

**Proceedings of the One-Day Faculty Development
Programme on “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian
Constitution and Indian Society”**

(Sponsored by RUSA)

20th January, 2016

Compiled by

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal

Organised by

**Department of Philosophy and P.G.Department of Public
Administration, Post Graduate Govt. College for Girls
Sector-11, Chandigarh**

Proceedings of the One-Day Faculty Development Programme on “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constitution and Indian Society”

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Message from the Principal

Education has an immense impact on the human society. It enables the human mind to think rationally and take the right decisions. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), 'a symbol of revolt' (as mentioned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India), was one of the front-ranking nation-builders of modern India. He is popularly known as the 'pioneer' who initiated the 'liberation movement' of roughly sixty-five million untouchables of India. Dr. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, made an indelible imprint on the body politics of the country. In his conception, democracy has an extraordinary role, which he defined as 'one person, one vote'; and 'one vote, one value'. Indians, especially, downtrodden people of India consider him as an immortal soul whose memory will for ever guide the nation on the path of social justice, liberty and equality. It can be said that the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is of great relevance to Indian society even today in achieving social justice, removal of untouchability, establishing equality and freedom and true democracy.

To follow the legacy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a RUSA Sponsored One-Day Faculty Development Programme on "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constitution and Indian Society" organised by the Department of Philosophy and P.G. Department of Public Administration held on 20th January, 2016 was a creative and fruitful effort to bring together the scholars and academicians from several disciplines to participate in the deliberations related to the conceptual understanding and insights of the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Department of Philosophy and P.G. Department of Public Administration need appreciation for organising a faculty development programme on a relevant theme and bringing proceedings in a published form. I wish them all success and congratulate the departments focusing on the issues which are so relevant in the present times.

Prof. Anita Kaushal
Principal,
Post Graduate Govt. College for Girls,
Sector-11, Chandigarh.

Preface

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is one of the most eminent intellectual figures of modern India. He appeared on the Indian socio-political scene in early 1920s and remained in the forefront of all social, economic, political and religious efforts for upliftment of the lowest stratum of the Indian society known as untouchables, women and other backward classes. He was a great scholar who made outstanding contributions as an economist, sociologist, legal luminary, educationist, journalist, parliamentarian and above all, as a social reformer and champion of human rights. We can see the vastness of his vision in the 'preamble' to the Constitution of India. It may be considered as the soul of Constitution. The preamble can be referred to as the preface, which highlights the essence of the entire Constitution. It was adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly and came into effect from 26th January, 1950. These are the opening words of the preamble to the Indian Constitution:

“WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

- JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
- LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
- EQUALITY of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all
- FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;
- IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do
- HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.”

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar emerged as a powerful jurist, political leader, philosopher, thinker, anthropologist, historian, orator, prolific writer, economist, scholar, editor, revolutionary and a revivalist for Buddhism in India. He was the chief architect of the Indian Constitution. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was posthumously awarded the Bharatratna, India's highest civilian award, in 1990. So, the present programme is an attempt to critically evaluate the relevance of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's vision and mission in present scenario and to prepare an extensive vision and mission document for the times to come. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's ideas, writings and outlook could well be characterized as belonging to that trend of thought called Social Humanism. He developed a socio-ethical philosophy and steadfastly stood for human dignity and freedom, socio-economic justice, material prosperity and spiritual discipline. He showed the enlightening path for Indian society via his ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity and made India a democratic country.

The year 2015-2016 has been observed as the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. The Department of Philosophy and P.G. Department of Public Administration, Post Graduate Government College for Girls Sector-11, Chandigarh organised a RUSA Sponsored One-Day Faculty Development on “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constitution and Indian Society” on 20th January, 2016 with the following objectives:

- To promote the ideas on social, economic, political, religious, human rights & constitutional reforms by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.
- To make the new generation aware about Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's ideas on social justice/equity/national integration and women empowerment.
- To explore the potentiality in Ambedkarism in Literature to strengthen the society and Indian national spirit.

We recieved a great enthusiasm from the participants regarding the theme of the programme and a good numbers of papers recieved to made the event successful. The present *Proceedings of the One-Day Faculty Development Programme on "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Conistitution and Indian Society"* is an outcome of the delivebrations made in the programme. This compilation of the insightful contributions made by all the participants including, eminent scholars, teachers and research scholars of the programme has a great relevance in the present times as we had celebrated 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. This book included available papers submitted for the programme and we are publishing it in its original form. Now this book is in the domain of wide range of readers including research scholars, teachers and students interested to study the philosphy of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar. Three annexures i.e. I- Programme Schedule, II- Report of the Programme, III-Supplementary Papers are also included in this volume. Hope scholars enjoy the reading of this book.

Ms. Shashi Joshi
Convener

Acknowledgements

The Department of Philosophy and P.G. Department of Public Administration, Post Graduate Government College for Girls, Sector -11, Chandigarh organised a RUSA sponsored One-Day Faculty Development Programme on 'Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constitution and Indian Society' on 20th January, 2016. This year celebrated as the 125th Birth Anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and this programme is a significant academic step towards the teaching of this great personality. Various political parties and state governments organised programs to mark the 125th birth anniversary of Ambedkar. UN celebrated Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's 125th Birth Anniversary by examining the relevance of his legacy to its global development goals, the world body heard a plea to declare 14 April, the birthday of the crusader against discrimination, as "International Equality Day". Dr. B.R. Ambedkar tried to remove untouchability in order to establish a new social order based on the principle of equality. His entire life has been a saga of relentless crusade for social justice. He adopted peaceful means of social change. He believed in the evolutionary process of social change, which moves on constitutional lines. He held that a really new society cannot be brought about through the means of 'violence', 'contempt' and 'hatred'. A welfare society of all cannot be developed on the basis of 'violence', 'force' and 'compulsion'. To him, violent approach to a peaceful society is not only unscientific but also improper and immoral. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar played a vital role in shaping the modern Indian society.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to Prof. Anita Kaushal, Principal, Post Graduate Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh for her constant guidance and encouragement in accomplishing this task. I would like to place on record my appreciation to the learned/ experienced resource persons i.e. Dr. Lallan Singh Baghel (Chairperson, Department of Philosophy, Panjab University, Chandigarh), Dr. Ganga Sahay Meena (Associate Professor, Centre for Indian Languages, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi), Dr. Ashutosh Angiras (Head, Department of Sanskrit, S.D. College (Lahore), Ambala Cantt.) and Dr. Emanuel Nahar (Director, Ambedkar Study Centre, Panjab University, Chandigarh) for their scholarly contributions in the various sessions and delegates for keen interest and active participation in the deliberations. A note of thanks to Prof. Binu Dogra (Dean) and Dr. Rama Arora (Vice-Principal) for their full time presence in the programme.

I would like to place on record our deep sense of appreciation to Ms. Shashi Joshi for her continuous blessings and encouragement for our all initiatives. A special thanks to all faculty members including Dr. Indu Sharma (Head), Dr. Pundrik Ojha, Mr. Ajay Kumar Sharma, Dr. S.K. Singh, Dr. Cheena Gambhir, Dr. Anoop Singh Kataria and Dr. Ritesh Nagpal of P.G. Department of Public Administration for their timely actions of planning/coordinating the programme and their pains taking work in all sessions. I am also thankful to Dr. Anita Khosla (Head, Department of Hindi) and Dr. Manoj Kumar (Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology) for their full academic support during the event. Last but not the least, the students of philosophy and public administration needs special appreciation for their selfless efforts to made this programme successful.

Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal
Co-ordinator

Table of Contents

1.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Mission to uplift the downtrodden through Social Justice : A Critical Analysis with Reference to the Constitution of India - Dr. Gobinda Chandra Sethi	9-16
2.	B.R. Ambedkar's Doctrines for Weaker Sections' Education and the Present Scenario - Ms. Gagandeep Kaur	17-24
3.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's thoughts on Social Reforms and Justice - Ms. Bhupesh Gill	25-29
4.	B.R. Ambedkar and his Philosophy on Indian Democracy: An Appraisal - Ms. Jyoti Sharma	30-38
5.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Indian Democracy - Dr. Anoop Singh	39-42
6.	B.R. Ambedkar: The Champion of Social Democracy - Dr. Ritesh Nagpal	43-47
7.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's thoughts on Indian National Spirit - Prof. Binu Dogra	48-51
8.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and His Vision for Reconstruction of Indian Society - Dr. S.K. Singh	52-57
9.	Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in Making India Modern: An Analytical Study - Ms. Reena Kushawaha	58-63
10.	Social inclusion through on EWS Quota under RTE Act 2009 with reference to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision - Ms. Minakshi Rana	64-70
11.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contribution to Women Empowerment - Dr. Pundrik Ojha	71-76
12.	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's effort for Women Empowerment - Ms. Anuradha Jaidka	77-80
13.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment - Ms. Charu Handa	81-84
14.	Women Liberation in the Vision of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar - Mr. Manoj Kumar	85-89
15.	Dr. Ambedkar and Gender Justice - Ms. Nidhi Saroop	90-93
16.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Society - Ms. Ritu Singh Kalsi	94-97
17.	Dr. B. R Ambedkar and Indian Economy - Ms. Poonam Arora	98-100

18.	Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar : A Forgotten Economist - Dr. Vinita Rao	101-104
19.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vision Towards Education - Ms. Monika Gogna	105-108
20.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Upliftment of Depressed Classes in Rural India - Ms. Shashi Joshi	109-114
21.	Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and Dalit Literature: - Ms. Tanuja Pathak	115-118
22.	Vision of Dr B. R. Ambedkar for Social Justice to Women: - Ms. Shailja S Beniwal	119-125
23.	Savindra Sawarkar: The First Dalit Painter of Modern Indian Art: - Dr. Guneeta Chadda	126-130
24.	Gender Equality: A Key To Sustainable Development: - Ms. Reetu Sharma	131-139
25.	Constitutional Amendments in Land Acquisition Act and its Impact on the Dalits - Dr. Sukhwant Sidhu	140-147
26.	डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर : व्यक्तित्व एवं विचार -डॉ. देशराज सिरसवाल	148-151
27.	डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर और उनका सामाजिक चिन्तन दलितों के सन्दर्भ में -डॉ. कमल कृष्ण	152-155
28.	डॉ. अम्बेडकर और नारी सशक्तिकरण -डॉ. मीना रानी	156-160
	Annexure-I: Programme Schedule	161
	Annexure-II: Report on One-Day Faculty Development Programme	162-165
	Annexure-III: Supplementary Papers	166-168

DR.B.R. AMBEDKAR'S MISSION TO UPLIFT THE DOWNTRODDEN THROUGH SOCIAL JUSTICE : A CRITICAL ANALYSIS WITH REFERENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

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Abstract

The objective of the Research Paper is to focus on the vision for social justice. His vision encompassed to overcome the social inequality based on caste. He had a mission to equate the downtrodden with the upper crest of the society through the mainstreaming the schedule castes and other minorities. Dr. Babasaheb Bhimarao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Dr.B.R.Ambedkar was born in 1891 was a multifaceted personality, an intellectual revolutionary, champion of social justice, a visionary, known as the messiah of the downtrodden and a statesman of the 20th century. It was a clarion call against the then upper cast domination both in social and political phenomenon. As the nation pays tribute to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on his 125th birth anniversary (April 14), one would realise that much more remains to be done to achieve his aim of social equality for the suppressed classes. A principal architect in drafting the Constitution, he made significant efforts at giving political rights and social freedom to Dalits. However, till date, members of Schedule Castes continue to face caste biases. He was the "beacon of light" for the millions of depressed, oppressed and exploited people of India. The question of social justice still exists in Indian society. The schedule castes coming under the clutch of untouchability are far away from social justice. He had thought of reservation to bridge the gap which exist between the upper and lower strata in the Indian society. On the basis of some occupation he had made the criteria for the Schedule caste and through reservation he had propagated extra benefit only to see the downtrodden at par in the Indian society. But it became the gamut of Indian Politics. There are multiple issues and challenges being faced by these communities and till date they have not got their due space. Though all are equal is the cardinal principle of democracy, it is a long way to realize this value in India.

KEY-WORDS: Champion, Social Justice, Empowerment, Untouchables, Democracy

Objective

- Explore the socio-political ideas of Dr. B R Ambedkar
- Vision of Ambedkar for the upliftment of the downtrodden under the aegis of social justice.
- Constitutional provisions dealt with the downtrodden such as: minority, SCs/STs/BCs/ etc.
- Development of Structural and functional Mechanism to handle the issues like untouchability, caste antagonism and other social evils.

Method

- Historico-Analytical method has been used. Analysis of Historical data such as primary i.e. writings of Ambedkar, government documents and Secondary i.e. books, journals, articles are followed during the writing of this research paper.

Hypothesis

- Persistent imbalances in the Indian society based on caste, colour, creed and sex has resulted socio-political movements.
- Class and caste antagonism were the key, which propelled the visionary to plunder the tone and text of the time.
- Socialist principle without economic inequality distracts from the very norm of democracy.
- Overall development of India is impossible without inclusive growth in other way, mainstreaming the downtrodden.

Literature Review

Post- independent India saw that a large number of people living in very deteriorated and poverty-stricken conditions. The problem in South Asia in general and India in particular was so much that it was not only confined to the economic one but also encompassed all other aspects of socio-cultural life. **The socio-political imbalances were prevalent and were in state of hue and cry for Social Justice and Social Development in India. Babasaheb favoured the formation of social-istic pattern of society based on equality, liberty and fraternity. It laid down certain provisions in Constitution of India for the social justice and development of the downtrodden India, as part of national commitment.**

The complexities and dissimilarities as a consequence plead to a “sense a clear cut set of conflicts and tension mounting: economically, socially and politically” Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, since the inception of the human being on earth, human society has persistently moved forward, never swayed despite of innumerable issues and challenges during the course of the time. These are transitory in nature. The Messiah of Downtrodden on his return to India in 1923, he founded ‘Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha’ with the main objective of spreading education and improving the economic conditions of the oppressed classes. With the slogan of ‘Educate - Agitate - Organise’ the social movement led by Dr. Ambedkar aimed at Annihilation of caste and the Reconstruction of Indian Society on the basis of equality of human beings.

Dimensions of Social Justice

Progressively new patterns and expands its frontiers and assumes new dimensions. Social justice has significance in the context of Indian society which is divided into Castes and Communities and they create walls and barriers of exclusiveness on the basis of superiority and inferiority such inequalities pose serious threat to Indian democracy. The concept of social justice takes within its sweep the objective of removing inequalities and affording equal opportunities to all citizens in social, economic and political affairs.

Socio-Economic Factor

India, while passing through the process of development is in the quest for finding our ways for a better and just socio-economic order. The search for a new model of socio-economic order is the need of the hour. Recent trends in Globalization, Urbanization, Mobilization of the poor in search of better life conditions and social justice movements compel us to think afresh.

Social justice is an application of the concept of distributive justice to the wealth, assets, privileges and advantages that accumulate within a society or state because the essence of justice is the attainment of the common goods as distinguished from the goods of individuals even of the majority. There have been two major conceptions of social justice one embodying the notion of merit and desert, the other those of needs and equality. The first conception involves ending of hereditary privileges and an open society in which people have the chance to display their desert. It is expressed in equality of opportunity and careers open to talents. The second conception implies that goods should be allocated according to each person's varied needs. As it aims to make people materially equal, it entails an idea of equality.

Just Social Order

Social justice involves the creation of just and fair social order just and fair to one and all. To make the social order just and fair for every member of the community, it may be necessary for the who are privileged to make some sacrifice's. In this sense, Social justice is a revolutionary ideal. It includes both the economic justice and social justice.

In India, justice is a generic term which includes both procedural and substantive justices the former providing rules of court procedures and mechanism what is generally known as natural justice and the latter making provision for social assistance. Benefits, facilities, concessions, privileges and special rights, to those who deserve and need such help describes by the omnibus term social justice.

Caste Hierarchy

Social justice in India is the product of social injustice our Caste system and social structure is the fountain head for social injustice. It is unfortunate that even sixty years after independence social justice is still a distant dream not within the reach of the masses. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women under the traditional Hindu Caste hierarchy had suffered for centuries without education and opportunities for advancement in life. Social justice is compensatory justice to offset the accumulated disabilities suffered by these historically disadvantaged sections of society and absorb them educationally and occupationally in the mainstream of national life. If opportunities are not given to develop their neglected talents there will be social imbalance and tension resulting in anarchy and disobedience to the rule of law.

Justice for the weak

Social justice being a multi-dimensional concept has been viewed by scholars of law, philosophy and political science differently. The term social justice is quite comprehensive. Social justice is a bundle of rights, it is balancing wheel between haves and have not's. It is a great social value in providing a stable society and in securing the unity of the country. In general, Social justice may be defined as "the right of the weak, aged, destitute, poor, women, children and other under-privileged persons".

