for SC and ST’s

Some major events of practice of caste system: The caste system developed a parochial feeling and made the people unduly conscious of their own castes. Many a time caste interests were given priority over national interest. Thus the whole system stood against the very concept of national unity and it hindered national unity. The caste system ran contrary to the democratic spirit. Democracy presupposes human equality, but the caste system believed in inequality and there was a hierarchical arrangement wherein the Brahmins were at the top, whereas the Sudras were at the lowest rung of the ladder it stood against the democracy.

In the caste system the lower castes were suppressed and repressed by the higher castes. The Sudras were very ill-treated and they were not allowed to come to the public places. Even their shadows were considered profane by the higher caste people. Inter-dining and inter-mixing with the lower castes was not allowed. Thus the system was solely based on exploitation of the lower castes. It resulted in continuous suppression.

Under the caste system only a few got the scope to control the national life and the others were engaged in serving the higher castes, like the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas. In the national interest it is essential that all the sections of the society should contribute to the social welfare, but the downtrodden sections did not have any voice in national development and advancement.

In a traditional caste-ridden society, the Sudras were fully aware that they could not prosper in the Hindu society. As a result, at the time of invasion by outsiders, some of them leaked out the strategic secrets to them. They also cooperated with the invaders
instead of their own people. Their treachery ultimately became responsible for the fall of
the Hindus.

The dominance of Brahminism became intolerable on the part of the Sudras, who
were the most neglected people in the Hindu society. They were easily allured by the
ideology and philosophy of Islam as well as Christianity. Many of them embraced the
new faiths. In this way the caste system contributed to the expansion of Christianity and
Islam in India.

Since in the caste system one’s status and role are fixed up from the time of one’s
birth, one’s ability, personal endeavor or diligence became meaningless in order to bring
about any transformation. Acceptance of one’s own hereditary status became mandatory
and unquestionable. Thus the aspirations and ability of people were relegated to the
background in the caste system.

The higher castes believed that they had the monopoly of wisdom. They felt that
all other castes should consult them and work for them. This created a wide gulf between
the higher and the lower castes. It created a false sense of prestige among higher caste.

The Brahmins, being at the top of the caste hierarchy, were supposed to teach and
preach religion. But in course of time they became apathetic to their avowed profession
and did not devote themselves to this task. They knew it very well that they would not be
thrown out of their castes, despite their insincerity. As a result, they began to live on the
labour of other castes without any useful contribution to the society. Thus a class of idlers
came into existence in the Hindu social system.
The worst aspect of the caste system was untouchability. The untouchable suffered from various social, economic, political and religious disabilities. In the name of religion, they were thoroughly exploited in the most inhuman manner. The lower castes were placed in the category of untouchables. Their children were never allowed to be educated and they were compelled to take unclean occupation. The Sudra women were prohibited from wearing presses in the manner the Brahmin women dressed themselves. They were not allowed to use public well, ponds, places of worship etc. The fear of the wrath of God and religious conventions made the lower castes follow all the religious prescriptions and proscriptions.

In the caste system, the women were utterly neglected. They enjoyed a very conservative and traditional type of status. They were denied the privilege of higher education. They could not voice their opinion in public affairs. The women belonging to the higher castes led a still more precarious life due to the practice of child marriage and prohibition of widow remarriage. The desire for a male made women produce more and more children which affected their physical and mental condition. Sometimes the lower caste women were sexually harassed by the higher caste males but they could not protest against them due to the prevailing social pattern. In a nutshell, women enjoyed a very low status in the caste system.

**Political Psychology**

Political psychology is an interdisciplinary academic field dedicated to understanding politics and political behavior from a psychological perspective. The relationship between politics and psychology is considered bi-directional, with
psychology being used as a lens for understanding politics and politics being used as a lens for understanding psychology. As an interdisciplinary field, political psychology borrows from a wide range of other disciplines. Political psychology aims to understand interdependent relationships between individuals and contexts that are influenced by beliefs, motivation, perception, cognition, information processing, learning strategies, socialization and attitude formation. Political psychological theory and approaches have been applied in many contexts such as: leadership role; domestic and foreign policy making; behavior in ethnic violence, war and genocide; group dynamics and conflict; racist behavior; voting attitudes and motivation; voting and the role of the media; nationalism; and political extremism. In essence political psychologists study the foundations, dynamics, and outcomes of political behavior using cognitive and social explanations.

**A psychoanalytical approach**

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) made significant contributions to the study of personality in political psychology through his theories on the unconscious motives of behavior. Freud suggested that a leader's behavior and decision making skill were largely determined by the interaction in their personality of the id, ego and superego, and their control of the pleasure principle and reality principle. The psychoanalytic approach has also been used extensively in psycho biographies of political leaders. Psycho biographies draw inferences from personal, social and political development, starting from childhood, to understand behavior patterns that can be implemented to predict decision-making motives and strategies.
A trait-based Approach

Traits are personality characteristics that show to be stable over time and in different situations, creating predispositions to perceive and respond in particular ways.\[^{15}\] Gordon Allport (1897-1967) realized the study of traits introducing central, secondary, cardinal and common traits. These four distinctions suggest that people demonstrate traits to varying degrees, and further that there is a difference between individual and common traits to be recognized within a society. Hans Eysenck (1916-1997) contributed three major traits, currently however Costa and McCrae's (1992) "Big Five" personality dimensions are the most recognized. These include; neuroticism, extraversion, agreeableness, openness to experience and conscientiousness. Theories in political psychology induce that one's combination of these traits has implications for leadership style and capacity. For example, individuals who score highly on extroversion are demonstrated as having superior leadership skills.\[^{16}\] The Myers-Briggs Type indicator (MBTI) is a personality assessment scale commonly used in the study of political personality and for job profiling.

A motive-based Approach

In terms of political psychology motivation is viewed as goal-oriented behavior driven by a need for three things; power, affiliation intimacy, and achievement.\[^{17}\] These categories were grouped by Winter (1996) from Murray's (1938) twenty suggested common human goals. Need for power affects the style in which a leader performs. Winter and Stewart (1977) suggested that leaders high in power motivation and low in need of affiliation intimacy motivation make better presidents. Affiliation-motivated leaders alternatively tend to collaborate joint efforts in the absence of threat. Lastly,
achievement motivation has demonstrated to not correspond with political success, especially if it is higher than power motivation (Winter, 2002). Motivation between a leader and those whom they are ruling needs to be consistent with success. Motives have been shown to be correlated more highly with situation and time since last goal-fulfillment, rather than consistent traits. The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) is commonly used for assessing motives. However, in the case of leadership assessment this test is more difficult to implement therefore more applicable tests are often used such as content analysis of speeches and interviews.

The Authoritarian Personality

The authoritarian personality is a syndrome theory that was developed by the researchers Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950) at The University of California. The American Jewish Committee subsidized research and publishing on the theory since it revolved around ideas developed from World War II events. Adorno (1950) explained the authoritarian personality type from a psychoanalytic point of view suggesting it to be a result of highly controlled and conventional parenting. Adorno (1950) explained that individuals with an authoritarian personality type had been stunted in terms of developing an ability to control the sexual and aggressive id impulses. This resulted in a fear of them and thus a development of defense mechanisms to avoid confronting them. Authoritarian personality types are persons described as swinging between depending on yet resenting authority. The syndrome was theorized to encompass nine characteristics; conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception (an opposition to subjective or imaginative tendencies), superstition and stereotypy, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, sex obsession, and
projectivity. The authoritarian personality type is suggested to be; ethnocentric, ego-defensive, mentally rigid, conforming and conventional, adverse to the out of the ordinary, and as having conservative political views. The book *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) introduces several scales based on different authoritarian personality types. These are; the F-scale which measures from where and to what degree fascist attitudes develop, the anti-Semitism scale, the ethnocentrism scale and the politico-economic conservatism scale. The F-scale however, is the only scale that is expected to measure implicit authoritarian personality tendencies.

Bob Altemeyer (1996) deconstructed the authoritarian personality using trait analysis. He developed a Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale based on the traits; authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. Altmeyer (1996) suggested that those who score high on the F-scale have a low ability for critical thinking and therefore are less able to contradict authority. Altmeyer's theories also incorporate the psychodynamic point of view, suggesting that authoritarian personality types were taught by their parents to believe that the world was a dangerous place and thus their impulses lead them to make impulsive, emotional and irrational decisions. The beliefs and behavior of an authoritarian are suggested to be easily manipulated by authority instead of being based on internal values. Altmeyer also theorized that leaders with authoritarian personality types were more susceptible to the fundamental attribution error. There are many weaknesses associated with this syndrome and the F-scale. It may have been more relevant during the period in which it was produced, being shortly after World War II. The authoritarian personality is generally related to a fascist image however it is suggested to explain behavior of individuals in all political fields.
**Trait-based Frameworks**

Trait-based frameworks, excluding the Freudian approach, were suggested by James Barber (1930–2004) in *The Presidential Character* (1972) who highlighted the importance of psychobiography in political personality analysis. Barber suggested that leadership personality comprised three dimensions; "character", "world view", and "style". Barber also proposed that leadership typology followed a pattern leading from an individual’s first political success and that it is includes two variables; the effort that a leader puts in and the personal satisfaction that the leader gains. This typology is fairly limited in its dimensions.