National Values

The constitution of India was adopted on November 26, 1949. Some provision of the constitution came into force on same day but the remaining provisions of the constitution came into force on January 26, 1950. This day is referred to the constitution as the "date of its commencement", and celebrated as the Republic Day. The Indian Constitution is unique in its

contents and spirit. Through borrowed from almost every constitution of the world, the constitution of India has several salient features that distinguish it from the constitutions of other countries. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, was chairman of the drafting committee. He was the first Law Minister of the India. He continued the crusade for social revaluation until the end of his life on the 6th December 1956. He was honoured with the highest national honour, ' Bharat Ratna' in April 1990. B.R. Ambedkar was affectionately called Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

Preambular values

Dr. Ambedkar is the man of millennium for social justice, since he was the first man in history to successfully lead a tirade of securing social to the vast sections of Indian humanity, with the help of a law. Dr. Ambedkar was the man who tried to turn the Wheel of the Law toward social justice for all. He has strong fervor to attain social justice among the Indian Communities for this purpose he began his vocation. At the time of independence, the constitution makers were highly influenced by the feeling of social equality and social justice. For the same reason, they incorporated such provisions in the constitution of India. These are as follows – The words, “Socialist”, “secular”, “democratic” and “republic” have been inserted in the preamble. Which reflects it's from as a “social welfare state.” The expression “socialist” was intentionally introduced in the Preamble

In *D. S. Nakara v. Union of India*, the Supreme Court has held that the principal aim of a socialist state is to eliminate inequality in income, status and standards of life. The basic frame work of socialism is to provide a proper standard of life to the people, especially, security from cradle to grave. Amongst there, it envisaged economic equality and equitable distribution of income. This is a blend of Marxism & Gandhism, leaning heavily on Gandhian socialism. From a wholly feudal exploited slave society to a vibrant, throbbing socialist welfare society reveals a long march, but, during this journey, every state action, whenever taken, must be so directed and interpreted so as to take the society one step towards the goal.

In *Excel Wear v Union of India*, the Supreme Court held that the addition of the word 'socialist' might enable the courts to learn more in favour of nationalisation and state ownership of an industry. But, so long as private ownership of industries is recognised which governs an overwhelming large principles of socialism and social justice can not be pushed to such an extent so as to ignore completely, or to a very large extant, the interest of another section of the public, namely the private owners of the undertaking.

Elimination of Discrimination

The term 'justice' in the Preamble embraces three distinct forms- social, economic and political, secured through various provisions of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. Social justice denotes the equal treatment of all citizens without any social distinction based on caste, colour, race, religion, sex and so on. It means absence of privileges being extended to any particular section of the society, and improvement in the conditions of backward classes (SCs, STs, and OBCs) and women. Economic justice denotes on the non- discrimination between people on the basis of economic factors. It involves the elimination of glaring inequalities in wealth, income and property. A combination of social justice and economic justice denotes what is known as 'distributive justice'. Political justice implies that all citizens should have equal political rights, equal voice in the government. The ideal of justice- social, economic and political- has been taken from the Russian Revaluation (1917).

Constitutional prerogatives

The term 'equality' means the absence of special privileges to any section of the society, and provision of adequate opportunities for all individuals without any discrimination. The

Preamble secures at all citizens of India equality of status an opportunity. This provision embraces three dimensions of equality- civic, political and economic.

The following provisions of the chapter on Fundamental Rights ensure civic equality:

- a) Equality before the Law (Article 14).
- b) Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex of place of birth (Article 15).
- c) Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Article 16).
- d) Abolition of untouchability (Article 17).
- e) Abolition of titles (Article 18).

Political Equality

There are two provisions in the Constitution that seek to achieve political equality. One, no person is to be declared ineligible for inclusion in electoral rolls on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex (Article 325). Two, elections to the Lok Sabha and the state assemblies to be on the basis of adult suffrage (Article 326).

Directive Principles

Article 36 to 51 incorporate certain directive principles of State policy which the State must keep in view while governing the nation, but by Article 37 these principle have been expressly made non-justiciable in a court of law. Although these principles are not judicially enforceable, yet they are not without purpose. The report of the Sub- Committee said: "The principles of Policy set forth in this part are intended for the guidance of the State. While these principles shall not be cognizable by any Court they are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and their application in the making of laws shall be the duty of the State."

Welfare State

According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Directive Principles of State Policy is a 'novel feature' of the Indian Constitution. They are enumerated in Part IV of the Constitution. They can be classified into three broad categories- socialistic, Gandhian and liberal- intellectual. The directive principles are meant for promoting the ideal of social and economic democracy. They seek to establish a 'welfare state' in India. However, unlike the Fundamental Right, the directives are non- justiciable in nature, that is, they are not enforceable by the courts for their violation. Yet, the Constitution itself declares that 'these principles are fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws'. Hence, they impose a moral obligation on the state authorities for their application. But, the real force (sanction) behind them is political, that is, public opinion.

Reservation Policy

Though the reservation policy is just one of the instruments for development and social mobility of the weaker sections, it is nonetheless a vital force for social transformation and development with regard to the weaker sections, especially due to the lack of capital and other forces of development on downtrodden Indians.

The Socio-Cultural Gap

Another important thing to note is about the intra-gap among weaker sections. The socio-cultural gap is not merely between the SCs, STs and OBCs (weaker sections) but within the particular section itself. According, to some researchers, like 'creamy layer' – legally recognized among OBCs, be made legalised among SCs, and STs too; it is because socio-economic and political gap among the particular group has already been widened and established over the period of time, and the well-off sections – creamy layers, truly garner all the benefits provided for such weaker sections.

Findings

The social movement of dalit rejects the so-called Brahminical ideology, criticizes government policies, spreads political awareness among its members, apart from other functions stated above. The growth and spread of the social movement have resulted into growth and spread of various dalit political parties, i.e., Bahujan Samaj Party, Republic Party of India, Dalit Panthar Party etc. Despite this, however, the intra-rivalries among themselves have not allowed them to grow to the extent of becoming the ruling party except in few pockets of the nation.

Rajani Kothari observes that because of the rivalries among them specially between SCs and OBCs, the strong front of SCs, STs and OBCs for common socio-political struggle could not be established and thus according to him social justice is in dilemmas (Kothari, 1998). Some of the reasons for such rivalries are: (a) still quite significant socio-cultural differences exist among these social groups especially in rural India; (b) vested interest among elites of these groups do not allow them for united strong front, as some of these elites are afraid of losing power; (c) other antagonistic groups very often create misunderstanding among them.

Despite such, due to some of the contention policies of the government, the dalits are expected to launch common and better socio-political struggle with enlightened vision. Moreover, all the people cannot be brought under the same umbrella. Only those who realizes the situations and become conscious enough of their 'social being' would participate in such socio-political struggle. The people belonging to so-called upper castes can also participate on humanistic ground, as it is the struggle of social freedom through social transformation and development.

Suggestions

The downtrodden struggle to rule the nation through political mobilization however, requires some cautions too. First, if the downtrodden party's captures the state it should not reverse the exploitation to so-called upper castes as previously dalits were exploited by them, but firmly practice the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. Second, within the given hierarchical social order, social justice is a mere dream as several studies point out; hence, the emphasis should be on 'social transformation' – that is total destruction of caste and other inhuman social system. Third, the policy of state should be carried on for fullest development of mankind and bring equality in its fullest possible form rather than evolving new type of systems of inequality. In sum, after independence 'state' (based on unequal social system) gives birth to 'social justice'; social justice leads to formation of 'base class'; base class initiates and matures 'social movements'; social movements gives boost to 'political parties'; political parties capture the state to rule; and the state makes social system on the basis of equality, liberty and fraternity through social transformation and social reconstruction.

Testing of Hypothesis

If the hypothesis stated above is succeeded and materialized, the programme of social justice for weaker sections would become non-functional and unnecessary and no need for further social justice would be felt. In new type of social system, the state should give emphasis on building strong socio-economic development and enhancement of creativity and development of human personality through the process of social transformation and development. The hypothetical prediction about just society should not be considered as illusion or Utopia; rather the intellectuals should optimistically strive to promote such a system to occur.

Conclusion

Ambedkar made valuable contribution to the social and political thinking. He strongly denounced the outrageous attitude of the Brahminical Hinduism towards the untouchables and worked for the liberation of the untouchables from the oppression of the higher caste

Hindus. Through his writings and speeches he made the people conscious of the political, economic and social problems of the untouchables and impressed the need of paying social attention to the amelioration of the miserable condition of the untouchables. The influence of his ideas is evident from the fact that the new Constitution not only ensured equality to all the citizens but also took definite steps to abolish untouchability and made its practice in any form an offence punishable under law. In short the legal remedies taken to uplift the untouchables were due to the influence of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

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B.R AMBEDKAR'S DOCTRINES FOR WEAKER SECTIONS' EDUCATION AND THE PRESENT SCENARIO

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Abstract

“Constitution is not a mere lawyer’s document, it is a vehicle of Life, and its spirit is always the spirit of Age”. As rightly said by B.R. Ambedkar, the making of Constitution of India which specially deals with the social, economical, educational and political upliftment of the weaker sections such as Scheduled tribes and Scheduled Castes. This paper deals B.R Ambedkar’s Constitutional doctrines for Educational provisions for weaker sections which particularly involves SCs, STs, Minorities and Women and the present scenario of educational provisions for this vulnerable group.

Key words: education, provision, caste, constitution, upliftment.

Introduction

“Education is the single most important instrument for social and economic transformation. A well educated population, adequately equipped with knowledge and skill is not only essential to support economic growth, but is also a precondition for growth to be inclusive since it is the educated and skilled person who can stand to benefit most from the employment opportunities which growth will provide.” (Para 10.1 of the Approach to the XIIth Five Year Plan).

Education is not only a tool to enhance understanding and knowledge of everything present and happening around but is also an avenue for ensuring an all-round growth and development of personality in all respects. Our country’s educational system should be so attuned and implemented so that the benefits of education reach one and all especially the most deprived sections of our society. The value of holding a basic education is in itself a frequently overlooked asset. Education has had an independent effect on life expectancy, increasing the age for educated individuals (Simon Wigley & Akkoyunlu-Wigley 2006). Education is the essence of Human Resource Development which plays a significant and remedial role in balancing the socio- economic fabric of the country. Since valuable resource of any country lies in its citizens, our billion-strong nation needs the nurture and care in the form of basic education to achieve a better quality of life.

B.R Ambedkar, a social activist, politician, visionary saw the value of social equity through education within India, who became the chief architect of India's constitution. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1989) recognized the importance of education in shaping the future and cautioned the under-privileged not to lose any opportunity to get that right, and said **"We may forego material benefits, but we cannot forego our right and opportunities to reap the benefit of the highest education to the fullest extent."** He put all his efforts to guarantee the educational opportunities without any discrimination to all the citizens of independent India. Ambedkar dedicated a significant portion of his life in improving the quality of life and social status of weaker sections. He is an intellectual who led the upliftment of the depressed classes in society. He has been strongly critiqued by the existing fundamentalist ideologies which are perpetuated by the proponents of traditional values (like Gandhian ideology). Ambedkar though, had suggested the way of upliftment of depressed classes was through schooling. He consolidated his views in a letter to the Anti-Untouchability League and stated that the upliftment of depressed classes depends on schooling (education) of the community as a whole (Chatterji, 2008).

Ambedkar established various educational institutions in Maharashtra especially for weaker sections of society. These included Siddharth College, Milind College and other similar schools for untouchables and women. He could understand the importance of education and interpreted a philosophy of education with his deep knowledge of the Indian society. Ambedkar negated the external intervention in space of education (globalization and education), and directed towards a socialist model of education according to Buddhist ideology. This also examines the relevance of his philosophy of education with the movements of liberation of depressed classes, which are in turn based on education. (Wodeyer D.H, 2005).

Weaker Sections or Vulnerable Groups

The present paper covers the weaker section provision for education which includes Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, OBC, Women and Minorities.

ARTICLE 366: Defines

- **"Schedule"** means a Schedule to this Constitution.
- **"Scheduled Castes"** means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purposes of this Constitution;
- **"Scheduled Tribes"** means such tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution.

Other Backward Classes- In the Indian Constitution, OBCs are described as "socially and educationally backward classes", and the Government of India is enjoined to ensure their social and educational development -for example, the OBCs are entitled to 27% reservations in public sector employment and higher education.

Minorities- The Constitution of India uses the word 'minority' or its plural form in some Articles – 29 to 30 and 350A to 350B– but does not define it anywhere. Article 29 has the word "minorities" in its marginal heading but speaks of "any sections of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture". This may be a whole community generally seen as a minority or a group within a majority community. Article 30 speaks specifically of two categories of minorities – religious and linguistic. The remaining two Articles – 350A and 350B – relate to linguistic minorities only

.Educational Provisions

The provisions and safeguards for backward classes and especially for SC's and ST's have been incorporated in the Constitution of India. The safeguards are in the fields of social,

economic, political, educational, and cultural and services under the State for the people belonging to these communities for their development.

Educational Safeguards for SC/ST/OBC and Minorities

Article 15(4) empowers the State to make special provisions for advancement of any socially and economically backward classes or citizens and for Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled

Tribes. This provision has enabled the State to reserve seats for Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in educational institutions including technical, engineering and medical colleges.

Art. 15 (5): This clause was added in 93rd amendment in 2005 and allows the state to make special provisions for backward classes or SCs or STs for admissions in private educational institutions, aided or unaided.

Article 28 has made certain provisions for the education of the minorities including:

(i) No religious instruction shall be provided in educational institutions wholly maintained out of state funds.

(ii) If any institution has been established under any endowment trust even if administrated by state, can impart religious education.

(iii) None person attending an educational institution recognized by the state or receiving funds from state government shall be required to take part in any religious worship or instruction that may be conducted in such institutions or in any premises attached there to unless such person or if such person in a minor and his guardian has given his consent thereto

Article 29(1) provides that “Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same”

Art. 335: Allows relaxation in qualifying marks for admission in educational institutes or promotions for SCs/STs.

Article 350(a) provides for adequate facilities for instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education for children belonging to linguistic minority groups. The Article has relevance for Scheduled Tribes as some of them have a distinct language/dialect.

Directive Principle of State Policy 46

Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections – The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Provisions for Women

Art. 15(3): It allows the state to make special provisions for women and children. Several acts such as Dowry Prevention Act have been passed including the most recent one of Protection of women from domestic violence Act 2005.

Art. 39: Ensures equal pay to women for equal work.

Present Status

DR.B.R Ambedkar had a real foresight towards the upliftment of weaker sections. His words “educate, agitate and organize, have faith in yourself. With justice on our side I do not see how we can loose our battle to me is a matter of joy. You must abolish your slavery yourselves. Do not depend for its abolition upon god or a superman” give a push to the society to impart equal opportunistic education to all its citizens.

The SCs STs OBCs, and Minorities, have been forced to remain as the Weaker Sections of India, and the Women confined or oppressed to be the most and multiply exploited sections

of the Country, for nearly four millenniums. This bad situation, can not and should not continue anymore. Definitely not in the 21st century of the 3rd millennium, in an age of fast travel and mass communication.

The Government of India is doing special and tangible tasks, to free and liberate the Weaker Sections, from the cobwebs of oppression, marginalisation and backwardness. They have to be uplifted to the levels of normal human-beings of the World. The present status includes the educational upliftment from the primary level education upto higher education to skill development of the mentioned vulnerable groups.

Education of Women/Girls

“If you educate a man you educate an individual, however, if you educate a woman you educate a whole family. Women empowered means mother India empowered”. - PT. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

As rightly said by Jawaharlal Nehru, education to women is the most powerful instrument of changing their position in the society. Education also brings about reduction in inequalities and also acts as a means to improve their status within the family. In order to encourage education of women at all levels and to dilute gender disparity in the provision and acquaintance of education, schools, colleges and even universities were established exclusively for women in the country. To bring more girl children, especially from marginalised BPL families, into the mainstream of education, government has been providing a package of concessions in the form of free supply of books, uniform, boarding and lodging, clothing for hostilities, mid-day meals, scholarships, free by-cycles and so on (SSA, 2001). Some of the educational schemes for girls and women in their upliftment are:

Educational Schemes for Girls in Technical Courses

- **UDAAN- Wings to Girl Child**

The Scheme is dedicated to the development of girl child education, so as to promote the admission of girl students. 951 students have been selected by the CBSE. The aim is to address the teaching gap between school education and engineering entrance examinations. It seeks to enhance the enrolment of girl students in prestigious technical education institutions through incentives & academic support. It offers free online supplementary lessons in physics, chemistry and maths specially prepared in the form of videos, text and practice tests on a tablet.

- **Pragati**

PRAGATI aims at providing encouragement and support to girl child to pursue technical education. 4000 girls will be benefited every year with the restriction that only one girl per family with income less than 6 lakhs/annum will be considered.

- **Skill Upgradation Training Programme**

- Provision of skill training to women in SHG has been given recognition so as to enable them to start their own income-generating activities. The duration of the training and the cost depends on the nature of the trade selected by the members.

- **Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV)**

KGBV are residential upper primary schools for girls from SC, ST, OBC Muslim communities and BPL girls. KGBVs are set up in educational backward blocks where schools are at great distances. KGBVs reach out to adolescent girls who are unable to go to regular schools to out of school girls in the 10 age group who are unable to complete primary school and younger girls of migratory populations in difficult areas of scattered habitations that do not qualify for primary/upper primary schools. KGBVs provide for a minimum reservation of 75% seats for girls from SC/ST/OBC and minorities

communities and 25% to girls from BPL families. As of now till 30th September 2014-15, 3609 KGBVs have been sanctioned in the country enrolling 352389 girls therein.