Etheredge (1978) proposed the importance of the traits; "dominance", "interpersonal trust", "self-esteem" and "introversion-extroversion", in leadership views and policy shaping. Etheredge found from studies on leaders during the Soviet Union, that those who scored highly on dominance were more likely to support the use of force during debate settlement. He found that the trait introversion can lead to a lack of cooperation, and that extroversion usually leads to cooperation and negotiation. Further he suggested that interpersonal trust and self-esteem were closely related to not advocating force.

Margaret Hermann (1976) introduced the Leader Trait Assessment (LTA) and advocated the development of the Profiler-Plus. The Profiler-Plus is a computer system used to code spontaneous interview answers for seven major characteristics; need for power, cognitive complexity, task-interpersonal emphasis, self-confidence, locus of control, distrust of others, and ethnocentrism. This method can profile large bodies of leadership related text whilst removing any subjective bias from content analysis. It is
efficient and has high reliability. Hermann and Preston (1994) suggested 5 distinct variables of leadership style; their involvement in policy making, their willingness to tolerate conflict, their level and reasons for motivation, their information managing strategies, and their conflict resolving strategies.\[23\]

An alternative approach is the Operational-Code method introduced by Nathan Leites (1951) and restructured by Alexander George (1979). The code is based on five philosophical beliefs and five instrumental beliefs. A Verbs in Context (VIC) coding system employed through the Profiler-Plus computer program once again allows substantial bodies of written and spoken speech, interviews and writings to be analyzed subjectively. The method attempts to be able to predict behavior thorough applying knowledge of various beliefs. Although political behavior is governed and represented by a leader the consequential influence of the leader largely depends upon the context in which they are placed and in which type of political climate they are running. For this reason group behavior is also instrumental for understanding sociopolitical environments

**Political Psychology of Group**

Group behavior is the key in understanding the structure, stability, popularity and ability to make successful decisions of political parties. Individual behavior deviates substantially in a group setting therefore it is difficult to determine group behavior by looking solely at the individuals that comprise the group. Group form and stability is based upon several variables; size, structure, the purpose that the group serves, group development and influences upon a group. Group size has various consequences. In smaller groups individuals are more committed (Patterson and Schaeffer, 1997) and there is a lower turnover rate (Widmeyer, Brawley and Carron, 1990). Large groups display
greater levels of divergence (O'Dell, 1968) and less conformity (Olson and Caddell, 1994). Group performance also diminishes with size increase, due to decreased co-ordination and free-riding. The size of a political party or nation can therefore have consequential effects on their ability to co-ordinate and progress.

The structure of a group is altered by member diversity, which largely affects its efficiency. Individual diversity within a group has proven to demonstrate less communication and therefore to increase conflict (Maznevski, 1994). This has implications for political parties based in strongly colonial or multiracial nations. Member diversity has consequences for; status, role allocation and role strain within a group, all of which can cause disagreement. Thus maintenance of group cohesion is key. Cohesion is affected by several factors; the amount of time members spend in the group, the amount that members like one another, the amount of reward that the group offers, the amount of external threat to the group and the level of warmth offered by leaders. These factors should be considered when attempting to form an efficient political group. President decision efficiency for example is affected by the degree to which members of the advisory group have a hierarchical status and by the roles that each member is assigned.

Studying the purpose for formation of a group, whether it is serving a "functional" purpose or an "interpersonal attraction" purpose (Mackie and Goethals, 1987), has implications for political popularity. Often people join groups in order to fulfill certain survival, interpersonal, informational and collective needs. A political party that provides; stability, clear information, offers power to individuals and satisfies a sense of affiliation, will gain popularity. Shutz's (1958) "Fundamental interpersonal relations
“orientation” theory suggests that groups satisfy the need for control, intimacy and inclusion. Groups also form due to natural attraction. Newcomb (1960) states that we are drawn to others close in socioeconomic status, beliefs, attitudes and physical appearance. Similarity in certain respects can thus be related to how much a person is attracted to joining one group over another.

Group development tends to happen in several stages; forming, storming, norming, performing, and adjourning (Tuckman, 1965). Group awareness of these stages is important in order for members to acknowledge that a process is taking place and that certain stages such as storming are part of progression and that they should not be discouraged or cause fear of instability. Awareness of group development also allows for models to be implemented in order to manipulate different stages. External influences upon a group will have different effects depending upon which stage the group is at in its course. This has implications for how open a group should be depending upon the stage of development it is at, and on its strength. Consistency is also a key aspect in a group for success (Wood, 1994).

**The Influence of Conformity in Groups**

The application of conformity is key for understanding group influence in political behavior. Decision making within a group is largely influenced by conformity. It is theorized to occur based on two motives; normative social influence and informational social influence (Asch, 1955). Chance of conformity is influenced by several factors; an increase in group size but only to a certain degree at which it plateaus, and degree of unanimity and commitment to the group. Therefore, the degree of popularity of a political group can be influenced by its existing size and the believed unanimity and commitment
by the public of the already existing members. The degree by which the group conforms as a whole can also be influenced by the degree of individuation of its members.

**The Influence of Power in Groups**

Power is another influential factor within a group or between separate groups. The "critical bases of power" developed by French and Raven (1959) allocates the following types of power as the most successful; reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power and expert power. The way in which power is exerted upon a group can have repercussive outcomes for popularity. Referent power results in greater popularity of a political group or leader than coercive power (Shaw and Condelli, 1986). This has implications for leaders to manipulate others to identify with them, rather than to enforce consequential punishment. However, if coercive power is enforced, success and a trusted leader (Friedland, 1976) are necessary in order for group conflict not to escalate. Extrinsic punishment and reward are also suggested to detract from intrinsic motivation.

**Decision-making in Groups**

Decision-making is an important political process which influences the course of a country's policy. Group decision-making is largely influenced by three rules; "majority-wins rule", "truth-wins rule", and "first-shift rule". Decision-making is also coerced by conformity. Irrational decisions are generally made during emotional periods. For example, an unpopular political party may receive more votes during a period of actual or perceived economic or political instability. Controversial studies by George Marcus (2003) however imply that high levels of anxiety can actually cause an individual to analyze information more rationally and carefully, resulting in more well-informed and
successful decisions. The psychology of decision-making however must be analyzed in accordance with whether it is within a leadership context or a between group context. The implementation of successful decision-making is often enhanced by group decision-making (Hill, 1982) especially if the decision is important to the group and when the group has been working together for an extended period of time (Watson, Michaelson and Sharp, 1991). However groups can also hinder decision-making if a correct answer is not clear. Janis (1972) introduced the notion of Groupthink that advocates an increased chance of groups making faulty decisions under several conditions; strong group cohesion, isolation of group decision from public review, the presence of a directive leader in the group, and high stress levels. Group polarization (Janis, 1972) suggests that group decision-making is often more extreme weather is it more risky or cautious. "Groupthink" refers to "a mode of thinking that people engage in when they are deeply involved in a cohesive in-group, when the members' striving for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action."

Techniques to establish more effective decision making skills in political dimensions have been suggested. Hirt and Markman (1995) claim that implementing an individual in a group to find faults and to critique will enable the members to establish alternative view points. George (1980) suggested "multiple advocacy" which implements that a neutral person analyses the pros and cons of various advocate suggestions and thus makes an informed decision. Applied psychology theories to improve productivity of political groups include implementing "team development" techniques, "quality circles" and autonomous work groups.
Leadership

The concept evolved in Ancient Greece, whereby a council of leading citizens was commonly empowered and contrasted with direct democracy, in which a council of citizens was appointed as the "senate" of a city state or other political unit. The Greeks did not like the concept of monarchy, and as their democratic system fell, aristocracy was upheld. In Ancient Rome, the Republic consisted of an aristocracy as well as consuls, a senate, and a tribal assembly. In the Middle Ages and early modern era, aristocracies primarily consisted of an influential aristocratic class, privileged by birth, and often by wealth. Since the French Revolution, aristocracy has generally been contrasted with democracy, in which all citizens should hold some form of political power. However, this distinction is often oversimplified. In his 1651 book Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes describes an aristocracy as a commonwealth in which the representative of the citizens is an assembly by part. It is a system in which only a small part of the population represents the government. Modern depictions of aristocracy tend to regard it not as the ancient Greek concept of rule by the best, but more as a plutocracy—rule by the rich.