- **Construction & Running of Girls Hostel**

The Centrally sponsored scheme titled “Construction & Running of Girls’ Hostel for Students of Secondary & Higher Secondary Schools” was launched in 2008-09. The main objective of the Scheme is to improve access to and retain the girl child in secondary and higher secondary classes (IX-XII) so that the girl students are not denied the opportunity to continue their study due to distance to school, parents’ financial affordability and other connected societal factors. The girl students in the age group of 14-18 years studying in classes IX to XII belonging to SC, ST, OBC, Minority Community and BPL families form the target group of the Scheme. Students passing out of KGBVs will be given preference in admission in hostels. At least 50% of girls’ students should be from SC, ST, OBC, and Minority Communities.

- **National Scheme of Incentive To Girls For Secondary Education**

The Centrally Sponsored “National Scheme of Incentive to Girls for Secondary Education”(NSIGSE) was launched in May 2008 with the objective to establish an enabling environment to reduce the dropouts and to promote the enrolment of girl children belonging mainly to SC/ST communities in secondary schools.

SSA for Elementary Education

Bridging gender and social category gaps in elementary education is one of the four goals of SSA. Consequently, SSA attempts to reach out to girls and children belonging to SC, ST and Muslim Minority communities. SSA has identified Special Focus Districts on the basis of adverse performance on indicators of girls’ enrolment, as well as concentration of SC, ST and minority communities. The general interventions under SSA apply to all girls and children belonging to disadvantaged and weaker sections; these include ensuring availability of primary and upper primary schools within the habitation as prescribed under the RTE Rules, uniforms, textbooks, etc. Special Training interventions are also largely focused on girls and disadvantaged groups, because it is this category of children who are most deprived of opportunities to pursue their education.

Educational Schemes for SC/ST

Under SSA, the enrolment of SC children increased substantially. There was also a significant reduction in the number of out-of-school SC children from 8.2% in 2005 to 5.9% in 2009 as per an independent study commissioned by the Ministry. Similarly there is reduction in the percentage of out-of-school ST children from 9.5% 2005 to 5.2% in 2009. In the case of children from Muslim minorities the percentage of out-of-school children reduced from 10% to 7.7% in the same period. This reflects a positive trend of increased awareness among parents towards accessing education. (MHRD REPORT, 2014-15).

- **CBSE Scholarships**

CBSE Reward Scheme for Meritorious Students From Government Schools Affiliated To CBSE: A reward of 1 Lakh to 400 toppers students including SC/ST and General category from classes IX to XII in CBSE affiliated Government School, from 2013.

- **Board Merit Scholarship Scheme for SC/ST Students**

Merit Scholarship Scheme for SC/ST students @ 250/- per month each to 23 students of Class-X and 500/- per month to 25 students of Class- XII.

- **Central Sector Scheme of National Overseas Scholarship for SC etc. Candidates**

The Scheme provides financial assistance to the finally selected candidates for pursuing Master level courses and Ph.D abroad. Thirty awards per year are available under the

Scheme. Following specified fields of study:-Engineering; b) Management; c) Pure Sciences; d) Agricultural Science; and e) Medicine

- **Central Sector Scheme of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship'**

Government of India had launched a Central Sector scheme namely, Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship during the financial year 2005-06 to increase opportunities to Scheduled Castes for pursuing higher education leading to degrees such as M.Phil. and Ph.D. The scheme has been revised with effect from 1.4.2010. The scheme caters the requirements of the Scheduled Caste students for pursuing research degree in universities, research institutions and scientific institutions. This will not only enable them to be eligible for employment to the posts of Lecturers lying vacant in various colleges and universities but will equip them to effectively take advantage of the growing opportunities at the national and international level in the context of the new economic order.

- **Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya**

Reservation Policy for admitting students in the JNVs:

At least 75% seats in a district are filled by candidates selected from rural areas and the remaining seats are filled from urban areas of the district.

Reservation of seats in favour of children belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes is provided in proportion to their population in the concerned district provided that no district, such reservation will be less than the national average (15% for SC and 7.5% for ST) but subject to a maximum of 50% for both the categories (SC & ST) taken together. These reservations are interchangeable and over and above the candidates selected under open merit.

One third of the total seats are filled up by girls.

Total number of students as on 31.08.2014 (Admission in Class VI is in progress through wait list):

Total No of Students	Boys	Girls	Rural	Urban	General	SC	ST	Total
	144243	90696	183783	51156	131740	59094	44105	234939
%age	61.40	38.60	78.23	21.77	56.07	25.15	18.77	

- **National Monitoring Committee (NMC)**

The MHRD had constituted a "National Monitoring Committee for Education of SCs, STs and Persons with Disabilities" in June, 2012 to advise the Government on all matters pertaining to education and its pursuit for SCs, STs and Persons with Disabilities. Due to all these efforts Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Higher Education for students belonging to SC and ST has increased instead at the national level as may be seen in the Table given below:

Year	GER of Other than SC/ ST	GER of SC Students	GER of ST Students
2010-11	21.44	13.5	11.2
2011-12	23.27	14.9	11.0
2012-13(P)	23.59	15.12	11.04

Source: All India Survey on Higher Education, MHRD.

Educational Provisions for Minorities

- **Model Degree Schools**

Model Degree Colleges were targeted to be established in the 374 Educationally Backward Districts (EBDs), including 64 Minority Concentration Districts. Establishment of 27 Model Degree Colleges in the MCDs has been approved. The scheme of establishment of the Model Degree Colleges in the Minority Concentrated Districts (MCDs) will continue under the Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA).

- **National Council For Promotion of Urdu Language (NCPUL)**

The objective of NCPUL is promotion of Urdu Language in the country and it advises Government of India on issues connected with Urdu Language. During the year 2014-15 (up to 31.10.2014), 10 new NCPUL fully aided Study Centre in the North Eastern Region through registered NGOs opened for One Year Diploma in Computer Applications, Business Accounting.

- **Scheme of Infrastructure Development In Minority Institutions (IDMI)**

IDMI has the objective of augmenting infrastructure in private aided/unaided minority schools/institutions in order to enhance quality of education of the minority children. The salient features of IDMI scheme are:-

- a. The scheme would facilitate education of minorities by augmenting and strengthening school infrastructure in Minority Institutions in order to expand facilities for formal education to children of minority communities.
- b. The scheme will cover the entire country but, preference will be given to minority institutions
- c. The schemes will inter-alia encourage educational facilities for girls, children with special needs and those who are most deprived educationally amongst minorities.
- d. The scheme will fund infrastructure development of private aided/unaided minority institutions to the extent of 75% and subject to a maximum of Rs.50.00 lakh per institution for strengthening of educational infrastructure and physical facilities in the existing schools.

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be stated that society is in a continuous process of evolution. It will take several decades for the imbalances to be rectified. It is not easy to eradicate deep-seated cultural value, or alter tradition that perpetuates discrimination. Education of both men and women will lead to change in attitudes and perceptions. It is considered to be the main accelerator for the progress and the improvement of the status of women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. Ambedkar like others realized education to be a priority for the society and for growth of individuals with character. Ambedkar also saw education as something that can create radical changes in an oppressed society and create avenues for change which are equal for all. With the emphasis on NPE (1986, 1992), SSA(2001), RTE (2010) equal opportunistic education has increased its arm length to the weaker sections with its various schemes and is leading towards the upliftment of the vulnerable group. With the glorious words of B.R AMBEDKAR ***“Education is something which ought to be brought within the reach of every one.”***

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DR.B.R. AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS ON SOCIAL REFORMS AND JUSTICE

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Abstract

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, an eminent jurist and the chief architect of the Constitution of India, who untiringly fought for the rights of downtrodden people of the Indian society. Being a social reformer, he strongly condemned the prevalent caste system in Indian society and challenged the legitimacy of orthodox hindu social order which in one form or the other perpetuated untouchability and inequality in India. In the above context, the present paper is an attempt to exhibit B.R. Ambdekar's relevance in the society. Further, the research recognizes the interlink age between social justice and social reforms and will also analyse the contemporary relevance of B.R. Ambedkar's vision on social reforms and social justice. His quest to establish a just society can be best seen through the Preamble of Indian Constitution itself, where he had made certain provisions for the weaker sections of the society. Ambedkar's just society is based on the principle of Justice- Social, Economic and Political, liberty, equality and fraternity where each individual not only have the access to the wealth , assets, privileges of life but he also has the right to live with dignity within the society. He further gave emphasis on the fact that political democracy cannot be established in true sense without Social and Economic Democracy. Further, the present paper will deal with the objectives which are as follows:

1. To exhibit B.R. Ambdekar's relevance in the society and his contribution to the society.
2. To recognizes the interlink age between social justice and social reforms.
3. To analyse the contemporary relevance of B.R. Ambedkar's vision on social reforms and social justice.

Key-words: Social Reforms, Social Justice and Social Democracy.

Introduction

The concept of overall development which not only gives emphasis on economic but also on social, political, cultural development of an individual in the society is deeply rooted in the vision of Just Society as envisaged by Ambedkar. According to him, a society must be free from all forms of inequalities and individual should be placed above the society not visa-versa. In this connection, India has made considerable efforts to achieve an integrated growth on the lines of Ambedkar's Just Society. So, in the light of the above statement it becomes essential to discuss Ambedkar's contribution to society in Indian context and to analyse the contemporary relevance of B.R. Ambedkar's vision on social reforms and social justice.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the chief architect of Indian Constitution and also a great teacher, educationist, lawyer, economist, anthropologist, sociologist, author, orator, politician, trade union leader, preacher and above all social revolutionary. In India so many social reformers emerged to fight against injustice in favour of dalit communities, however a few leader successfully communicated they own ideas to societies towards the welfare of depressed society. Particularly, Ambedkar worked for the Dalit rights, women rights, backward castes, minorities and working class people and struggled all his life for the minimum dignity of all human beings irrespective of caste or class (Ranjithkumar, 2011). A growing body of research has highlighted that Ambedkar advocated the principles of social justice for the depressed section of the society and condemned all those social evils which perpetuated poverty, inequality and disharmony in the society. He also urged that social democracy cannot be established in the absence of economic and political democracy.

Ambedkar's Contribution to the Society:

Among the galaxy of social reformers and philosophers in India, BharathaRatna Dr. BhimraoRamji Ambedkar, reverentially and most affectionately called 'Babasaheb Ambedkar' occupies a prominent place in the annals of India's social history. Being a social reformer, he strongly condemned the prevalent caste system in Indian society and challenged the legitimacy of orthodox hindu social order which in one form or the other perpetuated untouchability and inequality in India. Ambedkar used his pen, incorporating philosophical tenets in the preamble and various other provisions in the Indian Constitution to remove the social injustice. For example, Art. 38 was incorporated to remove the economical inequality, Art. 45 was inserted to destroy the curse of illiteracy and ignorance, Art. 38 and 39 were to eliminate exploitation of man by man, Art.31 (A) was intended to abolish feudal over lordship; and Art. 17 were added to abolish untouchability which was the curse in the Indian society. He stood for human unity, freedom, simplicity, integrity, liberty, equality, social and economic justice (Prasad and Shafi, 2015).

The vision he had while framing the constitution of India is based on the concept of *lex rex*, that is, law is the king not *rex lex* which means king is law. In the light of the above mentioned statement, Ambedkar believed that the upliftment of the vulnerable sections of the society in all sense is possible where there is Rule of Law. His contribution towards the transformation and reconstruction of Indian society would be incomplete without discussing his key role played during the framing of Indian constitution. In order to safeguard the rights for all and to establish a just society Ambedkar had given various provisions in the form of Fundamental rights. His far sighted ideology to provide social and economic justice in society is exhibited through the Preamble of Indian constitution itself. To solve the problem of economic exploitation, during the process of framing the Constitution of the Republic of India, Dr. Ambedkar proposed to include certain provisions on fundamental rights, specifically a clause to the effect

that the state shall provide protection against economic exploitation. Among other things, this clause proposed that:

1. Key industries shall be owned and run by the state;
2. Basic but non-key industries shall be owned by the state and run by the state or by corporations established by it;
3. Agriculture shall be a state industry, and be organized by the state taking over all land and letting it out for cultivation in suitable standard sizes to residents of villages; these shall be cultivated as collective farms by groups of families (Venkatesh, 2002).

Justice Krishna Iyer a former judge of the supreme court of India says, "Social justice is not cant but conscience, not verbal borrowing from like documents but the social force of the supreme law". Social justice is people oriented; legal justice is canalized, controlled and conferred by law. Social justice is the product of social injustice and seeks to remove social and economic inequalities and ensure equality of status, equality of opportunity. Social justice of today becomes the legal justice of tomorrow.

In the above context, Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy of social and economic justice is based on the principles of social democracy and state socialism which were meant to remove social and economic inequality in India respectively (Subhash, 2015)

HIS Vision on Social Justice and Social Reforms:

According to DIAS, justice is not something which can be captured in a formula once or for all, it is a process, complex and shifting balance between many factors (Shabbir, 2005).

The tasks of justice are "the just allocation of advantages and disadvantages, preventing the abuse of power, preventing the abuse of liberty the just decision of disputes and adapting to change" which has been guaranteed in the form of various provisions in the form of articles and acts. (Rawls, 2002). According to Utilitarian, social justice is being one of the dimensions of justice which stands for fraternity; with a view to create such human social conditions which ensure free and fair development of all human beings (Khan, 2001). Corresponding to the above mentioned concepts on justice, Ambedkar also advocated the principles of social justice based on equality, liberty and fraternity.

Ambedkar condemned the prevailing caste-ridden society and the atrocities faced by the dalit community. This led him to work for the protection of dalit rights and upliftment of the status of the Dalits. In 1924, he started legal practice in Bombay and founded the *Bahishkrit Hitkarni Sabha* (Depressed Class Institute) to uplift the Dalits. Henceforth, he started his movement and took the cause of the Dalits. He roused the dalit consciousness to fight for the eradication of dalit discrimination; to claim equality of treatment, status and opportunity; to equally enjoy all rights, that is, civil, political, social and economic and respect for the dignity of persons. He was considered a crusader for the human rights of the Dalits in India (Makwana, 1992). Apart from this, Ambedkar was a great supporter of women's liberation. He blamed the verna system, which has not only subjugated Dalits but also women. He questioned *Manu Smriti* (Laws of Manu), the law book (Dharam-Shastra) of Brahminic Hinduism and attributed to Manu, the legendary first man and lawgiver. *Manu Smriti* prescribed the Dharma of each Hindu, stating the obligations attached to his or her social class and stage of life. It was hostile to the interest of lower caste people and women. It prohibited re-marriage of widows. He felt that *Manu Smriti* was solely responsible for the downfall of Hindu women. He encouraged the Dalits to embrace Buddhism to liberate their own selves from Hindu subjugation. Hence he fought for the right to choose ones' faith (Joseph, 2009).

Interlinkage Between Social Justice and Social Reforms:

In order to analyse the interlinkage between Social Justice and Social reforms, it becomes essential to explain various Social reforms and Social movements which gave emphasis to construct and transform a society free from all type of inequalities. Ambedkar is India's foremost human rights activist during the 20th century, who has not only condemn the existing caste system but also provide ((Vasant Moon)different mechanisms and provisions which laid the foundation of Social, economic, political justice in the society. He adopted various means to safeguard dalit rights. Ambedkar launched a movement against dalit discrimination by creating public opinion through his writings in several periodicals such as *Mook Nayak*, *Vahishkrit Bharat*, and *Equality Janta*, which he started for the protection of dalit rights (Joseph, 2009).

He also launched innumerable movements; one of the memorable struggles of the Dalits was the Vaikom Satyagraha in Travancore in Maharashtra which asserted the right of the Dalits to worship in Hindu temples without hindrance. Ambedkar organized the Dalit rally to assert their legal right to take water from the Chowdar tank. Ambedkar fought for the rights of workers and peasants. In the late 1920s and especially in the 1930s when he had formed his Independent Labour Party, he took up the cause of tenants (from both the dalit Mahars and the caste Hindu Kunbis) in the Konkan region of Maharashtra (Joseph, 2009).

In the above context, it becomes explicit that Ambedkar was the great champion for the cause of dalits, he fought untiringly for the rights of dalits and highlighted economic exploitation faced by them. He advocated that for upliftment of dalits and their social inclusion in the mainstream society, there is an utmost need to eliminate all forms of social evils which are prevalent in Indian society and for this purpose Ambedkar recommended social reforms as a series of positive actions to achieve Equality, liberty and fraternity in India.

Ambedkar and His Vision in Contemporary ERA:

Within the frame work of social, political, economic issues in the contemporary era Ambedkar's perspective and far sighted ideas on Just society is very much relevant, in the sense that every scheme and initiative taken by the government laid stress on the benefits for all which ensures equal distribution of wealth and resources to all the sections of the society. For the instance: Right to Education Act (2009), National Food Security Act (2013), Pradhan Mantri *Jan Dhan Yojana* (PMJDY), 2014 etc. Apart from this, the initiatives taken by the International organisations such as Millennium Development Goals, United Nations, Non-governmental organisations in the world and UNICEF, enables people to live with dignity, taken measures to eradicate poverty and hunger as well as improvements in health, education, living conditions, environmental sustainability and gender equality. World summit on Sustainable Development is also a step in this direction. Moreover, Fundamental Right (example: Article 14- 18), incorporated in Indian constitution is also prevalent in today's times because many Supreme Court Judgments were taken in the back drop of these Fundamental rights and has been interpreted by the Supreme court from time to time. Here, it is to be noted that, there are certain loopholes in the schemes launched for the welfare of the society especially for the downtrodden people and the women being considered as the second sex and the most vulnerable section of the society. But these schemes has played a magnificent role which has benefited the marginalised section of the society to a lager extent and also made them aware of their rights and will going to benefit to the future generation as well as envisaged by Ambekar in the form of a just society.