Leadership is a matter of intelligence, trustworthiness, humaneness, courage, and discipline ... Reliance on intelligence alone results in rebelliousness. Exercise of humaneness alone results in weakness. Fixation on trust results in folly. Dependence on the strength of courage results in violence. Excessive discipline and sternness in command result in cruelty. When one has all five virtues together, each appropriate to its function, then one can be a leader.
Theories of Leadership

Reemergence of Trait Theory

New methods and measurements were developed after these influential reviews that would ultimately reestablish trait theory as a viable approach to the study of leadership. For example, improvements in researchers' use of the round robin research design methodology allowed researchers to see that individuals can and do emerge as leaders across a variety of situations and tasks. Additionally, during the 1980s statistical advances allowed researchers to conduct meta-analyses, in which they could quantitatively analyze and summarize the findings from a wide array of studies. This advent allowed trait theorists to create a comprehensive picture of previous leadership research rather than rely on the qualitative reviews of the past. Equipped with new methods, leadership researchers revealed the following:

- Individuals can and do emerge as leaders across a variety of situations and tasks.
- Significant relationships exist between leadership emergence and such individual traits

Behavioral and Style Theory

In response to the early criticisms of the trait approach, theorists began to research leadership as a set of behaviors, evaluating the behavior of successful leaders, determining a behavior taxonomy, and identifying broad leadership styles. David McClelland, for example, posited that leadership takes a strong personality with a well-developed positive ego. To lead, self-confidence and high self-esteem are useful, perhaps even essential.
Functional Theory

Functional leadership theory (Hackman & Walton, 1986; McGrath, 1962; Adair, 1988; Kouzes & Posner, 1995) is a particularly useful theory for addressing specific leader behaviors expected to contribute to organizational or unit effectiveness. This theory argues that the leader's main job is to see that whatever is necessary to group needs is taken care of; thus, a leader can be said to have done their job well when they have contributed to group effectiveness and cohesion (Fleishman et al., 1991; Hackman & Wageman, 2005; Hackman & Walton, 1986). While functional leadership theory has most often been applied to leadership (Zaccaro, Rittman, & Marks, 2001), it has also been effectively applied to broader organizational leadership as well (Zaccaro, 2001). In summarizing literature on functional leadership (see Kozlowski et al. (1996), Zaccaro et al. (2001), Hackman and Walton (1986), Hackman & Wageman (2005), Morgeson (2005)), Klein, Zeigert, Knight, and Xiao (2006) observed five broad functions a leader performs when promoting organization's effectiveness. These functions include environmental monitoring, organizing subordinate activities, teaching and coaching subordinates, motivating others, and intervening actively in the group's work.

Integrated Psychological Theory

The Integrated Psychological theory of leadership is an attempt to integrate the strengths of the older theories (i.e. traits, behavioral/styles, situational and functional) while addressing their limitations, largely by introducing a new element – the need for leaders to develop their leadership presence, attitude toward others and behavioral flexibility by practicing psychological mastery. It also offers a foundation for leaders wanting to apply the philosophies of servant leadership and authentic leadership.
Integrated Psychological theory began to attract attention after the publication of James Scouller's Three Levels of Leadership model (2011). Scouller argued that the older theories offer only limited assistance in developing a person's ability to lead effectively. He pointed out, for example, that:

- Traits theories, which tend to reinforce the idea that leaders are born not made, might help us select leaders, but they are less useful for developing leaders.
- An ideal style (e.g. Blake & Mouton's team style) would not suit all circumstances.
- Most of the situational/contingency and functional theories assume that leaders can change their behavior to meet differing circumstances or widen their behavioral range at will, when in practice many find it hard to do so because of unconscious beliefs, fears or ingrained habits. Thus, he argued, leaders need to work on their inner psychology.
- None of the old theories successfully address the challenge of developing "leadership presence"; that certain "something" in leaders that commands attention, inspires people, wins their trust and makes followers want to work with them.

Scouller therefore proposed the Three Levels of Leadership model, which was later categorized as an "Integrated Psychological" theory on the Businessballs education website. In essence, his model aims to summarize what leaders have to do, not only to bring leadership to their group or organization, but also to develop themselves technically and psychologically as leaders.

The three levels in his model are Public, Private and Personal leadership:
The first two – public and private leadership – are "outer" or behavioral levels. These are the behaviors that address what Scouller called "the four dimensions of leadership". These dimensions are: (1) a shared, motivating group purpose; (2) action, progress and results; (3) collective unity or team spirit; (4) individual selection and motivation. Public leadership focuses on the 34 behaviors involved in influencing two or more people simultaneously. Private leadership covers the 14 behaviors needed to influence individuals one to one.

The third – personal leadership – is an "inner" level and concerns a person's growth toward greater leadership presence, knowhow and skill. Working on one's personal leadership has three aspects: (1) Technical knowhow and skill (2) Developing the right attitude toward other people – which is the basis of servant leadership (3) Psychological self-mastery – the foundation for authentic leadership.

Scouller argued that self-mastery is the key to growing one's leadership presence, building trusting relationships with followers and dissolving one's limiting beliefs and habits, thereby enabling behavioral flexibility as circumstances change, while staying connected to one's core values (that is, while remaining authentic). To support leaders' development, he introduced a new model of the human psyche and outlined the principles and techniques of self-mastery, which include the practice of mindfulness meditation.

**Leader–Member Exchange Theory**

Another theory that addresses a specific aspect of the leadership process is the leader–member exchange (LMX) theory, which evolved from an earlier theory called the vertical dyad linkage (VDL) model. Both of these models focus on the interaction between leaders and individual followers. Similar to the transactional approach, this
interaction is viewed as a fair exchange whereby the leader provides certain benefits such as task guidance, advice, support, and/or significant rewards and the followers reciprocate by giving the leader respect, cooperation, commitment to the task and good performance. However, LMX recognizes that leaders and individual followers will vary in the type of exchange that develops between them. LMX theorizes that the type of exchanges between the leader and specific followers can lead to the creation of in-groups and out-groups. In-group members are said to have high-quality exchanges with the leader, while out-group members have low-quality exchanges with the leader.

In-group members are perceived by the leader as being more experienced, competent, and willing to assume responsibility than other followers. The leader begins to rely on these individuals to help with especially challenging tasks. If the follower responds well, the leader rewards him/her with extra coaching, favorable job assignments, and developmental experiences. If the follower shows high commitment and effort followed by additional rewards, both parties develop mutual trust, influence, and support of one another. Research shows the in-group members usually receive higher performance evaluations from the leader, higher satisfaction, and faster promotions than out-group members. In-group members are also likely to build stronger bonds with their leaders by sharing the same social backgrounds and interests.

Out-group members often receive less time and more distant exchanges than their in-group counterparts. With out-group members, leaders expect no more than adequate job performance, good attendance, reasonable respect, and adherence to the job description in exchange for a fair wage and standard benefits. The leader spends less time with out-group members, they have fewer developmental experiences, and the leader
tends to emphasize his/her formal authority to obtain compliance to leader requests. Research shows that out-group members are less satisfied with their job and organization, receive lower performance evaluations from the leader, see their leader as less fair, and are more likely to file grievances or leave the organization.

**Leadership is Innate**

According to some, leadership is determined by distinctive dispositional characteristics present at birth (e.g., extraversion; intelligence; ingenuity). However, according to Forsyth (2009) there is evidence to show that leadership also develops through hard work and careful observation. Thus, effective leadership can result from nature (i.e., innate talents) as well as nurture (i.e., acquired skills).

**Leadership is Possessing Power Over Others**

Although leadership is certainly a form of power, it is not demarcated by power over people – rather, it is a power with people that exists as a reciprocal relationship between a leader and his/her followers (Forsyth, 2009). Despite popular belief, the use of manipulation, coercion, and domination to influence others is not a requirement for leadership. In actuality, individuals who seek group consent and strive to act in the best interests of others can also become effective leaders (e.g., class president; court judge).

**Leaders are positively influential**

The validity of the assertion that groups flourish when guided by effective leaders can be illustrated using several examples. For instance, according to Baumeister et al. (1988), the bystander effect (failure to respond or offer assistance) that tends to develop
within groups faced with an emergency is significantly reduced in groups guided by a leader. Moreover, it has been documented that group performance, creativity, and efficiency all tend to climb in businesses with designated managers or CEOs. However, the difference leaders make is not always positive in nature. Leaders sometimes focus on fulfilling their own agendas at the expense of others, including his/her own followers (e.g., Pol Pot; Josef Stalin). Leaders who focus on personal gain by employing stringent and manipulative leadership styles often make a difference, but usually do so through negative means.