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B.R. AMBEDKAR AND HIS PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY : AN APPRAISAL

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Introduction

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar(1891-1956) held a prominent position among the Twentieth century leaders of India. He was widely read in history, culture and religion. He realised that distortion of religion and misinterpretation of history and culture did more harm to Indian social life than foreign invasions and domination for centuries. Ambedkar took upon himself the task of fighting for religious, social and economic equality in the Indian society. Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, 'a symbol of revolt' (as mentioned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India), was one of the front-ranking nation-builders of modern India. He is popularly known as the 'pioneer' who initiated the 'liberation movement' of roughly sixty-five million untouchables of India. Yet, Dr. Ambedkar, the chief architect of Indian Constitution, notwithstanding all handicaps of birth, has made, by pursuit of knowledge in the humanities, social sciences, politics and law, an indelible imprint on the body politic of the country. A glance of his copious writings would evidently show that despite his preoccupations with the problems of the dalits (Untouchables), Ambedkar has in his own way, made significant contributions to the contemporary political ideas.

B.R.Ambedkar stood apart from his well-known famous contemporaries of India in three respects. First, being a great scholar, social revolutionary and statesman, he had in himself a combination of these attributes that one rarely possesses which made him distinguished from other intellectual personalities of that time. As an intellectual, gigantic personality and creative writer, he had imbibed knowledge that was truly encyclopedic. The range of topics, width of vision, depth and sophistication of analysis, rationality of outlook and essential humanity of the arguments that he came-up with made him different from his illustrious contemporaries. Secondly, Ambedkar never wrote merely for literary purpose. In his scholarly pursuit as in his political activities, he was driven by a desire to comprehend the vital issues of his time and to find solutions to the problems of Indian society. With this motivation, he intervened,

at times decisively in shaping the social, economic and political development of the nation during its formative stage. There was hardly any issue that arose between the early 1920s and the mid-1950s in India to which Ambedkar did not apply his razor-sharp analysis, whether it was the question of minorities, reorganization of states, partition, constitution or the political and economic framework for an independent India. Dr Ambedkar was a strong supporter of Democracy. He Constituted the Constitution of India and gifted the Democratic set up of the Government for the welfare of the People. On the one hand Scholars Appreciated the work of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel for the integration of the Country, at the same time we cannot forget the contribution of Baba Sahib Ambedkar Who has given such an amazing system which is considered to be the best in the present scenario.

Ever Changing Democracy

Dr Ambedkar wrote that the shape of democracy is always under change. As a layman we are taking the meaning of Democracy which is ever changing. Dr Ambedkar has cited the example of Athens Democracy Which is extremely different from its today's form. In Athens only 50% people were Independent rest 50% were slaves who were deprived of all facilities. If we are taking the example of Britain, the form of Democracy underwent a great change before and after the revolution of 1688. He further said that not only the form but its objectives also changes from time to time. For example in England the main objective of Introducing Democracy is Actually to limit the Anarchy of the Monarch, but the king was powerful there as the consequence of so real Democracy could not be established there. Today the objective of Democracy is not to limit the power of the Monarch but to do the Welfare of the people. Ambedkar had faith in the wisdom of the people. He did not favour hero workshop which he said was sure road to degradation. He said that, "we may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of the majority, to bind themselves, but none to blind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country". In his own words, "If Democracy can enable those who are running it to bring about fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and if the people accept those changes without resorting to bloodshed, then I can say there is democracy."

In this article, an attempt has been made to provide an insight into B.R. Ambedkar's idea on democracy. He was a true democrat and advocated a democratic society based on the principles of natural justice, equity and classification according to aptitude, ability and profession. The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government but in the social relationships. He considered caste system in India as a serious obstacle in the path of democracy. He said "The first condition precedent for the successful working of democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. Secondly, there must be statutory provisions to mitigate the sufferings and to safeguard the interest of the suppressed and oppressed people. The society must be based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity in order to ensure social endosmosis". According to him, economic inequalities are inherent in the capitalist economy which makes political equality assured by democracy worthless. Thus, according to Ambedkar, the failure to recognize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy has vitiated parliamentary democracy. Ambedkar maintained therefore that though "parliament democracy developed a passion for liberty, it never made a nodding acquaintance with equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality and did not even endeavor to strike a balance between liberty and equality, with the result that liberty swallowed equality and left a progeny of inequalities"

General Connotation of Democracy:

Democracy is the most valued and also the indistinct political terms in the modern world. The ancient Greek word 'democracy' means rule by the demos, which can be translated as either 'the people; or 'the mole' depending on one's ideological preference. By itself, democracy means little more than that, in some undefined sense, political power is ultimately in the hands of the whole adult population and that no smaller group has the right to rule. Democracy can only take on a more useful meaning when qualified by one of the other word with which it is associated, for example, liberal democracy, representative democracy, participatory democracy or direct democracy. Although all free societies are democratic, democracies can fail to protect individual freedom. Countries are generally considered democratic to the extent that they have fair and frequent elections in which nearly all adults have the right to vote, citizens have the right to form and join organizations and to express themselves in alternative sources of information existed. Architects of democracy must determine the constitutional structure that best suits the needs of a particular country, alternative forms of constitutional democracy include parliamentary versus presidential forms of government, plurality versus proportional representation system and federal versus unitary systems. In a Parliamentary system, the Prime Minister is elected by the parliamentary process and can be removed from office by a vote of no confidence from the Parliament. Executive and legislative powers are fused in a Parliamentary System. In a Presidential system, the President is elected directly by the people and there is a formal separation of powers.

B.R. Ambedkar's idea of Democracy in Indian Context:

According to Ambedkar, democracy means fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and the acceptance of those changes by the people without resorting to disputes and bloodshed. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value not only in the political life of India but also in social and economic life. He wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy. He gave central importance to social aspects of democracy over political aspects, unlike many others whose discourse on democracy is confined to the political and institutional aspects. Ambedkar paid greater attention to social linkage among people than separation of powers and constitutional safeguards for democracy. The concept of power contained in his thinking has a direct relationship between social power and political power. He was conscious of the social and economic inequalities which corrode the national consciousness of the Indian people. Ambedkar said, "We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the lease of it social democracy". Ambedkar paid serious attention to religious notions that promote democracy. Ambedkar viewed the religious foundation of caste as the fundamental obstacle to democracy in India on the one hand and the Buddhist doctrine of liberally, equality and fraternity as the foundations for democracy on the other hand. He writes, "It is common experience that certain names become associated with certain notions and sentiments, which determine a person's attitude toward men and things. The names, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisha and Shudra are hierarchical divisions of high and low caste, based on birth and act accordingly". Ambedkar thinks of democracy from the viewpoint of practical life. He belongs to the realistic school of political scientists. He is not bothered about the principles and theories of political science. During the national improvement, his aim has to have justice and freedom for the people in the real sense. He aspired for having a government of the people, for the people and by the people. According to Ambedkar, democracy means no slavery, no caste, and no coercion. He wants free thoughts that choice and capacity to live and let live,

which his conscience, would be the right path to democracy. Ambedkar says "Democracy is a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society". Ambedkar is the greatest political thinker. Outwardly this may seem strange that in India, life was the monopoly of the Brahmin caste and was completely denied to other castes for thousands of years. However, here no contradiction is involved. It was the very privileged position assigned to the Brahmin that became the cause of the retardation. In Indian society, property, illiteracy, caste distinctions as the positive dangers to democracy. In these situations, educational facilities and economic help should be provided for those who are illiterate and backward on one hand and on the other, who want to wipe on the roots of caste system in order to safeguard the interest of democracy. Ambedkar says, "If you give education to the lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste systems, the caste system will be blown up". At the moment, the indiscriminate help given to education by the Indian Government and American foundation is going to strengthen the caste system. Giving education to those who want to blow up caste system will improve prospect of democracy in India and put democracy in safer hands.

In Indian society, class structure is a positive danger to democracy. This class structure made a distinction of rich and poor, high and low, owners and workers. "Practically speaking in a class structure there is, on the other hand, tyranny, vanity pride, arrogance, greed, selfishness and on the other, insecurity, poverty, and degradation, loss of liberty, self reliance, independence, dignity and self respect." According to Ambedkar, the aim of democracy is essentially need for the interest of society as a whole, and not for any class, group or community. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar, while speaking on "conditions precedent for the successful working of Democracy", in Poona, emphasized that, "The first condition which I think is a condition precedent for the successful working of democracy is that there must be no glaring inequities in the society. There must not be an oppressed class. There must not be a suppressed class. There must not be a class which has got the entire privileges and a class which has got all the burdens to carry. Such a thing, such a division, such an organization of society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution and perhaps it would be impossible for democracy to cure them." To him, real democracy is opposed to the suppression of minorities. The suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the negation of democracy and humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into tyranny. Ambedkar holds that the individual in society is an end in him and he has certain inalienable right in social relationship, which must be guaranteed to him by the consumption on certain reasonable conditions and be protected by the state.

The democratic principles of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are considered to be the essentials of human life in Ambedkar's concept of democracy. He attaches more importance to human well being and human rights. The effective opposition is an important factor in the working of a successful democracy. Democracy means a veto power. There are two aspects of the veto power, one is the long term veto of five years and the other -an immediate one. There must be people in the parliament immediately ready there and then to challenging Government. Secondly, there must be equality in law and administration for efficient functioning of democracy and there is need of a permanent civil service for implementing the policy of the Government. The importance of free opposition and consent is a needful requirement of popular Government, Ambedkar says "Democracy is unrealizable without freedom of political discussion. A right to vote gives a man no real part in controlling government unless is free to form his own opinions about his vote, to hear what others have to say about the issues and to persuade

others to adopt his opinion.” Democracy to Ambedkar is “a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed.” In democracy, there should be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe that although the majority carrying on the Government, the minority will not be hurt and that the minority will not be imposed upon. Ambedkar appreciated Harold Laski for his insistence on the moral order as a basic necessity of democracy. He says that if there is no moral order, democracy will get to pieces. It requires a “Public conscience”. “A political democracy without an economic and social democracy is an invitation to trouble and danger”. Social democracy alone can assure to the masses the right to liberty, equality and fraternity. So, democracy is not only a form of government but a way of life through which social justice can be established. Social justice ensures that society should promote the welfare of all. Democracy is a dynamic attitude towards human life. It attaches a great importance to virtues like tolerance and peaceful methods. Thus, parliamentary democracy involves non-violent methods of action, peaceful ways of discussion and acceptance of decision with faith and dignity, There are two other pillars on the which parliament system rests. This system needs an opposition and free and fair elections. Ambedkar says, “ In a Parliamentary democracy, there should be at least two sides. Both should know each other well. Hence a ‘financial opposition’ , is needed opposition which is the key to a free political life. No democracy can be without it.” In modern times, Dr. Ambedkar appears to educate and enlighten people to adopt the fair means for a change of government. “Election must be completely free and fair. People must be left themselves to choose whom they want to send to the legislatures.”

The consequences of the caste system on politics and election are quite obvious. Caste are so distributed that in any area there are major castes carrying the seats of Assemblies and Parliament by sheer communal majority voting is always communal, because the minority communities are coerced and tyrannized for casting their vote in favour of a particular candidate.

The democratic principles of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are considered to be the essentials of human life in Ambedkar’s concept of democracy. He attaches importance to human well being and human rights. The essence of democracy, to Ambedkar, is that as many members of a society as far as possible should share in the exercise of human rights. It means that there should be equal opportunities for all citizens and harmony among the claims of each person. Discrimination in human rights is the very negation of social and political democracy. Thus, Ambedkar puts emphasis on equality, and liberty of human rights.

According to Ambedkar, parliamentary democracy has all the marks of a popular Government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. In parliamentary democracy, there is the executive who is subordinate to the legislative and bound to obey the legislative. The Judiciary can control both the executive and legislative and keep them both within prescribed bounds. Ambedkar says, parliamentary democracy has not been at a standstill. It was progressed in three directions. It began with equality of political rights by expanding in the form of equal suffrage. Secondly, it has recognized the principle of equality of social and economic opportunities. Thirdly, it has recognized that the state cannot be held at bay by corporation which is anti-social in their purpose. Parliamentary democracy produces the best result in the long run, because it assigns great significance to virtues like ability and cooperation, mutual respect and self help, discipline and devotion to work, for the happiness of the millions of people. The system of parliamentary democracy, thus, embodies the principle of change and continuity to which Ambedkar attaches great importance. To him, only the spirit of the people can help parliamentary democracy to function well. People and democracy are closely

related to each other. Ambedkar says, democracy is another name for equality. It is, therefore, a matter of some surprise that there has been a revolt against parliamentary democracy although not even a century has elapsed since its universal acceptance and inauguration. There is revolt against it in Italy, in Germany, in Russia and in Spain, and there are very few countries in which there has not been discontent against parliamentary democracy. Why should be this discontent and dissatisfaction against parliamentary democracy ? There is no country in which the urgency of considering this question is greater than it is in India. India is negotiating to have parliamentary democracy of the erroneous ideologies which have been responsible for the failure of parliamentary democracy. I have no doubt that the idea of freedom of contract is one of them. The idea became sanctioned and was upheld in the name of liberty. Parliamentary democracy took no notice of economic inequalities and did not care to examine the result of freedom of contract on the parties to the contract, in spite of the fact that they were unequal in their bargaining power. It did not mind if the freedom of contract gave the strong opportunity to defraud the weak. The result is the parliamentary democracy in standing out as a protagonist of liberty has continuously out as a protagonist of liberty has continuously added to the economic wrongs of the poor, the downtrodden and the disinherited class.

Ambedkar says, the second wrong ideology which has initiated parliamentary democracy is the failure to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy. Some way question this proposition. To those who are disposed to question it, I will ask a counter question. Why parliamentary democracy collapsed so easily in Italy, Germany and Russia ? Why did it not collapse so easily in England and the U.S.A ? To any mind, there is only one answer – namely, there was a greater degree of economic and social democracy in the latter countries than it existed in the former. Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty. It never made even a nodding acquaintance with equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality and did not even endeavor to strike a balance between liberty and equality.

Ambedkar says, 'I have referred to the wrong ideologies which in my judgment have been responsible for the failure of parliamentary democracy. All political societies get divided into two classes – the rulers and the ruled. If the evil stopped here, it would not matter much. But the unfortunate part of it is that the division becomes stereotyped and stratified so much so that the rulers are always drawn from the ruling classes and the class of the ruled never becomes the ruling class. People do not govern themselves, they established a government and leave it to govern them, forgotten that is not their government. That being the situation parliamentary democracy has never been a government of the people or by the people, and that is why it has never been a government for the people. Parliamentary democracy, notwithstanding the paraphernalia of a popular government, is in reality a government of a hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is those vicious organization of political life which has made parliamentary democracy has not fulfilled the hope it held out the common man of ensuring to him liberty property and pursuit of happiness.'

Dr. Ambedkar was one of the admirers of freedom and self-government of India. And he stood for a democratic system of administration. Dr. Ambedkar preferred the elected rulers or the government to hereditary rulers for a good and democratic administration. He emphasizes that the administration must be free of corruption and dishonest ways of administering things. He says, everyone must share the responsibilities for the successful working of the democratic institutions in the land, otherwise; the feelings of public welfare and co-operation would not be strengthened.

He says, "Democracy cannot function in the absence of basic civil liberties – which enables the community to vindicate itself against the state furthermore, the right to criticize, if it is to be effective, must include the right to organize opposition through political parties. Representative democracy is essentially procedural. It is characterized by free expression, free parties and free election." To Ambedkar, "Political parties are indispensable in parliamentary democracy, for democracy without a party system is unconceivable. There should be a regular party system." Ambedkar preferred that at least two parties are essential in democracy for its fructification. "A party is necessary to run government. But two parties are necessary to keep government from being a despotic. A democratic government can remain democratic only if it is worked by two parties – a party in power and a party in opposition."

Ambedkar fought against caste and injustice because he found that there were no human rights for a large majority of the people. He rebelled against such a social organization. He wanted to vitalize the masses in India, for equal human rights. For removing the social, economic, political and religious disabilities of the untouchables, it was necessary to establish Government of the people, for the people and by the people. Only under a democratic system of government could social economic, political and religious freedom be ensured equally to every man and woman. His ultimate aim of life was to create a "real social democracy".

The concept of his social democracy included human treatment and human rights to all, without which it can be no sure and stable political life anywhere. The 19th century meaning of democracy is that each individual should have a vote, does not stand up to full test of social and political democracy. Without social democracy, neither political liberty, nor the unity of the nation can be maintained. According to him, political democracy rests on four premises: - these are – i) "The individual is an end in himself. ii) The individual has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the constitution. iii) The individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege. iv) The state shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others."