**Leaders entirely control group outcomes**

In Western cultures it is generally assumed that group leaders make *all* the difference when it comes to group influence and overall goal-attainment. Although common, this romanticized view of leadership (i.e., the tendency to overestimate the degree of control leaders have over their groups and their groups' outcomes) ignores the existence of many other factors that influence group dynamics. For example, group cohesion, communication patterns among members, individual personality traits, group context, the nature or orientation of the work, as well as behavioral norms and established standards influence group functionality in varying capacities. For this reason, it is unwarranted to assume that all leaders are in complete control of their groups' achievements.

**All groups have a designated leader**

Despite preconceived notions, not all groups need have a designated leader. Groups that are primarily composed of women, are limited in size, are free from stressful decision-making or only exist for a short period of time (e.g., student work groups; pub
quiz/trivia teams) often undergo a diffusion of responsibility, where leadership tasks and roles are shared amongst members.

**Group members resist leaders**

Although research has indicated that group members’ dependence on group leaders can lead to reduced self-reliance and overall group strength, most people actually prefer to be led than to be without a leader (Berkowitz, 1953). This "need for a leader" becomes especially strong in troubled groups that are experiencing some sort of conflict. Group members tend to be more contented and productive when they have a leader to guide them. Although individuals filling leadership roles can be a direct source of resentment for followers, most people appreciate the contributions that leaders make to their groups and consequently welcome the guidance of a leader.

**Action orientation**

In most cases these teams are tasked to operate in remote and changeable environments with limited support or backup (action environments). Leadership of people in these environments requires a different set of skills to that of front line management. These leaders must effectively operate remotely and negotiate the needs of the individual, team, and task within a changeable environment. This has been termed action oriented leadership. Some examples of demonstrations of action oriented leadership include extinguishing a rural fire, locating a missing person, leading a team on an outdoor expedition, or rescuing a person from a potentially hazardous environment.
Dalit Leadership

In this study, the Dalit leadership categorized into temporal and spatial bases. The temporal basis, of the Dalit leadership has been perceived in the time-frame of Ambedkar's leadership as the rallying point. thus, divided the Dalit leadership into three phases: Dalit leadership before Ambedkar, presence of Ambedkar and after Ambedkar or the contemporary Dalit leadership. The spatial basis of Dalit leadership has been categorized at the national, state, district and panchayat levels though it has been concentrated only at the state level Dalit leadership. There is a general misconception that the Dalit leadership started with the emergence of Ambedkar on the socio-political scene sometimes in the early 1920s.

Dalit leadership of various types had existed in different parts of the country before Ambedkar took up the struggle of emancipation of Dalits. For instance, a number of Adi-drahvidien movements, the Mahar movement, etc. had emerged before Ambedkar. All these movements raised significant socio-political issues related to the Dalits. Therefore, when Ambedkar started his struggle for the upliftment of Dalits, he had enough cultivated ground though half-baked political material before him. The human resource in politics among the dalits was in the semi-conscious state and there was need to educate and encourage to protest against the tyrannical Hindu social order. It is essential to see and apply Ambedkar's leadership into three interrelated phases for changing society and adopting strategies for upliftment of the Dalit masses. They are model of social reforms, ideals of acquiring political power, and role model of lawgiver and emancipator of dalit and crusader of from Hindu religion. In the first phase, he wanted to bring social reforms within the Hindu social order and among the Dalits. He
waged certain exaltations to energise the Dalit masses and also change the hearts of people of the upper strata. He opined, "In order to uplift the outcastes, it is necessary to bring awareness among them without it is not possible to develop a consciousness. They must be made to know about their conditions and reasons for it and solution to overcome it. It is necessary that they should become charged with resentment of the injustice of their own condition. Without it, they cannot get rid of from the factors that obstruct their progress. And even this is not enough, while on the one hand the obstruction must be removed, one must also simultaneously promote conditions which will ensure their prosperity" (Ganaveer 1985: 21). social reformer, he vehemently criticized the Congress leadership and also other nationalist leaders for their not taking up the Dalit issues effectively. But when he realised that social reforms were not possible in the Hindu social order which is not proving much beneficial to the Dalits, he left it and started attacking the hindu stake holder from a more secular angle.

The second phase of Ambedkar's leadership started in the 1930s and continued till his resigning from the Nehru Cabinet in 1951 after framing and getting adopted the Constitution of free India. During this phase, Ambedkar resorted to the political weapon to get over the age old disabilities, degradation and exploitation of the Dalits. But he took this step only as a last resort. He argued, "when the untouchables lost all hope for their salvation through social reform, they were forced to seek political means for protecting themselves" (Ambedkar 1991: 190). He went on to achieve many political rights for the Dalits. but when he saw nothing much was coming out of the political means, he religious conversion for uplifting the Dalit brethren. discussed in details. his rational for adopting political stance for uplift of the Dalits.
The third phase of Ambedkar's leadership as a religious leader. He embraced Buddhism along with lakhs of his followers and thereby gave them new identity and religion so that they could come out of their stigmatised identity in the Hindu social order and lead a liberated life. Rationalizing, Buddhism, Ambedkar narrated that, "it is a religion based on moral principles ... unlike the founders of other religions, who consider themselves the emissaries of god, the Buddha regarded himself only as a guide and gave a revolutionary meaning to the concept of religion. He said that Buddhism started for equality ... Buddhism preached working for the well-being of all, for their happiness and for fostering the love of all. That which promised equal opportunity to all was the true religion" (Gore 1993:249-51). It is a bitter truth that after the demise of Ambedkar in 1956 there has been no Untouchable or Dalit leader of his stature, integrity and dedication. But there have been many leaders leading the movements of the Dalits either independently or being in various political parties. In their presence and struggle, "while the condition of some of the Untouchable groups particularly in the urban-industrial areas has improved, the condition of the others has probably worsened as a result of fear and the effort of the upper castes to screw the lid tight against the possibility of new aspirations raising their head among the untouchable, captive workers on land" (ibid:225). Similarly, Beteille (1997:201) argues, "A case study of the untouchables in India clearly shows that disabilities cannot be abolished ... Nobody would seriously claim, thirty-six years after the Constitution was adopted, that untouchables enjoy in the average Indian village the same rights as the other members of the community".

These inequalities exist even after 50 years of adoption and working of the Constitution. Yet, the assertion of the Dalits for achieving equality and other rights has
increased over all these years. More precisely, the independent Dalit leadership led by the Republican Party of India, Dalit Panthers and now BSP have shown the increasing level of consciousness among the Dalits for their rights. Though these three Dalit organizations or political parties rose, at different intervals, addressing the wider range of issues and having their cross-section followings specially in the case of the RPI and the BSP, these may be placed in the linear process of the evolution of the Dalits’ consciousness and assertion. From 1921, provincial legislatures started giving women voting rights, starting with Madras. Women had the same voting status as men in the British Raj by 1935. Indian National Congress was supportive of universal adult (21+, later modified to 18+) franchise, and thus all adult women - whether they were subjects of British India or princely states before - received voting rights. Some of the rights passed in British India government before independence and after Independence too.

**History of Separate Electorate System in India**

Separate Electorates are that type of elections in which minorities select their own representatives separately, as opposed to Joint Electorates where people are selected collectively. When minorities fear that they would not get representation in state affairs and government then they demand separate electorates. Same was the case with the Indian Muslims. They were very large in number, but in case of combined elections they would not get due representation. When the British implemented the system of democracy in India in order to strength their rule, and to involve local people in government, the Muslims demanded separate electorates. These were not imposed by British, however were granted on the request of the Muslims. When direct elections were introduced to increase the participation of Indians in government affairs, a deputation of
Indian Muslims led by Sir Aga Khan presented an address to Viceroy and Governor General Lord Minto at Simla on 1 October 1906. They asked for separate representation at all levels of government, district boards, legislative councils, and municipalities. They mentioned that they were almost one-fifth and in some areas one-fourth of the whole population. So they must be given recognition as an important factor of the state machinery. The positions given to the Muslims should not only depend on their numerical strength, but also on their political importance and contributions as they had ruled over India for a long time. Under the Act of 1892 in United Province, where Muslims were fourteen percent of population, they had not secured a single seat by joint franchise. And if by chance they would get any seats they would have to agree with Hindus, and thus had to go against their own interests. So, Muslims should be given separate representation for both local bodies and legislative councils, through separate electorates. Viceroy listened to them and promised them that their demands would put forward to British Government. With this positive response Muslims established their own political party named as All India Muslim League in December, 1906.

**Electorates Before Independence**

Quota systems favouring certain castes and other communities existed before independence in several areas of British India. Demands for various forms of positive discrimination had been made, for example, in 1882 and 1891 (Laksar, Mehbubul Hasan 2012) Shahu Maharaja of the princely state of Kolhapur, introduced reservation in favour of non-Brahmin and backward classes, much of which came into force in 1902. He provided free education to everyone and opened several hostels to make it easier for them to receive it. He also tried to ensure that people thus educated were suitably employed,
and he appealed both for a class-free India and the abolition of Untouchability. His 1902 measures created 50 percent reservation for backward communities (shrishahumaharaj 2011).

The British Indian government introduced elements of reservation in the Government of India Act of 1909 and there were many other measures put in place prior to independence (Laksar, Mehbubul Hasan 2012). A significant one emerged from the Round Table Conference of June 1932, when the Prime Minister of Britain, Ramsay Macdonald, proposed the Communal Award, according to which separate representation was to be provided for Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans. The depressed classes were assigned a number of seats to be filled by election from constituencies in which only they could vote, although they could also vote in other seats. The proposal was controversial: M. K. Gandhi fasted in protest against it but many among the depressed classes, including their leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, favoured it. After negotiations, M. K. Gandhi reached an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar to have a single Hindus electorate, with Dalits having seats reserved within it. Electorates for other religions, such as Islam and Sikhism, remained separate. This became known as the Poona Pact. (Menon, V P 1957)

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, during his presentation in 1931 round table conference, described the Indian society as divided in three distinct sections -Hindus, Muslims and the depressed classes. He further stated that India can be truly independent only if these classes elect their own representatives for taking part in the process of government. Dr B. R. Ambedkar, thus, juxtaposed the class concept on caste division in India and broadly categorized SCs, STs and OBCs as depressed class, as almost all of them are in the same
economic and social situation (Devyani Khobragade, 2016) He, therefore, demanded and got separate electorate for the depressed classes in 1932. The Communal Award was made by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on 16 August 1932 granting separate electorates in India for the Forward Caste, Lower Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans and Untouchables. The principle of weightage was also applied. The reason behind introduction of this 'Award' was that Ramsay MacDonald considered himself as 'a friend of the Indians' and thus wanted to resolve the issues in India. The 'Communal Award' was announced after the failure of the Second of the Three Round Table Conferences (India).

The 'award' attracted severe criticism from M. K. Gandhiji. As a result of the Third Round Table Conference, in November 1932, the then Prime Minister of Britain Ramsay MacDonald gave his 'award', known as the Communal Award. It provided separate representation for the Forward Caste, Lower Caste, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, Europeans and Dalits. The Untouchables were assigned a number of seats to be filled by election from special constituencies in which Untouchables could vote.  

The Award was highly controversial and opposed by M. K. Gandhi, who was in Yerwada jail, and fasted in protest against it. M. K. Gandhi feared that it would disintegrate Hindu society. However, the Communal Award was supported by many among the minority communities, most notably Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. According to Dr. Ambedkar, M. K. Gandhi was ready to award separate electorates to Muslims and Sikhs but was reluctant to give separate electorates to Untouchables. He was afraid of division inside Congress and Hindu society due to separate representations. But Dr. Ambedkar
insisted for separate electorate for depressed classes of India. After lengthy negotiations, M. K. Gandhi reached an agreement with Dr. Ambedkar to have a single Hindus electorate, with Untouchables having seats reserved within it. This is called the Poona Pact. Electorates for other religions like Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo Indians, Europeans remained separate (Asgharali Engineer 2006).

Akali Dal, the representative body of the Sikhs, was also highly critical of the Award since only 19 percent was reserved to the Sikhs in Punjab, as opposed to the 51 percent reservation for the Muslims and 30 percent for the Hindus (Bipan Chandra Engineer 1989).

**Electorates After Independence**

It is very Unfortunate that why later on, separate electorate could not be incorporated in the Indian constitution. Dr Ambedkar being chairman of drafting committee of constitution, could not demand for separate electorate again, in light of division of the country and also because he had earlier signed the Poona Pact under pressure. Because of this typical historical situation, representation of SCs and STs was sought to be achieved through the now failed and practically unworkable concept of reserved constituencies (Devyani Khobragade, 2016).

Several elections have been held in the country with reserve constituencies for Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribes. Did these elected representatives of SC/ST ensure the progress and welfare of Dalit population? A miniscule population from SC/ST may have gotten jobs because of reservation but majority of this section remains completely deprived of economic and social improvement. Did this representative contribute in stopping atrocities against SCs/STs? The worsening of their economic and social
conditions establishes that these elected representatives have done nothing for the SC/ST population.

According to national crime report bureau, atrocities against Dalits are on rise since 2013.\textsuperscript{15} National Crime Records Bureau, statistics show that 2,233 Dalit women were raped in 2014, up from 2,073 in 2013, 1,576 in 2012, 1,557 in 2011, 1,349 in 2010 and 1,346 in 2009. The sad death of RohithVemula and the other recent incidents are examples of the apathy of these representatives towards SC/ST. A perception has now developed amongst the Dalits that representatives elected from reserve constituencies are not in a position to ensure, nor are inclined to take issues of atrocities against Dalits, as also their economic development in the Parliament forcefully and influence government action in favour of SC/STs. This dismal condition is because SC/ST cannot elect their representatives through the flawed process of reserved constituencies (Devyani Khobragade,2016).

The reservation system pervasive in India emanated out of separate electorate system which was brought for the first time through Indian Councils Act, 1909. A proper analysis of the separate electorate system manifests that separate electorate system was a result of ‘Divide and Rule’ policy which British followed. Tracing the history of separate electorate system, it was brainchild of Prince Aga Khan, and his colleague NawabMohsin-ul-Mulk who spearheaded the organization of Muslims that safeguard their interests. The two presented demands of Muslim India to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto at Shimla. The Address read before the Viceroy by Prince Aga Khan \textit{inter alia} demanded the obscure ‘separate electorates’ for the Muslims of India. This was the genesis of separate electorate system in India. The Muslims asked for their separate
representations at all levels of Government working and called for elections for Muslims in these tiers should be held separately and exclusively by them thereby shrinking the chasm between Hindus and Muslims. It is noteworthy that to assert their stand and make known the correct viewpoint of Muslims, Prince Aga Khan thought that it was necessary to have a political platform and association for the Muslims of India and therefore, on 24th October, 1906 wrote a letter to NawabMohsin-ul-Mulk which went on to play a seminal role as with this document began the journey of Muslim League under whose flag the Muslims after getting freedom got a separate nation for themselves in the form of Pakistan. British Empire played a role of stooge and maneuvered the situation which shored up the communal tensions in the nation. Going by the current situation which has its seeds in the past, it would be apt if India is referred as ‘unity in division’ instead of ‘unity in diversity’.

The passing of Indian Councils Act, 1909 was a watershed event in the history of Indian legislature. The drafting of the said legislation was largely affected by the clamour voiced by Aga Khan and NawabMohsin-ul-Malik, as mentioned before. The 1909 Act fell back on Minto-Morley Reforms. The Act apart from providing elected majority in the Provincial Legislatures provided for elective representation at the Centre. The Act did not lay down the elective method for the elected members. The method was left to be decided under the Regulations made under the Act by Governor General of India. This laid the foundation stone for ‘separate electorate’ in India. A policy decision was taken by the Secretary of State that there was no need to keep an official majority in the Provincial Councils though was required in Central Legislature and the Act provided for the same. Under the Regulations, the 25 members out of the 60 members in the Central Legislature
were elected by non-official members of each of the Provincial Councils by the landholders of certain provinces, by the Mohammedan community in certain provinces, by Chamber of Commerce and others. The principle of communal election was accepted only in the case of Muslims and was implemented by the Regulations made under the 1909 Act. This was the outcome of unswerving and steadfast demands by Muslims who expressed serious concerns that a first past the post electoral system, like that of Britain, would leave them permanently subject to Hindu majority rule. The Act of 1909 stipulated, as demanded by the Muslim leadership that only Muslims should vote for candidates for the Muslim seats. In India’s pre-independence era, when the Muslims in India demanded fair representation in power-sharing with the British government along with the Hindus, the British government exacerbated the situation with their ‘Divide and Rule’ mindset and paved way for a separate electorate system for the Muslims. As a result, of the total 250 seats of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, 117 seats were kept reserved for the Muslims. Accordingly, the general elections of 1937 were held on the basis of the extended separate electorates, where only the Muslims voted for the 117 seats, in Bengal.