The dignity of the individual, political liberty, social progress and human rights are necessary constitutional safeguards which form Ambedkar's basic decent democratic ideals in the political democracy. To him, the ground plan means the social structure of a community to which the political plan is sought to be applied. Political democracy and liberty are nothing if not beaked and bucked up by equal social patterns, because the political structure rests on the social structure. "Indeed, the social structure," he says "has a profound effect on the political structure. It may modify it in its working. It may nullify it or it may even make a mockery of it." It is therefore, essential that before passing any Judgment on any scheme of political relationship even making plans for economic reforms, the people must consider the ground plan that means social relations, Democracy should be regarded as both a social and a political method. "The soul of Democracy", he says, "is the doctrine of one man, one value". This principle finds intrinsic worth in the individual personality of each man in political and social relation. This stands for the economic well being of the people, without which democracy, to him, has no value." The sum of democracy, according to him, essentially consists in the economic welfare of all men living in a particular society, besides its realization in political relation. Otherwise, democracy would kill its own soul and democracy without soul would be useless, unrelated to human aspirations.

In India, to Ambedkar, the people have not realized that it is equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society for the benefit of the majorities of men. They have not escaped hopes for economic democracy and emancipation, one vote after the long five years, has no meaning to the starving man. It has no significance to the man

who is always exploited, rebuked and repressed. It has no value to him for whom there is no sympathy, no love and no give and take of life's hopes.

Conditions for Successful Working of Democracy

He has said that for successful working of Democracy it is essential that there should not be glaring inequality in the society and there should also be no oppressed classes. There should not also be a class which has got all the privileges whereas the other to carry all burden because such a division breed germs of a bloody revolution and democracy will not be in a position to cure. In his own words, "If the privileged few will not be willing and voluntarily surrender their privileged, then the distance between them and low order will destroy democracy and bring into existence something different."

Summary & Conclusion:

The main goal of the study is to analyze and evaluate critically the idea of Ambedkar regarding Indian democracy and to capture the position of Ambedkar on issues whose relevance is even felt at present. A detailed analysis of his life and mission reveals that Ambedkar held the basic and fundamental norm, to be equality- social, economic and political, from which he proceeded to lay down a collection of 'ought' propositions; in this hierarchy of 'ought', the initial fundamental 'ought' on which the validity of all the other ultimately rests, the fundamental norm seems to be the social equality, the justification for the rest of the legal reforms and changes he persistently fought for. It was a society full of social inequalities in which Ambedkar was born. The humiliation he experienced in such an in egalitarian society bore on imprint in all thought his life. Analyzing the idea of democracy of Ambedkar in details, it can be found out that Ambedkar had unshakeable faith in democracy. In his conception of exploitation less society, democracy has an extra-ordinary role which he defined as 'one person, one vote'; and 'one vote, one value'. Democracy means empowerment of any person for participating in the process of decision-making relating to her/him, democracy means liberty, equality and fraternity - Ambedkar's definition of democracy had such a tone. Because he presided over making of the Constitution and is being projected as its chief architect, there is a misunderstanding that parliamentary democracy is what he wanted. But nothing could be farther from the truth than this. He himself spoke against parliamentary democracy. He defined parliamentary democracy as "voting by the people in favour of their owners and handing over the rights of ruling over themselves". This provides a glimpse of the span of his ideal, which certainly was much beyond the Indian Constitution or any common place understanding about him. His conception of democracy appears to be purely people oriented. He showed that the bookish concepts of equality are detrimental to the disabled sections of society in the prevailing social setting and proposed a fundamental change in the concept of equality. It envisaged complete abolition of inequality. His principle of positive discrimination is based on this very concept of equality. But the operational aspects of this concept involved the need for some kind of autonomous institution, which was met by 'State' and 'religion'. Ambedkar firmly believed that political democracy cannot succeed without social and economic democracy. In his concept of democracy, he opined that political democracy is not an end in itself, but the most powerful means to achieve the social and economic ideals in society. State socialism within the framework of parliamentary democracy can defeat dictatorship. Fundamental rights without economic security are of no use to the have-nots. He was against coercive centralized institutional authority that Hobbes an Philosophy maintains. Associated life is consensual expression of shared experience, aspirations and values. If a small section of the society is allowed to manipulate the cultured symbols of the society that process becomes undemocratic and destructive. It is necessary to stress that his

greatness lies in the radicalism of his conceptions, his vision of a human society sans any kind of exploitation; not in the remedies or apparatus he proposed in the circumstances prevailing in his time. Thus, Ambedkarism is of great relevance to Indian society even today in achieving social justice, removal of untouchability, in establishing equality and freedom and true democracy. Democratic socialism is the key note of his political thought and constitutionalism is the only way to achieve it. In conclusion, it can be said that this research gives closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar and provides an answer to the question of whether we, the Indians, achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy, gender respect in the society, justice and peace in the light of political philosophy of Ambedkar whose memory will ever guide the nation on the path of justice, liberty and equality.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S IDEAS ON INDIAN DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar viewed democracy as an instrument of bringing change peacefully in the society. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the representatives of the people. But democracy means fundamental changes in the socio-economic life of the people and the acceptance of those changes without resorting to disputes and bloodshed. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value not only in the political life of India but also in social and economic life. He wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy. He gave central importance to social aspects of democracy over political aspects, unlike many others whose discourse on democracy is confined to the political and institutional aspects. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar paid greater attention to social linkage among people than separation of powers and constitutional safeguards for democracy. The concept of power contained in his thinking has a direct relationship between social power and political powers. He was conscious about the social and economic inequalities which corrode the national consciousness of the Indian people. Dr. Ambedkar said, "We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the lease of it social democracy". The objective of this paper analyse the ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on social democracy with reference to his social and political philosophy.

Introduction

Democracy is the most valued and also the indistinct political term in the modern world. The ancient Greek word 'democracy' means rule by the demos, which can be translated as either 'the people; or 'the mole' depending on one's ideological preference. By itself, democracy means little more than that, in some undefined sense, political power is ultimately in the hands of the whole adult population and that no smaller group has the right to rule.

Democracy can only take on a more useful meaning when qualified by one of the other word with which it is associated, for example, liberal democracy, representative democracy, participatory democracy or direct democracy. Although all free societies are democratic, democracies can fail to protect individual freedom.¹ Countries are generally considered democratic to the extent that they have fair and frequent elections in which all adults have the right to vote, citizens have the right to form and join organizations and to express themselves in alternative sources of information. Architects of democracy must determine the constitutional structure that best suits the needs of a particular country. Alternative forms of constitutional democracy include parliamentary versus presidential forms of government, plurality versus proportional representation system and federal versus unitary systems.

Democracy means empowerment of any person for participating in the process of decision-making relating to her/him, democracy means liberty, equality and fraternity - Ambedkar's definition of democracy had such a tone. This research gives a closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar and provides an answer to the question of whether we, the Indians, achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy, gender respect in the society, justice and peace in the light of political philosophy of Ambedkar whose memory will ever guide the nation on the path of justice, liberty and equality.

It is supposed that where there is a Parliament which is elected by the people on adult suffrage and the laws are made by the people's representatives in parliament elected after a few years, there is democracy. But democracy is quite different from a Republic as well as from Parliamentary Government. 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. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society.²

According to Dr Ambedkar, "Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organisation." He believed that in democracy revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed. The conditions for that are as follows: (1) there should not be glaring inequalities in society, that is, privilege for one class (2) the existence of an opposition (3) equality in law and administration (4) observance of constitutional morality (5) no tyranny of the majority (6) moral order of society and (7) public conscience.³

According to Ambedkar, democracy means fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and the acceptance of those changes by the people without resorting to disputes and bloodshed. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value not only in the political life of India but also in social and economic life. He wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy. He gave central importance to social aspects of democracy over political aspects, unlike many others whose discourse on democracy is confined to the political and institutional aspects. Ambedkar paid greater attention to social linkage among people than separation of powers and constitutional safeguards for democracy. The concept of power contained in his thinking has a direct relationship between social power and political powers. He was conscious of the social and economic inequalities which corrode the national consciousness of the Indian people. Ambedkar said, "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".⁴

He explained that 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 principle of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality; equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many, inequality kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane we have in India, a society based on the principle of graded inequality which is elevation for some and degradation for other. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. On the 26th January 1950, we are going to enter in to a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value.⁵

Ambedkar paid attention to religious notion that promote democracy. Ambedkar viewed the religious foundation of caste as the fundamental obstacle to democracy in India. The caste system was “steel flame of Hinduism”. It was ancient than the Vedas, which recorded its existence at that time. Originally, the Hindu society seems to have been differentiated into three or four castes. Subsequently however, as a result of the operation of such factors as racial admixture, geographical: expansion and growth of crafts which brought into existence new vocations, the original caste (Varnas) broke up into various smaller castes (Jatis)⁷

The democratic awakening of the depressed classes, their increasing consciousness of their basic human rights was a part of the general national democratic awakening which had taken place among the Indian people during the British rule during that period, a new economic and political system was established all over India. This system was based on the principles that all Individual of society were equal units having equal individual liberty and treatment before law. It dealt a heavy blow to the ideas of heredity and status on which the pre-capitalist medieval Indian society was based.⁸

An individual had the equal right and freedom to follow what vocation he liked. He was treated on the whole at par with other fellow citizen before law. This had kindled among the specially submerged classes the urge to break through all Shackles imposed on that reinforcing the rebellious struggles of the submerged section constitute the socio, religious reform movement in India.⁹

The caste system according to him is an integrated part of the Hindu civilization and culture and therefore there are always fend and conspiracy of caste to enslave the weaker section. According to him to get economic equality, it is necessary to complete, bargain to fight, but caste prejudices, ultimately result in conflict and conspiracies to suppress the weak. They result in vested interest and monopoly of only one or two higher castes. The unity of the country is therefore blown up by the caste system and there is no coherence.¹⁰

Providing special safeguard to the minorities and certain classes, who are socially and educationally backward, through these safeguards he sought to instill in the minority the spirit of nationalism and tolerance, to accept the rule of the majority even though the majority in India is a communal majority and not a political majority.¹¹

As a visionary he reminded the members that “on the 26th of January 1950, India would be a democratic country in the sense that India from that day would have a government

of the people, by the people and for the people. What would happen to her democratic Constitution? Will she be able to maintain it or will she lose it again”.

In order to maintain and also sustain democracy and democratic institutions, Dr. Ambedkar spoke in a prophetic manner. He cautioned the members, “If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do?” The first thing in my judgment we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha...These methods are nothing but the ‘Grammar of Anarchy’ and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us.

The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy, namely, not “to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions”... In politics, Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.

The third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy. 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 recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.¹² These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty.

Thus, according to Dr. Ambedkar the democracy is not only a form of government, but also a way of life through which social justice can be established. Social justice demands that the society should provide the welfare of all is not merely the greatest number. Otherwise, the interest of the majority might gain precedence over those of minorities.

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B.R. AMBEDKAR'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY : AN APPRAISAL

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Abstract

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar- a determined fighter and deep scholar- has made significant efforts to lead society on the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Social democracy occupies a prominent position in the philosophy in the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. It constitutes the core of his struggle against the historic social malady of graded inequality in India. The present paper in a humble attempt to present what Social Democracy was meant by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The present paper also seeks to analyse social democracy in the context of its ever changing form. Further, an analysis is also made regarding the challenges before Ambedkar's philosophy of social democracy

Dr. B R Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was one of the architects of the Indian Constitution. He was a well-known politician and an eminent jurist. Ambedkar's efforts to eradicate the social evils like untouchability and caste restriction were remarkable. The leader, throughout his life, fought for the rights of the dalits and other socially backward classes. Ambedkar was appointed as the nation's first Law Minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian honor in 1990.¹

According to Ambedkar, democracy always changed its form. Indian democracy was not always the same. He stressed the point that democracy changed the purpose also. He defined democracy as "a form and method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are not brought about by bloodshed. He summarized the conditions necessary to the successful working of democracy. They were as follows: (i) there should not be glaring inequalities in society i.e. privileges for one class; (ii) the existence of an opposition (iii) equality in law and administration, (iv) not tyranny of the majority, (vi) moral order of society and (vii) public conscience.²

Ambedkar viewed social democracy as an instrument of bringing about change peacefully. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the

representatives of the people. This is a formalistic and limited notion of democracy. We would understand the meaning of democracy in a better fashion if we view it as a way of realizing drastic changes in the social and economic sphere of society. Ambedkar idea of democracy is much more than just a scheme of government. He emphasizes the need for bringing about an all-round democracy. A scheme of government does not exist in vacuum; it operates within the society. Its usefulness depends upon its relationship with the other sphere of society. Election, parties and parliaments are, after all, formal institutions of democracy. They cannot be effective in an undemocratic atmosphere.³

According to Ambedkar, democracy means fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and the acceptance of those changes by the people without resorting to disputes and bloodshed. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value not only in the political life of India but also in social life.⁴

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had very explicitly stated the conditions which are very much necessary for the successful working of democracy. They can be stated in brief as under-⁵

- 1) Equality:- For the success of democracy the first and foremost necessary element is equality. He stated that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There should not be an "Oppressed Class" and there should not be a "Suppressed Class". He refers to Abraham Lincoln, who once said that "a house divided against itself cannot stand" and endorses the latter's statement.

The entire Indian society was divided in caste system which was based on negation of human values and glaring inequalities in society. Dr. Ambedkar explained the evil effects of caste system as follows.

"Caste has killed public spirit. Caste has destroyed the sense of public charity. Caste has made public opinion impossible. A Hindu's public is his caste. His responsibility is only to his caste. His loyalty is restricted only to his caste. Virtue has become caste ridden and morality has become caste bound. There is no sympathy to the deserving. There is no charity to the needy."⁶

Thus Dr. Ambedkar said that caste was the root of undemocratic system and it was a hurdle in the success of democracy. His idea of democracy was based on the principle of equality. According to him, "where equality is denied, everything else may be taken to be denied."⁷

- 2) Two Party System:- The second important condition for the successful working of democracy is the existence of strong opposition to the ruling majority.⁸ In kingship there was no veto power in the hands of the people but in democracy there is veto power in the hands of the people. To avoid dictatorship and fascist tendency it is necessary in democracy to have two political party systems, one for ruling and other for opposition, to have a counter check on the ruling party.
- 3) Equality in Law and Administration:- there must be not only equality before the law, but there must be equality of treatment in administration

The administration must be well responsive, responsible and impartial; and it must be well determined. It should command obedience to authority, "We must have a government," he said, "in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictators of justice and expediency so urgently call for."⁹

He observed that, "the administration in India is completely in hands of Hindus, their one aim is to discriminate against the untouchables and to deny and deprive them not only to the benefits of Law, but also of the protection of Law against tyranny and oppression. The result is that the untouchables are placed between the Hindu population and the Hindu ridden administration, the one committing wrongs against them and the other protecting the wrong-doers, instead of helping the victims."¹⁰ Discrimination in administration causes atrocity on Untouchables and depressed classes in India. Therefore Dr. Ambedkar wanted equality in Law and Administration as one of the condition for success of Democracy.

- 4) Constitutional Morality: - Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said that, "A Constitution which contains legal provisions, is only skeleton. The flesh of the skeleton is to be found in what we call constitutional morality." According to Dr. Ambedkar, Constitution is important for success of democracy but more important was constitutional morality in polity and society.
- 5) No Tyranny of Majority:- Dr. Ambedkar said, "The minority must always feel safe that although the majority is carrying on the Government, the minority is not being hurt."¹¹ The reason behind Dr. Ambedkar this thought is that there is always clash between majority and minority for superiority, which leads to undemocratic situation in society.
- 6) Moral order:- Dr. Ambedkar said, "A Politician does not merely trade in politics, but he also represents a particular faith covering both the method as well as the metaphysics of politics." He further said that, "Politics has become a kind of sewage system intolerably, unsavory and insanitary. To become a politician is like going to work in drain.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, politics is the key of all emancipation. Therefore he asked depressed classes to capture political power. For realization of Social democracy in true spirit, he emphasized for moral order in politics just because he wanted democracy to be implemented in true sense.

- 7) Public Conscience:- According to Dr. Ambedkar, public conscience means, "conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong, no matter who is the sufferer; and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not is prepared to join him in order to get him relieved.

Dr. Ambedkar considered the condition but public conscience as essential condition for successful working of democracy because without public conscience democracy cannot be successful. It is the will of the people that makes healthy democratic atmosphere.¹²

Dr. Ambedkar vision of democracy encompassed "political, social and economic democracy". As he saw it, political democracy alone could not be expected to go very far, if glaring economic and social inequalities remained. A well-known expression of this concern is his parting speech to the Constituent Assembly: "on the 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into the life of contradictions. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man, one vote and one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason if our social and economic structure continues to deny the principle of one man, one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril."¹³

Dr. Ambedkar firmly believed that political democracy cannot succeed without social and economic democracy. In his talk given on the Voice of America he argued that: "Democracy

could not be equated with either republic or parliamentary form of government. The roots of democracy lay not in the form of government- parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is a model of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society.”

Dr. Ambedkar believed that 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.¹⁴

Social democracy always occupies center stage in the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. It constitutes the core of his struggle against the historic social malady of graded inequality in India. This is what distinguished Dr. Ambedkar from the rest of the mainstream Indian freedom thinkers and fighters who were struggling primarily for the liberation of the country (political freedom) from the yoke of British Empire.