The principle of communal representation which was accepted under the Morley-Minto Reforms was retained and was pushed further in the Government of India Act, 1919. It thus so happened that in every Council, there were Mohammedan members in galore who were elected by Mohammedans. There were certain seats for Europeans in most of the Councils, while in the Punjab Council, there were some seats reserved for Sikh community. So far as Madras Council was concerned, there were seats reserved for non-Brahmans, Christians and Anglo-Indians. Similarly in Bombay Council, seats were
reserved for Mahratta community and in Bengal, the seats were reserved for Anglo-Indians. The Government of India Act, 1935 which holds the distinction of introducing federalism in India continued communal representation with weightage in favour of the Muslims and Sikhs. The elective seats in the House were divided among General seats, Sikh seats and Mohammedan seats. Some seats were reserved also for Scheduled Castes and women.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar too borrowed an idea from the Muslim League and voiced for ‘separate electorate system’ for Dalits considering the growing disparity between Dalits and rest of Hindu community. This move was stoutly rebutted by Mahatma Gandhi as he saw an endless abyss in case if Ambedkar’s demand is accepted. The report of the Simon Commission finally granted reserved seats to the Depressed Classes. However, Simon Commission Report remained a dead letter since Congress was involved in its making. To move out of the impasse, a Conference was held in London in 1930, and then a Second Round Table Conference in 1931 but petered out. The arbitration given by the British following the Second Round Table Conference regarding the status of various communities in the Constitution, called the Communal Award, was announced on August, 1932 which recognized the right of the untouchables to have a separate electorate. They were given the right to vote at the same moment within the framework of general constituencies and within 71 separate constituencies which could only be filled up by Dalit candidates. However this scheme was not palatable to Mahatma Gandhi which later led to “The Poona Pact” between Gandhi and Ambedkar introducing a system of reserved seats, in which 148 seats (instead of 71 as put forward by the Communal Award) were granted to the Untouchables in the Legislative Council. It ousted the
principle of separate electorates; in those 148 constituencies where the Untouchables were the most numerous – the members of the Depressed Classes would designate by themselves the four Dalit Leaders who would be the candidates among whom all the voters of the constituency, mixed of all castes, would then have to elect their representative.

The Indian history has been very grim for British blazed the communal tensions between Hindu-Muslims brethren and in the garb of providing equal opportunities and adequate representation to Muslims were promoting their ‘Divide and Rule’ policy. The current reservation system in India is a more nuanced form of ‘separate electorate’ system with certain variations. As is said that the present working system in India is marred by the reservations, it is manifest that it has a long history behind it which again was brainchild of British and Muslim brethren and Dalits were just pawns in this game.

The Poona Pact

Refers to an agreement between B. R. Ambedkar and M. K. Gandhi made on 24 September 1932 at Yerwada Central Jail in Poona, India. It was signed by Madan Mohan Malviya, Ambedkar and other leaders as a means to end the fast that Gandhi was undertaking at the jail. He had been protesting the decision by British Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald to give separate electorates to Dalits for the election of members of provincial legislative assemblies in British India.

There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of general electorate. Seats in the provincial Legislatures were as follows: These figures were based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils announced in Ramsay Macdonald's decision. Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure –
All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a
c constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates
belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the
single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary elections
shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate. The representation of the
Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint
 electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided
for in clause above for their representation in the provincial legislatures.

In the Central Legislature 19% of the seats allotted to the general electorate for
British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes. The
system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and
Provincial Legislatures as herein-before mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten
years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause 6
below. The system of representation of Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the
Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses (1) and (4) shall continue
until determined otherwise by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in
this settlement. The Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures of the
Depressed Classes shall be as indicated, in the Lothian Committee Report. There shall be
no disabilities attached to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed
Classes in regard to any election to local bodies or appointment to the public services.
Every endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in
these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for
appointment to the Public Services. In every province out of the educational grant an
adequate sum shall be ear-marked for providing educational facilities to the members of Depressed Classes.

When we turn to the pages of the Indian History, We come to know that the India was ruled by empire of Indian origin and it was rich country. When Arya’s came to India the caste system and Untouchability were took the birth on the Indian soil. They began to treat to Indian origins as untouchables. There is no word to explain of exploitation of untouchables by this caste system. Untouchability is borrowed and prejudiced mind set. Due to this inequality started. Against this system so many political leader, religious heads and social reformer were struggle to remove this kind of cast system, like Lord Buddha, Basaveshwar, Joythibaphule, ShahuMaharaj, etc. They struggled to bring equality among the people of Indian. Among the entire social reformer Dr.B.R.Ambedkar the greatest revolutionary played very important role to bring equality in the society. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar aim was to remove this unequal society and bring egalitarian society.

Untouchables were far away from social cultural, economical & political opportunities. To overcome these problems dalit need a political power and they are to be treated as human being. Therefore Dr.B.R.Ambedkar became a leader of untouchables and he demanded to British Government to give a Fundamental rights to untouchables in the 1930-32s Round Table conference, to give Separate voting power to achieve a political power. Through this untouchables have right to elect their own representatives like parliament, assembly and local bodies of India. But M K Gandhi was opposed to separate electorate system for untouchables in round table conference.
The termed conditions of the Poona Pact includes Seat reservation for the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) in provincial legislature

- The STs and SCs would form an electoral college which would elect four candidates for the general electorate

- The representation of these classes was based on the standards of joint electorates and reserved seats

- About 19 per cent of seats were to be reserved for these classes in legislature

- The system of election to the panel of candidates in both, Central and Provincial Legislature should come to end in 10 years, unless it ends on mutual terms

- The representation of the classes through reservation should continue as per clauses 1 and 4 until determined, else by mutual agreement between the communities

- The franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures of these classes should be indicated in the Lothian Committee report

- There should be a fair representation of these classes

In every province, the SCs and STs should be provided with sufficient educational facilities.

The elected representative of SC/ST from the reserved constituencies, are elected by all voters together (SC/SCT and general). The voters who are against the power of the SC/ST (general) are more than SC/ST voters in the reserved constituency, They will be
voting their own representative to safeguard the interest of the community. The voters are electing touchable SC’s who are working for upper caste and not representing real problems of untouchables. Dalit leader is invariably defeated by a Dalit who serves the cause of forces opposed to the Dalits. There is no need of better evidence than the defeat of Dr. Ambedkar himself in the two elections he fought, despite all Dalits being solidly united behind him. Dr. Ambedkar, after watching the working of the reserved constituency system for almost one decade was convinced this system was not ensuring representation of Dalit, insisted that SC/ST need to be allowed to elect their representative by separate electorate. Only this will ensure that government protects their political as well as economic rights. Even in one of his last speeches in Manmad, Maharashtra just before his demise, he forcefully articulated this demand of separate electorate.

**Conclusion**

There are many evidences of SC/ST elected representative from reserve constituency have witnessed as a mute spectator to atrocities took place on real Untouchables. For example Kambalapalli fire gut incident in Karnataka, Chundur incident in Andhra Pradesh, Khairalanji Massacre in Maharashtra, Una incident in Gujarat, Rohit Vemul issue in Hyderabad Central University, Kanhayyalal issue of JNU Delhi. Apart from this incidents there are many political decisions took against the Untouchables by touchable scheduled caste, for which Untouchables representative in assembly and parliament did not raise the issue, though it was harmful to Untouchables. For example, including touchable scheduled caste like Lambani, Bhovi, Vaddar, Korcha, Korma etc., in the scheduled caste list, for this there were four to five eminent elected
representative from Untouchable community were present, they did not raise the voice though it was trouble shooting to a Untouchables. Another incident in parliament that is introduction of reservation in promotion bill in parliament read by Untouchable and opposed and torned by touchable schedule caste. Supreme Court stay on reservation in promotion is in still remained as a problem. These are the stray incident which touches to the Untouchables. These incidents gives enough information telling that elected representative from reserve constituency have failed and protecting the interest of their own party, not for the real Untouchables.

Therefore there is need to reclaim and rejustify dreams of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar proposal of separate electorate for Untouchables. This is the needs to rethink what force stopped Baba saheb Ambedkar to think and include Acts in constitution and what power forcing elected representative from reserve constituency to protest the issues related to the Untouchables. Therefore the study would like to know the extent of social support and their locus stand and attitude towards separate electorate for Untouchables.

**Social Support**

A man is social animal society is an a web of social relations where in members of the family and neighbor hood associated with each other which forms a structural relationship and strong Social Support to each other as and when they require for meeting the problems. Without society support to each other it’s very difficult to servile in the society. this Social Support comes through for by many ways it includes members of the family that is mother, father, husband, wife, brother, sister social leaders, religions heads and people belongs to their own community. This requires equal support to each other.
There are differences extending the Social Support to each other depending on the degree of Social Support extended to a people in the society. The successes of the work depend on the degree of Social Support extended to people in the society. For extending Social Support to people, Representative plays a significant role in the society. Simply in the reserve constancy, Representative of Untouchables is not up to the expectation of Untouchables. Therefore, the separate electorate for Untouchables makes necessary. There for the formulated hypothesis that there is significant difference between caste Hindus and Untouchables in the context of separate electorate for Untouchables.

As important as social support is, many Americans don’t feel they have access to this valuable resource. When asked if there is someone they can ask for emotional support, such as talking over problems or helping make difficult decisions, 70 percent said yes. However, more than half (55 percent) also said they could have used at least a little more emotional support. In fact, experts say, almost all of us benefit from social and emotional support. And though it may seem counterintuitive, having strong social support can actually make you more able to cope with problems on your own, by improving your self-esteem and sense of autonomy. You don’t need a huge network of friends and family to benefit from social support, however. Some people find camaraderie among just a handful of people, be they co-workers, neighbors or friends from their church or religious institution, for instance. Yet social skills don’t always come naturally. Some people have trouble making social connections. Many others lose established connections due to life changes such as retirement, relocation or the death of a loved one. In any case, it’s possible to forge new connections to reap the benefits of a healthy support network.
Social support is the perception and actuality that one is cared for, has assistance available from other people and that one is part of a supportive social network. These supportive resources can be emotional (e.g., nurturance), tangible (e.g., financial assistance), informational (e.g., advice), or companionship (e.g., sense of belonging) and intangible (e.g., personal advice) (Wills, T.A. 1991).

Social support can be measured as the perception that one has assistance available, the actual received assistance, or the degree to which a person is integrated in a social network. Support can come from many sources, such as family, friends, pets, neighbors, co-workers, organizations etc. Government provided Social Support is often referred to as public aid. Social support is studied across a wide range of disciplines including psychology, medicine, sociology, nursing, public health, and social work. Social support has been linked to many benefits for both physical and mental health, but Social Support is not always beneficial.

There are four common functions of Social Support (Wills, T.A. 1985).

*Emotional support* is the offering of empathy, concern, affection, love, trust, acceptance, intimacy, encouragement, or caring (Langford, C.P.H, 1997). It is the warm than nurturance provide by sources of Social Support (Taylor, S.E. 2011) Providing emotional support can let the individual know that he or she is valued It is also referred to as "esteem support" or "appraisal support." (Wills, T.A. 1985).

1. **Tangible support** is the provision of financial assistance, material goods, or services (Heaney, C.A. 2008). It is also called instrumental support, this form of Social Support encompasses the concrete, direct ways people assist others (Langford, C.P.H, 1997).
2. *Informational support* is the provision of advice, guidance, suggestions, or useful information to someone. (Wills, T.A. 1991). This type of information has the potential to help others problem-solve (Langford, C.P.H, 1997).

3. *Companionship support* is the type of support that gives someone a sense of social belonging (and is also called belonging) (Wills, T.A. 1991).

4. This can be seen as the presence of companions to engage in shared social activities (Uchino, 2004).

   Researchers also commonly make a distinction between perceived and received support (Taylor, S.E. 2011). *Perceived support* refers to a recipient’s subjective judgment that providers will offer (or have offered) effective help during times of need. *Received support* (also called enacted support) refers to specific supportive actions (e.g., advice or reassurance) offered by providers during times of need (Gurung, R.A.R. 2006).

   Further more, Social Support can be measured in terms of structural support or functional support (Wiils, T.A. 1998). *Structural support* (also called *social integration*) refers to the extent to which a recipient is connected with in a social network, like the number of social ties or how integrated a person is within his or her social network (Barrera, M. 1986). Family relationships, friends, and membership include and organizations contribute to social integration. *Functional support* looks at the specific functions that members in this social network can provide, such as the emotional, instrumental, informational, and companionship support listed above (Uchino, B. 2004). Data suggests that emotional support may play a more significant role in protecting
individuals from the deleterious effects of stress than structural. Means of support, such as social involvement or activity (Kessler, R.C. 1984).

These different types of Social Support have different patterns of correlations with health, personality, and personal relationships (Barrera, M. 1986). For example, perceived support is consistently linked to better mental health whereas received support and social integration are not. In fact, research indicates that perceived Social Support that is untapped can be more effective and beneficial than utilized Social Support (Taylor, S.E. 2004). Some have suggested that invisible support, a form of support where the person has support without his or her awareness, may be the most beneficial (Bolger, N. Amarel, D 2007).

**Locus of Control**

Locus of control is the degree to which people believe that they have control over the outcome of events in their lives, as opposed to external forces beyond their control. Understanding of the concept was developed by Julian B. Rotter in 1954, and has since become an aspect of personality studies. People’s "loci", plural of "locus", (Latin for "place" or "location") is conceptualized as either internal, those people who believe they can control their life, or external, meaning they believe their decisions and life are controlled by environmental factors which they cannot influence, or that chance or fate controls their lives. Individuals with a strong internal locus of control believe events in their life derive primarily from their own actions: for example, when receiving exam results, people with an internal locus of control tend to praise or blame themselves and their abilities. People with a strong external locus of control tend to praise or blame external factors such as the teacher or the exam.
"A locus of control orientation is a belief about whether the outcomes of our actions are contingent on what we do (internal control orientation) or on events outside our personal control (external control orientation)," explained psychologist Philip Zimbardo in his 1985 book *Psychology and Life*. In 1954, psychologist Julian Rotter suggested that our behavior was controlled by rewards and punishments, and that it was these consequences for our actions that determined our beliefs about the underlying causes for these actions. Our beliefs about what causes our actions then influence our behaviors and attitudes. In 1966, Rotter published a scale designed to measure and assess external and internal locus of control.

The scale utilizes a forced-choice between two alternatives, requiring respondents to choose just one of two possibilities for each item. While the scale has been widely used, it has also been the subject of considerable criticism from those who believe that locus of control cannot be fully understood or measured by such a simplistic scale. It is also important to note that locus of control is a continuum. No one has a 100 percent external or internal locus of control. Instead, most people lie somewhere on the continuum between the two extremes.

Those with an internal locus of control:

- Are more likely to take responsibility for their actions
- Tend to be less influenced by the opinions of other people
- Often do better at tasks when they are allowed to work at their own pace
- Usually have a strong sense of self-efficacy
- Tend to work hard to achieve the things they want
• Feel confident in the face of challenges
• Tend to be physically healthier
• Report being happier and more independent
• Often achieve greater success in the workplace

Those with an external locus of control:

• Blame outside forces for their circumstances
• Often credit luck or chance for any successes
• Don't believe that they can change their situation through their own efforts
• Frequently feel hopeless or powerless in the face of difficult situations
• Are more prone to experiencing learned helplessness
• Internal locus of control is often used synonymously with "self-determination" and "personal agency." Research has suggested that men tend to have a higher internal locus of control than women and that locus of control tends to become more internal as people grow older. Experts have found that, in general, people with an internal locus of control tend to be better off.

**Personality Orientation**

Rotter (1975) cautioned that internality and externality represent two ends of a continuum, not an either/or typology. *Internals* tend to attribute outcomes of events to their own control. People who have internal locus of control believe that the outcomes of their actions are results of their own abilities. Internals believe that their hard work would lead them to obtain positive outcomes. They also believe that every action has its consequence, which makes them accept the fact that things happen and it depends on
them if they want to have control over it or not. *Externals* attribute outcomes of events to external circumstances. People with an external locus of control tend to believe that the things which happen in their lives are out of their control and even that their own actions are a result of external factors, such as fate, luck, the influence of powerful others (such as doctors, the police, or government officials) and/or a belief that the world is too complex for one to predict or successfully control its outcomes.

**Measuring Scale**

The most widely used questionnaire to measure locus of control is the 23-item (plus six filler items), forced-choice scale of Rotter (1966). However, this is not the only questionnaire; Bialer's (1961) 23-item scale for children predates Rotter's work. Also relevant to the locus-of-control scale are the Crandall Intellectual Ascription of Responsibility Scale (Crandall, 1965) and the Nowicki-Strickland Scale. One of the earliest psychometric scales to assess locus of control (using a Likert-type scale, in contrast to the forced-choice alternative measure in Rotter's scale) was that devised by W. H. James for his unpublished doctoral dissertation, supervised by Rotter at Ohio State University; however, this remains unpublished.

**Political Ideology**

Locus of control has been linked to political ideology. In the 1972 U.S. Presidential election, research of college students found that those with an internal locus of control were substantially more likely to register as a Republican, while those with an external locus of control were substantially more likely to register as a Democrat. A 2011 study surveying students at Cameron university in Oklahoma found similar results. Those
with an internal locus of control are more likely to be of higher socioeconomic status, and are more likely to be politically involved (e.g., following political news, joining a political organization) Those with an internal locus of control are also more likely to vote.

**Attitude**

An attitude is an evaluation of an attitude object, ranging from extremely negative to extremely positive. Most contemporary perspectives on attitudes also permit that people can also be conflicted or ambivalent toward an object by simultaneously holding both positive and negative attitudes toward the same object. This has led to some discussion of whether individual can hold multiple attitudes toward the same object. An attitude can be as a positive or negative evaluation of people, objects, events, activities, and ideas. It could be concrete, abstract or just about anything in your environment, but there is a debate about precise definitions. Eagly and Chaiken, for example, define an attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor.