Dr. Ambedkar expanded the meaning of political freedom by incorporating in its fold the less talked about issue of freedom from internal colonialism – caste based social exclusion. He assigned special importance to the principles of social democracy by championing the cause of the socially excluded sections of the Indian society. He wanted to strengthen the emerging sphere of political democracy in India by substantiating it with the institutionalization of the less talked about phenomenon of social democracy. Dr. Ambedkar defines social democracy as:¹⁵

a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles ... are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy (*Three Historical Addresses* 1999:53).

Dr. Ambedkar was a true democrat and advocated a democratic society based on the principles of natural justice, equity and classification according to aptitude, ability and profession. The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government but in the social relationships. He considered caste system in India as a serious obstacle in the path of democracy. He said “The first condition precedent for the successful working of democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. Secondly, there must be statutory provisions to mitigate the sufferings and to safeguard the interest of the suppressed and oppressed people.”¹⁶

Democracy can be successful only when every citizen feels duty bound to fight injustice even if that injustice does not put him into any difficulty, this will happen when equality and brotherhood exist in the society. To make democracy successful in India, Dr. Ambedkar suggested a few other precautions also. Democracy means rule of the majority. But this should not result into tyranny of the majority. Majority must always respect the views of the minority. In India there is a possibility that the minority community will always be a political minority also. Therefore, it is very essential that the minority must feel free, safe and secure. Otherwise, it will be very easy to convert democracy into a permanent rule against the minority. Case system could thus become the most difficult obstacle in the successful functioning of democracy. The castes which are supposed to be of low status will never get their proper share in power. Caste will create barriers in the development of healthy democratic traditions. This means that unless we achieve the task of establishing democracy in the social field, mere political democracy cannot survive.¹⁷

Conclusion

Ambedkar fought against caste and injustice because he found that there were no human rights for a large majority of the people. He rebelled against such a social organization. He wanted to vitalize the masses in India, for equal human rights. For removing the social, economic, political and religious disabilities of the untouchables, it was necessary to establish

Government of the people, for the people and by the people. Only under a democratic system of government could social economic, political and religious freedom be ensured equally to every man and woman. His ultimate aim of life was to create a "real social democracy".

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DR.B. R. AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS ON INDIAN NATIONAL SPIRIT

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Introduction

Some people are born great, some have greatness thrust upon them and some achieve greatness. To the last category, Bharat Ratna Babasaheb Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar belongs. Ambedkar was a great nationalist, political thinker, reformer and revolutionary and prolific writer with prodigious ideas. He stood for all scientific and social activities which enhanced the cause of human progress and happiness. His contribution in the making of the Constitution of India was phenomenal. He defiantly fought for the betterment of the oppressed classes. And in this struggle, he showed rare crusading spirit, carving out in the process an important place for himself among the prominent architects of modern India.

Ambedkar, the Cornerstone of the Constitution:

DRAFTING a Constitution is by no means an easy task. It requires the highest statecraft, statesmanship, scholarship, intellectual acumen endowed with a flood of knowledge of the nation's and world history, the working of Constitutions in the democratic, totalitarian and dictatorship governments. To Ambedkar, the Constitution was not just the basic law for the governance of the country. It was a vehicle of the nation's progress, reflecting the best in the past traditions of the country, to cope with the needs of the present and possessing enough resilience to meet the needs of the future. At the same time he was of the view that it must be a living organ, not for one or two generations, but for generations to come. He carved a unique and impregnable pride of place and honor in the history of the free Indian nation .

Self- generated vision of B.R. Ambedkar regarding Nationalism in Indian context:

This section analyses the self-generated vision of Ambedkar regarding nationalism critically. Nationalism is an ideology based on devotion to love of one's country either by birth or by choice which focuses upon the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity and actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve some form of political sovereignty. Nationalism, in a wider sense, is any complex of attitudes, claims and directives for action ascribing a fundamental political, moral, cultural

value to nations and nationality and deriving special obligations and permissions from this ascribed value.

Nationalism in Ambedkar initiated to object internal oppression as well as external domination. He wanted equality and civil rights for those who for centuries deprived of them. Indian society, in view of Ambedkar, was a system which gave no scope for the growth of the sentiment of equality and fraternity which are essential for a democratic form of government. Many people were deprived of the basic human rights. He wanted constitutional safeguards to protect oppressed. Ambedkar was of the outlook that Indian society was nothing but gradation of caste which consists of ascending scale of reverence and descending scale of contempt. Ambedkar's view was very transparent regarding foreign domination. Ambedkar viewed that in spite of realizing the necessity of removing some social evils which had horrified the lives of down-trodden people, British attitude was indifferent in eradicating some social evils simply because of the reason that its intervention in the then existing code of social and economic life would give rise to resistance. Ambedkar's spirit of nationalism took a proper shape through the struggle against such British rule although foreign rule had been the potential force in the country like India.

Nationalism in Ambedkar stems from his spirit of dignity both for the people and for the country. He had profound feeling for the poor and untouchables which induced him to fight against denial of basic human rights. Such attitudes of Ambedkar were called by some congress leader as anti-national, but in true sense, it was nothing but expression of humanism and nationalism to which he sincerely devoted himself.

Those who blamed Ambedkar for his opposition to congress-led freedom struggle failed to understand that freedom from alien rule was no more significant than freedom from internal form of slavery and exploitation. To Ambedkar, if freedom of a country cannot be distinguished from freedom of its people, true freedom would be misleading concept. To him, "philosophically, it may be possible to consider a nation as a unit but sociologically, it cannot be regarded as consisting of many classes and freedom of the nation, if it is to be a reality, must vouchsafe the freedom of the different classes comprised in it, particularly of those who are treated as the servile classes". In true sense, Ambedkar gave due weightage on the emancipation of oppressed people who for years remained enslaved by Varna Hindus. If nation is to be considered as co-extensive with the ruling class, it is to be truly representative of all people. This is only possible when these people are quite free from fear, oppression and exploitation resulting real freedom of the people. According to Ambedkar, a nation consists of whole society i.e. groups and classes, varied ranges of life in one hand and on the other hand area of soil which is the physical features of the land this social classes occupy. He laid stress on the freedom of people, although he did not have any contrary view regarding India's physical freedom. This created a misunderstanding in the mind of those who could not make such a distinction between these two things. It is well-known that nationalist leader in general and the Hindu nationalists in particular laid excessive emphasis on the political freedom ignoring the social aspects of nationalism. Ambedkar's argument was that in the absence of complete freedom of the people, nationalism becomes a conduit of internal slavery, organized tyranny for the poor and depressed classes.

In view of Ambedkar, nationalism means expression of inner unity of a people and it is a process of social assimilation. Therefore, irrespective of caste, colour and creed, nationalism gets perfect harmony if social brotherhood of men prevails everywhere within a nation. To Ambedkar, nationalism is negation of caste spirit and caste spirit is nothing but deep-rooted

communalism. He emphasized to fight against castism, linguism, communalism and separatism because he was of the opinion that these social evils divide the people into small social units which are against the spirit of nationalism. In view of Ambedkar, communalism being one form of groupism is a threat to national integration which may hamper the way for equality and fraternity. In short, Ambedkar viewed nationalism as a spiritual phenomenon rooted in humanism. Ambedkar's view of nationalism and patriotism creates a strong sense of social brotherhood in doing justice and good to the needy, lowly who live in the same country but are not treated as full man. Ordinarily, nationalism is a feeling of attachment to national society whereas patriotism is a feeling of attachment to the very soil of the "land of our birth". To Ambedkar, patriotism and nationalism are of utmost need for democracy and equality. Ambedkar's view regarding this is that patriotism demand action in right direction and reaction against all wrong and a nationalist leader should have deep faith in himself to eradicate imperialism, social tyranny, castism, communalism, forced labour etc. In a word, Ambedkar's idea of nationalism creates a spirit of social brotherhood, feeling of oneness and a firm determination to improve the lot of people who remain oppressed in the same country.

Ambedkar, the believer of one nationalism, advocates for religious tolerance and condemns all kinds of hypocrisy and oppression in the name of religion and nationalism. Amidst diversity of religions in Indian nation, he aspires that "religion should be the force which deepens the solidarity of human society" which can bring people together for social and emotional unity, can lead the people to military unity and political stability.

To him, "the divine right of the majority to rule the minorities according to the wishes of the majority" is an example of irrationalism and such monopoly of power and prestige by majority religious or political group is not nationalism, rather anti- nationalism. Accepting different religions in Indian society having religious differences, Ambedkar believes that these religions should be binding forces behind creating national spirit and in no situation, these religions should be a symbol of inhuman treatment and ignominy. Otherwise, it will hamper the development of strong sense of national unity.

Recognizing the demerits of diversity of language in a country, Ambedkar opined that different language should not obstruct the growth and spirit of nationalism and in favour of his opinion, he cited examples of Canada, Switzerland and South Africa which have diversified languages. Yet, Ambedkar laid stresses on the need of a common language in order to strengthen the unity and spirit of nationalism as well as to remove racial and cultural conflicts. Through one common language, Ambedkar wanted to have a strong sense of unity and a deep feeling of nationalism. He had the arguments in support of his claim that people speaking different languages might not be able to exchange thoughts and actions for development and happiness of all men irrespective of race, caste and religion. Moreover, one language could not only tighten the sense of human unity in a nation but also remove racial and cultural tension.

The indifferent attitude of British towards establishing social equality and civic liberty made Ambedkar very much vocal. The spirit of strong nationalism roused in him to struggle against foreign rule with a view to bring freedom for men as well as to restore rights of the depressed classes. In view of Ambedkar, unless and until the Indian people secure political power and unless that power was concentrated in the hands of the socially suppressed section of the Indian society, it would not be possible to completely eradicate all social, legal and cultural disabilities under which that section suffered. He was not only against British imperialism but also advocated for self Government. As a result, he said 'We must have a government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. In

Ambedkar's political thought, it is explicitly apparent that he attempted to awaken social and national consciousness against British neutralism which proved fatal to the social emancipation of people.

He opined that nationality may turn into nationalism when two conditions are satisfied :

- a) There must arise the desire to live as a nation and nationalism is a dynamic expression of that desire.
- b) There must be a territory which nationalism could occupy and make it a state as well as a cultural home of the nation.

Therefore, Ambedkar is of the opinion that nationalism should be based on a strong will to live as a nation and deep feeling to make a state or cultural home with definite territory . Political unity will not alone bring about such kind of nationalism rather social unity would be.

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Dr. B.R AMBEDKAR AND HIS VISION FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN SOCIETY

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Babasaheb Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar belongs to the rare class of great men who set standards of greatness for themselves and live up to them. In his own words “a great man must be motivated by the dynamics of social purpose and must act as a scourge and scavenger of the society.” His life itself stands as a testimony to this ideal of securing human dignity to all. He avouched the mission of his life by proclaiming that “For the protection of human rights several great men have immolated themselves at the altar of duty. Better to die in the prime of youth for a great cause than to live like an oak and do nothing.” Dr. Ambedkar embodied a peerless personage among all the national leaders who only had the moral propriety to assert that “I am a man of character.” He waged a valiant struggle against the “diabolical contrivance to suppress and enslave humanity” the Brahmanical system to make the subhuman and servile majority regain their human personality through social, economic, political and cultural emancipation. He declared that “Our battle is for Freedom. Our battle is not for few economic and political gains. Our battle is for the reclamation of Human Personality which was suppressed and mutilated...”

The range of Ambedkar’s struggle for securing human dignity is very vast. He had to start from the Right to be Human to attain highest humane level. Dr. Ambedkar’s ideas, writings and outlook could well be characterized as belonging to that trend of thought called *Social Humanism*. He developed a socio-ethical philosophy and steadfastly stood for human dignity and freedom, socio-economic justice, material prosperity and spiritual discipline. His name will glitter forever in the firmament of world history not only as a great social philosopher but also as a great revolutionary who dedicated his entire life for the amelioration of the teeming millions of the underdogs.

His context

“The traditional system of caste was” according to Marx “decisive impediment to India’s power and progress”. But Dr.Ambedkar’s dilemma was much more serious. Although he lived

a century later than Marx, India was much behind Marx's time. His was a much more complex and arduous situation than Marx's. The Indian struggle for democracy was to begin at the level of consciousness, the mind. That is why the birth pangs of Indian democracy are so severe and recurrent.

The Pragmatic Philosopher:

Babasaheb Ambedkar says "All philosophies must be judged by their social products. Philosophy is not purely a theoretical matter. It has practical potentialities. Philosophy has its roots in the problems of life and whatever theories that philosophies propound must return to society as instruments of reconstituting society. It is not enough to know. Those who know must endeavor to fulfill". Thus Ambedkar did not lose sight of social problems of his day; he not only analyzed and came up with the solutions to the problems but strived hard to put them in action. The greatness of Ambedkar lies not just in espousing the foundations of a suffering society and providing a way out by carrying out the mission of emancipation, himself. He operationalized: belief in democratic principles are foreign to the Hindu mind." His ideas into action for reconstituting society as pragmatic philosopher. In fact he has heralded a cultural and psychological battle against the system causing dehumanization, exploitation, coercion and suffering. He found it difficult to connect anyone among the 'educated' to team-up. "You can get thousands of Hindu youths to join political propaganda but cannot get one single youth to take up the cause of breaking the caste system or of removing Untouchability. Democracy and democratic life, justice and conscience which are sustained by a belief in democratic principles are foreign to the Hindu mind."

Ambedkar's exhumation of 'Society' in India:

Dr. Ambedkar held that there were two qualitatively different groups which had not only been historically central, but continued to be central, to social organization and social dynamics. These were caste and class order. Caste order was continually, the Vedic Varna system, which was a class order, had been transformed into a caste order subsequently, and in modern India the nascent class order was continually and complexly distorted and defeated by caste order. This is the point of his challenge to Marxists when he asked them whether the Indian proletariat, caste-fragmented, can ever become a class in itself, let alone a class for itself. He explained with diligence that the formation of caste society, coupled with gender inequity is to safeguard the interests of the Brahminical groups in relation to other groups, maintain their moral and mental control over them, and preserve their position of power, prestige and privilege.

Denial of Existential Dignity

Ambedkar explained that the Brahminical system denies the right to existential dignity to the Bahujans and relegates them a subhuman existence (Satyapal, 2010). As a consequence, they are denied three essential rights, viz., their right to Identity. All the identities that are attached to the Bahujans are not given by themselves, but are called by others. The identities like Anarya, Pisacha, Sudra, Atisudra, names of individual castes and even the surnames—all are insulting, demeaning identities and are the identities of suppression. The Bahujans are denied the right to Choice of Occupation and are forced to take up polluting occupations as hereditary occupations. "There are many occupations in India which on account of the fact that they are regarded as degraded by the Hindus provoke those who are engaged in it to aversion... all are slaves of the caste system. But all slaves are not equal in status" (Ambedkar, 1936:31). They are forbidden to exercise any right to Access or Claim over Resources of the society in which they live. On the whole, the caste system clamps social oppression, economic exploitation and political suppression which are worse than slavery (Ambedkar, 1917).

The Necessity of Social Transformation:

In India, he analyses that there is no society at all. We have multitudes of societies based on caste. People are not born as humans. They are born into castes and imbibe such notions of mind which do not allow humane interaction among them. "The first and foremost thing that must be recognized is that Hindu Society is a myth... In every Hindu the consciousness that exists is the consciousness of caste. That is the reason why the Hindus cannot be said to form a society or a nation" (BAWS Vol.1pp.51). He explains the ethnocentric belief that the Hindu Social System has been perfected for all times has prevented the reconstruction of the Hindu Society and stood in the way of a revision of vested rights for the common good (BAWS Vol. 1pp.269-70). He squarely blames "Brahmanism in instituting caste system has put the greatest impediment against the growth of nationalism" (BAWS Vol.3pp.304). "Unless the social order is changed, no progress could be achieved. The community cannot be mobilized either for defense or for offence. Nothing can be built on the foundations of caste. No nation, no morality".

Annihilation of caste- notional change

Ambedkar was thoroughly convinced that unless a casteless and classless society is created there will be no progress in India. This requires a social reconstruction and Ambedkar was very clear about the means to bring about this change. Ambedkar took up the reconstruction of Indian society on the foundations of democracy as a 'mode of associated living.' He asserted that Democracy, properly understood and applied would only be the panacea and initiated his public life in 1916 on this cause.

Differing with the Congress and other 'Nationalists', he declared that social revolution must precede political revolution so as to ensure that every citizen enjoy the benefits of political freedom. "That political reform cannot with impunity take precedence over social reform in the sense of reconstruction of society..." (BAWS Vol. 1pp.42;Vol. 17.3pp.82). He reinstates his position that the worth of independence depends on the kind of government and the kind of society that is built up. "Indeed the vision of a New Order in a New India would very greatly strengthen determination to win freedom" (BAWS Vol.Xpp.41). Exposing the Jatpat Mandal which aspired to 'Remodel Hindu Society' (BAWS Vol. 1pp.31,64), Ambedkar stressed that 'Reconstitution of the society' by annihilating caste and its ideological notions is the cura (BAWS Vol.1pp.42,66).

His Ideal society and Nation

Dr. Ambedkar explains that a human society should have organic filaments, an attitude of respect and equality towards fellow human beings. "In an ideal society, there should be many consciously communicated and shared. There should be social endosmosis." He envisioned Nation as a social amalgamation which elevates the low castes into Citizens of equality. In Ambedkar's discourse, Nation is a power-homogenized fraternity and a democratic unity. He strived for Nation, as a new social formation characterized by a consciousness of unity and fraternity leading to increased, intensified non-discriminate social exchanges.

Ambedkar's Actions for Social Transformation:

Dr. Ambedkar in his grand scheme of reconstruction of Indian society, fought for rights of representation as democratic rights. Basing on the prorata of population, he reasoned that all sections of the society including women should get rights of representation spheres of education, employment, agriculture, industry, bureaucracy and governance of this country. Branding that the Brahmanical society is based on Culture of Reservations- keeping education, rule and economy reserved 100% for the Brahmanical castes and relegating the Bahujans to service, he wanted to usher in Democratic society based on the Culture of Representations.

His memoranda to the Southborough Committee, Montague-Chemsfeld committee, Muddiman Committee and his arguments in Round Table Conferences are based on the rights of representation as democratic rights.

Blueprint for a society- Constitution

Contemporary Constitutional authority, Granville Austin has described the Constitution of India as 'first and foremost a social document with three broad objectives-ensuing unity, democracy and creating a social revolution. "The majority of India's Constitutional provisions are either directly arrived at furthering the aim of social revolution or attempt to foster this revolution by establishing conditions necessary for its achievement."

The Constitution of India bears the impression of Dr.Ambedkar's thought as a key instrument for National Reconstruction. He was the lone speaker at the Constituent-Assembly of 1946, which discussed the frame work of future Constitution to underline the need to build up a cohesive society. "Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today take a decision in common and march on. the way which leads us to unity. Our difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate; our difficulty is with regard to the beginning". In order to establish an inclusive society, Ambedkar looks at democracy, not as a political arrangement, but as "a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society" (Keer, 1962:480). He highlights fraternity as the root of democracy and without fraternity other ideals of democracy like equality and liberty cannot endure. He defined democracy as a "form and method of government where by revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed" (Keer, 1962:61).

The Constitution of India, in order to reconstitute the society on the democratic foundations of equality, liberty, fraternity and justice, incorporated legislations for equality and equal opportunity in all spheres of life. Road map is laid for a democratic and inclusive society through reservations as representations. In order to create social polarization among the victims of theBrahmanical social system, Ambedkar engineered the category "Backward classes' would cover three principal components, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribe' and :he Other Backward classes. And he addressed himself to the task of securing social justice for all the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in the country, under the mandate of a new constitution. It is to be underlined that the Idea is to break monopoly by proportional representations. Policy- is to Bring SC, ST. OBC on one platform in order to Break caste system as representations are for collection of castes, not for individual castes-as Backward classes.

The Directive Principles strive to create a Welfare State and ajust social order. Making the State responsible for social change, .Article 38 contains the essence of these principles: "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice-social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life". He announced that the people of India "Expect to happen in a sovereign and free India is a complete destruction of Brahminism as a philosophy of life and as a social order".

Ambedkar identified the functioning of moral order, observance of Constitutional morality as the conditions for the successful working of democracy. "Society must have either the sanction of law or the sanction of morality to hold it together without either, society is sure to go to pieces" the customs that people follow in their caily h'ves are on the side of inequality. (From Dowry to several forms of corruption. Cas:e violence and Gender violence etc.) This paradox is explained as the incompat:b;ility of ideologies. "Indians today are governed by two different

ideologies. Their political ideal set out in the preamble of the Constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity. Their social ideal embodied in their religion denies them" (Keer.p. 459). He warned that "political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy" (Das ,Vol-L30).

India Today

It is unfortunate that even after six decades of Constitutional policy, democratic ideals are yet to find firm ground among the citizens of India. Owing to illiteracy, poverty and powerlessness they are not in a position to make democracy work. The Fundamental rights provided to the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in Article 15 and 16 of the Constitution, who constitute the majority i.e., Bahujans of the country, are being denied to a large extent in the pretext of dubious argument of (Fundamental Rights to Enabling Provisions). This equal opportunity legislation quite often drives the society to take emotional polemic positions. The underlying problem is that method has been confused with the policy. Providing representations or fair access or equal opportunity being the policy, the quota mechanism is a method to secure fairness. (Thorat,2008). In addition, Ambedkar's practical policy of bringing unity among the socially and Educationally Backward Classes on the basis of their common victimhood (Scheduled Castes due to untouchability, Scheduled Tribes on the basis of isolation and Other Backward Castes who are socially and educationally deprived) as the platform of unity has been ignored, even by the victims of caste system themselves. It is because they still continue to be influenced by the ideology of exclusion, Brahminism which shapes their lives.

Democratic Deficit

India today is in a situation which the Political Scientists refer to as 'Democratic Deficit' wherein "the failure of an elected government to fulfill the promises to the electorate". This type of democracy can also be understood as a compromise between the 'power of the vote' and the 'power of business with the governments negotiating the interface between the two. It is too well known that the 'corporate welfare' always wins out over 'social welfare' when economy gets tight. Hence Ambedkar warns "What they are doing is not to make India safe for Democracy but to free the tyrant to practice his tyrannies... Let not tyranny has the freedom to enslave", (p.23 8). Today Democratic Revolution is a label much used by many and particularly Marxists of all shades! The Communist Party India (M) declares its goal is to run People's Democratic Revolution while for CPI, it is National Democratic Revolution where as the Maoists aim to engage in New Democratic Revolution. On the other hand it is a Humanitarian Revolution that Dr.Ambedkar envisaged. "All the same we must not forget the vast difference that separates a revolution from real social change" (BAWS Vol.17.3pp.53). A revolution transfer political power from one party to another but what we require is a real social change in the relative strength of the forces operating in society.

Ambedkarism as a way to the World

Hence, it is the responsibility of the civil society especially the educated sections to create social and moral consciousness and build a humane society. In an important way, Dr.Ambedkar thus gave expression to an inner need in India for a just social condition; on such basis alone can National well-being be secured. Though mindful of the great obstacles to the establishment of democratic-arrangement in Indian society, Ambedkar was optimistic about a cohesive society. "I am convinced that, given time and circumstances, nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one and with all our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that we shall in some way be a united people" (Keer, 1962:388). He exhorted the nation to preserve independence by establishing equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. World requires to be reconstructed for the public good, common good and

universal good of humankind. Ambedkarism shows the way-out. It has a vision to build up a 'New World'.

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ROLE OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKER IN MAKING INDIA MODERN : AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

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Abstract

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedker, popularly Known as Babashaheb was an intellectual, a philosopher, a scholar and a revolutionary. He has been regarded as a ray of hope for downtrodden in India. He was well experienced with the bitter taste of hatred and discrimination as being born in untouchable family. He was fully aware of the pattern and problems of the Indian society and their conflicting interests. When he was assigned for the drafting of Indian Constitution, he put all his efforts to reduce obstacles and hindrances risen due to complexities of pluralistic nature of Indian society. He advocated that democracy is true system to manage the Indian society by constitutional laws. Therefore he provided constitutional guarantees and protections for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, including freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability, and outlawing of all forms of discrimination. He introduced system of reservation in jobs for the members of SC,ST and other backward class. In the constitution , PART IV under the directive principles, certain directions have been mentions to bring equality and justice in all sphere of human life. Indeed, he wanted to established a just society in which each could get self –respect and lead honorable life. He emphasized on liberty, equality and fraternity. Though Indian Government is putting all its positive efforts to establish just society and social democracy but in 21st century still we are read in newspaper incidents related to discrimination and cruelty towards dalits and gang rap, harassment exploitation of women and so on which compel us to think over the constitutional mechanisms, structure and norms of the society and moreover people mind set. The objective of this paper is to highlight on Dr. B. R. Ambedker 's contribution to make India modern and account the factors which are still act as hindrance in fully visualization of great man's dream .

Introduction

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar hailed from a poor Mahar family belonging to one of the Hindu untouchable communities in India. The untouchables comprised a number of distinct groups which form the lowest strata of Hindu society, and were condemned as untouchables by the caste Hindus through centuries untold. Before the Indian Constitution abolishing untouchability was adopted in 1950, untouchables classes were 'divide into three categories-untouchables, unapproachable and unseeables. They numbered about about sixty million out of three hundred million Hindus. That to say, very nearly twenty fifth Hindu, man , women and child was an untouchable.¹Being Untouchable, he was well equitant with the pain of ill-treatment and hatred. Therefore , Young Bhim Rao ji, while getting highest degree(M.A.,Ph.d.from the Colombia university,USA, and D.Sc and Bar at Law from London(U.K)), devoted his throughout life downtrodden . When he became a member of the drafting committee, he mentioned special provisions in fundamental rights, directive principles and provision to set up constitutional machinery for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women. These are considered as some of his great efforts. Today, his ceaseless efforts have brought changes in Indian societies. Educated people are accepting inter-caste marriages and give respect to people of all stars/ level.

DR. B.R. Ambedkar and his Contribution in Making Modern India

As we know that Indian Society is pluralistic by nature . There are several classes, castes, sects and religion exist. In India, Hindu society is caste -ridden society in which upper caste people ill-treat and discriminate with people of lower strata known as untouchable. During his contemporary period , untouchable were not allowed to get education, they were not allowed to worship in temple, they were not allowed to drink from well that was used by upper caste. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was born in so colled untouchable caste family of Mahar. So, since childhood he faced all kind of discrimination generally done with Dalit by upper caste.

When he was appointed as military Advisor in the Court of Maharaja of Baroda he was so much insulted by the employees that had to leave his post. Fed up with the caste insults he decided never to take up a job and after getting a law degree from England he established his independence law practice in Bombay. Later he set up a colleges through People Education Society which made education available to all irrespective of class or caste. He made arrangement for morning and evening classes which benefitted thousands of young men and women. He is remembered not only for promoting interests and Education of Dalit but he is remembered for his contribution to national building and its modernization. When he actively participated in Indian Politics . He formed Independent Labour Party to secure Dalit participation in it and he contested the first General Election in 1937.But unfortunately his party could not come in power. Later he was invited by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, he put all his efforts for reconstruction of Indian Society in which liberty, equality and fraternity could be maintained.

Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar's legacy and contribution can be seen in many fields. His Ph.d thesis titled" The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India" provided academic basis for the Finance Commission of India which was subsequently established through Article 280 of the Constitution to Address problems of vertical and horizontal imbalance in finance.²

The Reserve Bank of India was conceptualized based on the guidelines presented by Dr. Babasaheb in his book" The Problem of the Rupee-Its Problems and its Solution". Due to the flexible system today India is considered as third largest economy in the world term of PPP.²

When we comparatively analysis the Human Development from 1956 to 2015 , we find that our country has achieve wonderful success in all field i.e health ,death morality,education, social development and so on.

He agitated against the Mahar Watan system(According to Bombay Hereditary Offices Act 1874, the Mahar holding certain posts were required to work day and nights as a result of which they would get a small piece of land and negligible remuneration ranging from annas two to rupee and half per mensum)³ The Village Watan Abolition Act 1959" was passed though after the death of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedker's biggest and most important contribution was in his as the chairman of the drafting committee of the constitution of India. We observe that he not only piloted an outstanding draft through the constituent Assembly but also outlined the philosophy and wisdom behind the various provisions. For example: He supported for federal system which fit and running our political system successfully. He reacted against Article 370 and today we know the result of this .Fundamental rights which advocates the abolition of untouchability, guarantee equal rights to all citizens and prohibition of discrimination of all kinds in social relations. Our constitution grants each person the faith, religion and worship and gives the minorities freedom to manage their religious affairs. In the constitution he also enumerated the guidelines(Directive Principles) for states of India . These principles mandate that the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a just social order. When he drafted the constitution he said "*that no constitution is perfect and ultimately the working of the constitution will depend upon the people, the political parties and their politics* ,He stated emphatically about the constitution "It is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and in war time. Indeed, if I may so, if things go wrong under the new constitution. the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution. what we will have to say is that man is vile".⁴

As labour minister in the Viceroy's Council, he successfully led the struggle for reduction of work from 12 hours a day to 8 hours in 1942.

Dr. Pranab Mukarjee while delivering his lecture on memorial day of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar He stated" India's Journey since independence has been seen many successes. The greatest challenge for our founding fathers was to come up with a viable system of government. We have in the last 67 years established a successful parliamentary democracy, an institution judiciary and strong institution like the Election Commission , CAG etc, too sustain and support our political system."⁵

To empower women at that time, presented Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament but it was opposed by almost every male member of Parliament(including Nehru and Sardar Patel). if passed ,it would have ended Saiti Pratha, Dowry System in 1951 only. After the bill lapsed, he resigned. in his speech , he said" I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved".⁶

He contributed the idea of setting up of Employment in India. By 1995, of all jobs in India, 17.2% were held by dalits , greater than the proportion in the India population of the senior-most jobs in government agencies and govt. ten fold increase in 40 years. In the 21st century, Dalits were elected to India's highest judicial and political offices. In 1997 India democratically elected dalit K.R. Narayan as the nation president.

He was almost single handedly responsible for establishing the Central Technical Power Board, the National Power Grid system and the central water irrigation and Navigation

Commission. He also played an important role in the establishment of the Damodhar Valley project, Hirakund project and Sone river project. ⁷

We observe that modern educated people do not mind caste-based marriage. Instead of matching caste they put emphasis on equal qualification and betterment of couple life. It is irony that only 5% of Indian marriage cross caste-boundaries. But it is good signal to make India modern. We should thank to Dr. Ambedkar that it is only possible due to him.

He was clear in his mind that he wanted to see a social economic and political transformation of India. So that each individual of India without any fear and discrimination can lead happy and honourable life. He wanted India to emerge as a modern state where liberty, equality and fraternity flourishes and backwardness is wiped out. He believes in radical change. He wanted transformation through parliamentary democracy and rule of law. Resulted today Dalit living –standard increasing Day by day. Dr. Ambedkar said, “You can change your lot, but do not flock to temples hoping for justice to come to you in heaven. There is justice to be found on earth if you can fight for it.”⁸ This idea gave them a new courage and a sense of self respect that they had never known before.

DR. B.R. Ambedkar and we the People of India

We are living in 21st Century where globalization, westernization and media are effecting the living style of people of India. But we can not ignore the base and pillars on which our modern India stood. The base and pillars has been constructed by our great leaders among whom Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is one of them. He drafted constitution in which described how system parliamentary system work for Indian society. According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar the parliamentary system of government is more than a government by discussion. There are two pillars on which the parliamentary system of government rests. These two pillars are (i) an opposition and (ii) Free and fair elections. According to him no true democracy can work without it. Opposition is a key, a free political life. Free and Fair Elections are the other pillar on which Parliamentary democracy rests. Free and fair elections are necessary for the transfer of power from one section to the community to other in a peaceful manner and without any blood shed.⁹ In fact, Today it is happening. Our Indian government makes all possible efforts to make election free and fair. But we have to think that we are equally carry our responsibility. We observe that few greedy people just in lust of money and other things they gamble and misused by politician during election. Politician distribute money and wine to village people and make false promises and after Election do not bother to them. Secondly, Opposition parties, instead of showing right path to ruling party, criticized, politicized and pulling its legs behind. Moreover, People from our society are glorifying the seats of MLA, M.P. Administrators, educationists, doctors, engineers. Everyday we read in the newspaper and watch that numbers of our politicians, bureaucrats, doctors and engineers indulge themselves in corruption. Now this a time for introspection for we people. Have we performed our duties as desired by Dr. Ambedkar?.

Dr. Ambedkar was against the Casteism. he believed in annihilation of caste. He made all possible efforts to eradicate this evil. Although casteism has been removed constitutionally yet it is alive in the mind of people. Social riots and matters of atrocities based of casteism are increasing day by day in modern times. Caste-related violence between Dalit and Non-Dalit allegedly stems from Dalits' Economic success amidst ongoing prejudice. A crime against Dalits happens every day. The Bhagana Rape case is an example of atrocities against Dalit girls and women. In August 2015 due to discrimination from upper caste of village about 100 Dalits families of the Bhagana village converted to Islam in ceremony at Janter Montar. Politicians

and Mass Media how reacted over Dalit issue ,Women conditions , why gang rap happen every cities in everyday we have to think over it .

We observe that Dr. Ambedkar made reservation policy for ten years and believed that was sufficient period to bring equality in the Indian Society. But we see that demand of reservation policy growing day by day. Some caste which come under general category clamming as SC/ Other backward class and demanding the benefit of it.

Once he said that the progress of a society can be judged by the standard of women. He held many conferences of women at various places. He said to women in his address, "Whether you change your religion along with us or not, it does not matter of me but I insist That if you want to be with the rest of us, you must marry an settle down normal domestic life as women of other classes." At the All India Depressed Classes women's conference held at Nagpur on July 20, 1942.¹⁰ He emphasized that there could not be progress of nation without the progress of women. In this regard, Indian Government , several Institutions and NGOs work. No doubt, Women are progressing. They are becoming doctor, engineers, and scientists. but incidents such like gang rap , harassment and eye-teasing compel us that we are lacking some. Today we have found where is loopholes in our constitutional system as well as we should awaken Indians and should try to change their mind set. Moreover, we should follow the path and ideas which given by our Babasaheb to make India modern and establish just society. In this context we should remember the speech of Babasaheb in which he expressed his will in the last days of his life, "With great struggles and difficulties I have brought this caravan to the present point. It is our duty to push it ahead. If you do not able to do so, stop it where it is. But do not let it move backwards in any condition."¹¹

Conclusion

Dr. B. R. Ambedker pleaded for special privileges for suppressed classes of the society. He proved himself as torchbearer for marginalised classes and through his hard work showed that with his karma one can get respect and change his destiny. Today, we see that most of the youngsters who believe in hardship achieving their goal and reach at height. We heard and read that a milkman' daughter and auto-rickshaw driver's son scored the highest rank in civil administrative exams. Caste system seems no more hurdle for progress. He has given a platform on the basis of which a victim can fight for his rights. We can visualize his struggle for social justice in the philosophy of the Indian constitution. The constitution ethos of the social revolution running through the 'preamble', fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles, provision of the establishment of constitutional authorities expressly emphasize the establishment of an egalitarian social order and based on human values of justice, Social, economic and political, equality of status and of opportunity and fraternity assuring human dignity.