This is nation has spent 70 year of Independent and also pledge the oath an Indian constitution. So for elected representative are ruling Government have not right to Implement the full constitution. There is continuous injustice, exploitation; Discrimination is done in the name of god religion and caste. People who gets justice they have a favorable Attitude towards elected representative and compare to the injustice done to the people.

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Daniel Katz classified attitudes into four different groups based on their functions

1. **Utilitarian**: provides us with general approach or avoidance tendencies
2. **Knowledge**: help people organize and interpret new information
3. **Ego-defensive**: attitudes can help people protect their self-esteem
4. **Value-expressive**: used to express central values or beliefs

Family plays a significant role in the primary stage of attitudes held by individuals. Initially, a person develops certain attitudes from his parents, brothers, sister, and elders in the family. There is a high degree of relationship between parent and children in attitudes found in them. Societies play an important role in formatting the attitudes of an individual. The culture, the tradition, the language, etc., influence a person's attitudes. It is a society, tradition, and the culture which teaches individuals what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. Political factors such as, ideologies of political parties, political leaders and political stability affect the attitudes of the people. A person's attitude also depends on issues such as his salary, status, work as such, etc.
Measurements

Many measurements and scales are used to examine attitudes. Attitudes can be difficult to measure because measurement is arbitrary, meaning people have to give attitudes a scale to measure it against, and attitudes are ultimately a hypothetical construct that cannot be observed directly. Following the explicit-implicit dichotomy, attitudes can be examined through direct and indirect measures. Whether attitudes are explicit (i.e., deliberately formed) versus implicit (i.e., subconscious) has been a topic of considerable research. Research on implicit attitudes, which are generally unacknowledged or outside of awareness, uses sophisticated methods involving people's response times to stimuli to show that implicit attitudes exist (perhaps in tandem with explicit attitudes of the same object). Implicit and explicit attitudes seem to affect people's behavior, though in different ways. They tend not to be strongly associated with each other, although in some cases they are. The relationship between them is poorly understood.

Attitude Strength

The strength with which an attitude is held is often a good predictor of behavior. The stronger the attitude the more likely it should affect behavior. Attitude strength involves:

Importance / personal relevance refers to how significant the attitude is for the person and relates to self-interest, social identification and value. If an attitude has a high self-interest for a person (i.e. it is held by a group the person is a member of or would like to be a member of, and is related to a person's values), it is going to be extremely important.
As a consequence, the attitude will have a very strong influence upon a person's behavior. By contrast, an attitude will not be important to a person if it does not relate in any way to their life.

The knowledge aspect of attitude strength covers how much a person knows about the attitude object. People are generally more knowledgeable about topics that interest them and are likely to hold strong attitudes (positive or negative) as a consequence.

Attitudes based on direct experience are more strongly held and influence behavior more than attitudes formed indirectly (for example, through hear-say, reading or watching television). Attitudes can serve functions for the individual. Daniel Katz (1960) outlines four functional areas.

**Knowledge**

Attitudes provide meaning (knowledge) for life. The knowledge function refers to our need for a world which is consistent and relatively stable. This allows us to predict what is likely to happen, and so gives us a sense of control. Attitudes can help us organize and structure our experience. Knowing a person’s attitude helps us predict their behavior. For example, knowing that a person is religious we can predict they will go to Church.

**Self Ego-expression**

The attitudes we express (1) help communicate who we are and (2) may make us feel good because we have asserted our identity. Self-expression of attitudes can be non-verbal too: think bumper sticker, cap, or T-shirt slogan. Therefore, our attitudes are part
of our identify, and help us to be aware through the expression of our feelings, beliefs and values.

**Adoptive**

If a person holds and/or expresses socially acceptable attitudes, other people will reward them with approval and social acceptance. For example, when people flatter their bosses or instructors (and believe it) or keep silent if they think an attitude is unpopular. Again, expression can be nonverbal [think politician kissing baby]. Attitudes then, are to do with being apart of a social group and the adaptive functions helps us fit in with a social group. People seek out others who share their attitudes, and develop similar attitudes to those they like.

**Ego Defensive**

The ego-defensive function refers to holding attitudes that protect our self-esteem or that justify actions that make us feel guilty. For example, one way children might defend themselves against the feelings of humiliation they have experienced in P.E. lessons is to adopt a strongly negative attitude to all sports.

People whose pride have suffered following a defeat in sport might similarly adopt a defensive attitude: “I’m not bothered, I’m sick of rugby anyway…”. This function has psychiatric overtones. Positive attitudes towards ourselves, for example, have a protective function (i.e. an ego-defensive role) in helping us reserve our self-image.
The basic idea behind the functional approach is that attitudes help a person to mediate between their own inner needs (expression, defense) and the outside world (adaptive and knowledge).

**Structure of Attitudes**

Attitudes structure can be described in terms of three components.

- **Affective component**: this involves a person’s feelings / emotions about the attitude object. For example: “I am scared of spiders”.
- **Behavioral** (or conative) component: the way the attitude we have influences how we act or behave. For example: “I will avoid spiders and scream if I see one”.
- **Cognitive** component: this involves a person’s belief / knowledge about an attitude object. For example: “I believe spiders are dangerous”.

This model is known as the **ABC model of attitudes**.

One of the underlying assumptions about the link between attitudes and behavior is that of consistency. This means that we often or usually expect the behavior of a person to be consistent with the attitudes that they hold. This is called the principle of consistency.

The principle of consistency reflects the idea that people are rational and attempt to behave rationally at all times and that a person’s behavior should be consistent with their attitude(s). Whilst this principle may be a sound one, it is clear that people do not always follow it, sometimes behaving in seemingly quite illogical ways; for example, smoking cigarettes and knowing that smoking causes lung cancer and heart disease.
There is evidence that the cognitive and affective components of behavior do not always match with behavior.

**Functions of Attitudes Example**

Imagine you are very patriotic about being British. This might cause you to have an ethnocentric attitude towards everything not British. Imagine further that you are with a group of like-minded friends. You say:

“Of course, there’s no other country as good as Britain to live in. Other places are alright in their own way, but they can’t compare with your mother county.”

(There are nods of approval all round. You are fitting in - **adaptive**). The people in the group are wearing England football shirts (This is the **self-expression function**).

Then imagine you go on to say:

“The trouble with foreigners is that they don’t speak English. I went to France last year and they were ignorant. Even if they could speak our language they wouldn’t do so. I call that unfriendly.

(Others agree with you and tell you of their similar experiences. You are making sense of things. This is the **knowledge function**). Then someone who has never travelled takes things a stage further…

“I don’t mind foreigners coming here on holiday…but they shouldn’t be allowed to live here….taking our jobs and living off social security. Britain for the British is what I say….why is it getting so you can’t get a decent job in your own country.”
**Emotion and Attitude Change**

Emotion is a common component in persuasion, social influence, and attitude change. Much of attitude research emphasized the importance of affective or emotion components. Emotion works hand-in-hand with the cognitive process, or the way we think, about an issue or situation. Emotional appeals are commonly found in advertising, health campaigns and political messages. Recent examples include no-smoking health campaigns and political campaign advertising emphasizing the fear of terrorism. Attitudes and attitude objects are functions of cognitive, affective and conative components. Attitudes are part of the brain’s associative networks, the spider-like structures residing in long term memory that consist of affective and cognitive nodes. By activating an affective or emotion node, attitude change may be possible, though affective and cognitive components tend to be intertwined. In primarily affective networks, it is more difficult to produce cognitive counterarguments in the resistance to persuasion and attitude change. Affective forecasting, otherwise known as intuition or the prediction of emotion, also impacts attitude change. Research suggests that predicting emotions is an important component of decision making, in addition to the cognitive processes. How we feel about an outcome may override purely cognitive rationales.

In terms of research methodology, the challenge for researchers is measuring emotion and subsequent impacts on attitude. Since we cannot see into the brain, various models and measurement tools have been constructed to obtain emotion and attitude information. Measures may include the use of physiological cues like facial expressions, vocal changes, and other body rate measures. For instance, fear is associated with raised
eyebrows, increased heart rate and increase body tension (Dillard, 1994). Other methods include concept or network mapping, and using primes or word cues in the era.

In India Caste is playing important role in electing the representatives to the varies bodies. This caste politics creating many problems the wrong persons is elected with right and valuable votes. The real problems are not rightly addressed. The problems of the untouchables are remained unchanged. It is important to reclaim and reexamine the proposal of separate electorate for untouchables. Therefore, the research were undertaken to know level of social support Locus of control and attitude towards separate electorate for untouchables.