Modern education is helping to change the attitude and perceptions. People are becoming more scientific in outlook rather than being blindly superstitious. Laws can maintain social justice if it implements in the right way. Therefore there is need to bring reform in laws which are not according to circumstances. In the era of the Globalization, India is competing other developed countries. It is Dr. B. R. Ambedker who revolutionised the masses and enlightened the half of Indian population and gave path to reach at the top in each walk of life.

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SOCIAL INCLUSION THROUGH ON EWS QUOTA UNDER RTE ACT 2009 WITH REFERENCE TO DR.B.R.AMBEDKAR'S VISION

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Abstract

The theme of reservation usually ignites controversies and gives pushes to debate and strong reactions. The idea of favoring backwards with the help of reservations and quota for a definite time period came from the legendry Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He expected that the policy of reservation initially could compensate the backwardness of marginalized. But the irony is, after so many years of implementation of reservations, the policy of reservation has not created a noticeable impact over the society. The reserved category complains of inaccessibility and corruption and the unreserved category is frustrated and disappointed due to the edge the reserved have in education and employment due to reservation. The EWS Quota under RTE Act 2009 i.e. a quota of 25% seats to be reserved in private unaided schools for poor children, as reaffirmed in the belief of providing reservation. Although this quota has roots in the philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar but there is a need to examine its relevance in the present.

Introduction

An Egalitarian society where all the members are leading a dignified life without discrimination and exploitation is what Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has aspired for and at the same time strived for. Any kind of discrimination and exploitation leads to marginalization and social exclusion of the afflicted groups of the society. Social exclusion is a relative term and a process where a person is being included from participating in those social activities which are assumed to be normal for others persons who are participating. For e.g. due to poverty many children are devoid of a balanced and nutritional diet and as a result suffering from malnutrition. So malnourished children are marginalized and excluded from leading a healthy life. In India, exclusion takes many forms, it may happen due to poverty, language, caste, region, religion, gender and color too. Here it has to be maintained that untouchables who later on termed as

scheduled castes have bear the brunt of discrimination, untouchability and severe exploitation from the upper castes. They are placed at the bottom of caste hierarchy and had been excluded from being educated, employed & leading a free life for thousands of years.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar himself belongs to the family of lower caste and has gone through the pain of untouchability & discrimination. He has gone through the inhuman treatment and couldn't get rid of it even when he became administrative official. Ambedkar was fortunate enough to get the opportunity of study so that he became well aware of the vicious circle and exploitative system of caste in India. He advocated a policy of positive discrimination for the depressed classes in the form of reservations and quota in education and employment. With the help of this policy; he was of opinion that up to some extent the marginality can be compensated. Here it is important to mention that he suggested a time bound reservation policy which can be extended if needed. But after approximately 70 years of independence, we are still having reservations. We are not only having the reservation continued but it has reaffirmed through the implementation of EWS Quota under RTE Act 2009. With the help of this paper an effort is being made to examine the relevance of EWS Quota in the present educational system.

Before indulging in the examination of EWS Quota under RTE Act 2009, some emphasis should be placed on the existence of graded inequality in India.

Existence of Graded Inequality in India.

The Indian society is based on caste system. Caste system is quite unaware of the ethics of equality and universal brotherhood. Specifically, we can mention the scheme of Manu and by following the scheme of Manu, Hinduism does not recognize equality of men. Hinduism follows a ranking system and order of gradation: first rank, Brahman, second rank, Kshatriya; third rank, Vaishya; fourth rank, Shudra; fifth rank, the Ati-shudra (untouchables). Graded inequality is more dangerous than inequality. Inequality creates general discontent which may take the form of revolution. Revolution and expression of discontent gives the sufferers an opportunity to rise against the discrimination and to fight for the common grievance. But graded inequality prevents the rise of general discontent and revolution against the system. For instance, regarding the Manu's governance of marriage, the Brahman has the right to take a woman for marriage from the three lower classes, but the Brahman is not allowed to give woman to lower class. Although the Kshatriya and Vaishya may have resentment towards the Brahman, but they will not stand up against the Brahman as they also have the right to take a woman from lower class. Here we can also mention that each and every caste is very conscious of their rank in the hierarchy and they don't stand against their upper class because it increases the chances of lower class to come to their status. Like the Kshatriya if stands against the Brahman, there can be chances that the other lower classes (Vaishya & Shudra) may rise to the same level. So in order to retain the ascribed status the upper castes give their acceptance but the lower caste especially the untouchables have to bear the inhuman treatment, the discrimination and exploitation. This Graded inequality compels the untouchables to accept their status as destined and they deserve to be mistreated and to do work which is commonly not done by upper castes.

The persistence of this graded inequality in India is mainly due to the some principles of Hinduism. Hinduism still persists with its official doctrine of inequality and the principle of ranked and graded caste system of Hinduism perpetuates the inequality in the social order. The caste system determines the social order in India society and up to a great extent still determines the relationship between man and man, the economic order of society in terms of relation of workman to workman and most essentially the political order of people to people.

So the graded inequality which has its base in the caste system of Hinduism very clearly sets the values and norms of ranking and grading. The society has internalized the notion of caste hierarchy through the religion as religion is the supreme driving force in Indian society. Although many efforts have been done from the eminent social reformers from Jyotiba Phule to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to make society free from caste apprehensions but it is so deeply rooted in the Indian society in the form of religion & culture that it still exists. The more dangerous part is that now caste not only affirms inequality but has become the source of vote bank politics in India. Now Indian politics has the face of castes where vote bank decides the propaganda not the common welfare. It is very unfortunate.

Ambedkar was the Pioneer Revolutionist

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, known as Babasaheb belonged to the untouchable caste of mahars of Maharashtra. In his early life he was also suffered from various prejudices in school and society but fortunately he was supported by many Social reformers for his studies. For instance, when a Hindu reformer K.A. Keluskar, got aware of the Ambedkar outstanding personal capabilities, aided Ambedkar's education when the family of Ambedkar moved to Bombay. K.A. Keluskar also provided Ambedkar with the insight into Buddha's thought by giving a book on the life of the Buddha in Marathi language. Ambedkar was also supported by non Brahman princes of Baroda and Kolhapur and all this support eventually led him to the degree of PhD from Columbia University in New York, a D.Sc. degree at the University of London, and the title of barrister at Grey's Inn in London in the academic achievements of Babasaheb.

Ambedkar in spite of having high academic achievements had experienced the inhuman attitude of the upper caste people. At the times when people recognized him as a man of learning and high official in the Baroda state in 1917, he was treated very poorly. There was no drinking water in his office, his subordinates kept a distance from him; low paid workers threw files and paper on his desk from a distance due to the fear of being polluted. So Ambedkar decided to fight for the social and political rights of the untouchable. In the midst of his education abroad he returned to India in 1917 for a three year period and participated in two conferences for the depressed classes. At that time he also initiated a newspaper entitled Muknayak (the voice of the mute) which later became the foundational hallmarks of his life long political and social reformation. Ambedkar founded the independent labor party during the British government reforms of the mid 1930s. He demanded separate electorate for the untouchables in the round table conferences held in London in 1930 and 1931. His newspapers Bahishkrat Bharat (Excluded India), Janata (People) and Prabuddha Bharat (Awakened Bharat), which succeeded Muknayak were widely circulated. His revolutionary thoughts for the emancipation of untouchables gave the lower caste a place of consideration in Govt. policies in pre and post Independent era.

Positive discrimination as a policy

Positive discrimination programme emerged in India in the early decades of the 20th century and was subsequently given a constitutional basis in 1950's. Indian policies of positive discrimination rely primarily on reservation through quotas. The claims for reservation were first made in the late 19th century in education and employment and the earliest quotas date back to 1920 in Mysore, Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Indian policies of positive discrimination are primarily located in the educational, political and administrative domains and have not yet been legislated for the corporate sector or for civil society organizations. Positive discrimination in India is directed at members of the Scheduled caste (SCs), the Scheduled tribes (STs) and more recently members of the Other Backward Class (OBCs). Casteism is

the initial feature of Indian society. Reservations and quotas were initially for the lower castes in India. But this is also full of complexities. It is almost impossible to enumerate or describe caste with any degree of accuracy. There are believed to be anywhere 2000-3000 caste/sub caste in India and are arranged hierarchically in the four fold ritualvarna order. Dr B R Ambedkar strived for separate electorate and reservation of assembly seats for the depressed classes so that the lower castes could also be properly presented. The kind of mental, physical and emotional pain a lower caste person has to go through in the complex Varna system only a representative from a lower caste can understand and do the needful. But due to large number of castes and subcastes in India with huge disparities in terms of language, region and religion, it is almost an impossible task to develop a system which is satisfactory and beneficial to all.

The policy of positive discrimination is justified to compensate the educational, social and economical backwardness of the marginalized but only a provision cannot do much. A system should be developed to recognize the social and economical backwardness of Indians despite of any caste they belongs to. Ambedkar sought the emancipation of the depressed classes through education as education can make them efficient, aware and organize so they can enjoy their constitutional rights and participate in the system of administration.

Ambedkar on Education

According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forego material benefits, we may forego material benefits of civilization but we cannot forego our rights and opportunities to reap the benefits of the highest education to the fullest extent. That the importance of this question from the point of view of the backward classes who have just realized that without education their existence is not safe. Babasaheb advocated education to emancipate for the depressed classes. The status of untouchable in the Hindu caste system was the serious impediment of their education. The traditional caste system of Hinduism prevented the lower castes from education and their access to knowledge was strictly prohibited so Ambedkar realized that lack of education was the main cause for the backwardness of poor lower caste people. Ambedkar suggested to the youth of the lower castes that the education is the only way to improve their social status and image. Ambedkar has done tremendous efforts to provide education to the masses so that they may know their own conditions, have aspirations and rise to the level of highest Hindu and be in the position to use political power as a means. This is best reflected in the slogan given by Ambedkar i.e. education, agitate and organize.

According to Ambedkar education empowers the individual with creative thinking, knowledge, reasoning and compassion for fellow being. If the avenues for education are closed and restricted for a particular group of society, this is equaling to make that group handicapped. The caste system of graded inequality in India is existing from centuries because of differences in the opportunities of education. Ambedkar suggested that the gulf which has been created between the Brahman and non Brahman can be ended only with the help of higher education. The Government and its institutions have the responsibility of ensuring education to all without discrimination so that the people from backward castes too come in front and occupy significant places in the governance and administration.

Right to Education Act 2009 and EWS Quota

In a judgment of 1993 in Unnikrishnan case, Supreme Court made a reinterpretation of Article 21 and emphasized that Right to dignified life should be seen together with Right to Education because if the person is uneducated, he wouldn't be able to understand his rights properly and cannot lead a life of dignity. This judgment proved as a milestone to the efforts of many eminent educationists, NGOs, civil society organizations and social workers

who were striving for education to be accepted as fundamental right. In April 2009, a historic act was implemented by the Govt. of India i.e Right to Education act 2009. RTE act 2009 was passed so as to ensure education to all. This has certainly the reflection of Ambedkar philosophy. He also advocated education for the depressed classes so that they can be made aware of their conditions, become capable and improve their status.

The RTE Act 2009 ensures free and compulsory elementary education to the children of 6- 14 year of age in India. The education will be free and no tuition will be charged from the children studying in government schools. Corporal punishment and tuition fee both were prohibited to ensure availability and accessibility of education to all. No detention policy will be followed till the child completes elementary education i.e. 8th class. All the features of RTE Act 2009 have the intention that children must enroll, retain and successfully complete their elementary education without any hindrance. The major obstacles like requirement of various age and residence proofs at the time of admission were also removed as under RTE Act 2009 no student can be denied admission due to non availability of age and residence documents.

One of the most interesting features of RTE ACT 2009 is the provision of Economically Weaker Section (EWS) quota in private unaided schools. All the private unaided school have to reserve 25% of seats in their entry level classes for the children belong to economically weaker and socially disadvantaged section of the society. The private schools will not charge fees from the children who sought admission under this quota and the government will reimburse the fee of these children to the school. But the Government will reimburse the fees to the extent per child expenditure incurred by the Government on education in state or actual fees of the school whichever is lower. So if the expenses of the school on the children admitted in the quota are more than the reimbursement then they have to bear the lost.

Social inclusion and equality is the rationale behind the provision of the quota, according to Supreme court in 2010. When children from different classes of the society sit together and learn together, they get the opportunity to learn the values of equality & fraternity, the chance to recognize the diversities of real life and may develop more practical values. To take the advantage of quality education in private schools and to give equal opportunities of accessibility to quality education available in neighborhood areas is motive of EWS quota under RTE Act 2009 but it is very much evident in Indian context that mere provisions of quotas and reservations cannot do much. For the attainment inclusion of the marginalized in the main team society social physiology has to transform.

Ambedkar on Social Psychology

Ambedkar emphasized strongly the very wrong notion of untouchability. According to Ambedkar, untouchability is an aspect of social psychology and it is deeply rooted in the mindset of the people who believe in the Varna system. Varna system advocates and also perpetuate the principle of graded inequality in Indian society. So Ambedkar was against the Varna system which compels the level caste people to accept the discrimination, humiliation and exploitation as destined. Sometimes they might feel that as they are born in the lower caste so they deserve to be maltreated. Ambedkar came to this conclusion because in spite of his acceptance as amen of high learning and the status of administrative officer in Baroda he tolerated the inhuman treatment given by his subordinates. Ambedkar was of view that although the marginalized castes and depressed classes need support in terms of reservation and quotas but to emancipate completely from the undignified life they have to come out of their inferiority complex. At same the upper caste people have to accept them as human being who have equal rights for leading a dignified life .

Ambedkar stressed upon the reformation of the mind of the man and mind of the world. He believed in the philosophy of equality, liberty and fraternity. For the attainment of the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity; he proposed development of democracy and that democracy should be rested in these spheres of human life; political, social and economic. He upheld social psychology and social democracy are the two essential elements to get rid of the disease of casteism and graded inequality. During his lifetime Ambedkar refuted the principles of Hinduism and concluded that Hinduism is devoid of any set of principles that would guide the moral conscience of the individual. He converted to Buddhism as he believed that Buddhism is essentially rationalist and humanist in its approach to life. He suggested conversion to the scheduled caste to get rid of their inferiority complex. He believed that the identity of being Indian is the supreme and should be accepted mentally by all the people of the Indian society **Is the EWS Quota sufficient enough for ensuring social inclusion and equality?**

The rationale behind the EWS quota is to bring social inclusion and equality for the children who have been deprived of quality education due to poverty, illiteracy and unemployment of parents etc. The children from economically weaker and disadvantaged section are provided 25% seats in the entry level classes in the private unaided schools. The reason of this figure as provided by Hon'ble Supreme court of India in 2013, is to give fair number of EWS children in the class so that they may not feel lonely and can relate with each other. The government is keen to take advantage of the quality education as assumed to be provided in the private schools. Here a very crucial and important debate arises. Firstly Government schools are the major provider of school education in India but at the same time the dilapidated condition of education in Govt. schools is clearly mentioned in the Annual School Education Report (ASER 2013, 2014). So Government schools, which are supposed to be relied upon by the masses for education, are continuously poor performing. Secondly private schools which are commonly high paid and out of the reach of the poor and depressed sections of society cannot compensate for the poor performing government school. They are not able to serve the whole population of school going children as they have limited resources. On the other side the private schools are mostly running for profit so they are not ready to do the social service. After considering the above mentioned two important aspects, it is clear that the government is escaping from its responsibility of providing education to the masses and being a welfare state it is the prime duty. If the government itself is falling on the front how it can enforce the reservation on private schools which are running without any aid. Now if we come to private schools they should not make business out of a divine process of providing education. If they are doing well in the society they should also give some returns to the society deliberately by sharing responsibility of providing education to all. As far as the EWS quota is concerned, it has to be given a serious reconsideration to the provision. On one side it is seriously putting the EWS children into the danger of being labeled as weaker children in the affluent schools and on the other side it is contributing towards shifting the attention of people from the poor performance of government schools. If the Government and the society are really interested in attaining inclusion and equality, the Government schools have to perform really well. Government cannot see the deprivation of education alone as it is related with the problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, gender bias, migration and displacement etc. Only enrolling the children in schools is not sufficient, a system should be developed to examine their daily life routine and its difficulties. Discrimination, corruption and unfair practices should be strictly dealt with so that the benefits of the welfare policies reach out to the masses.

Conclusion

For the people who have suffered the pain of humiliation and discrimination for thousands of years, a more sensitive and sensible attitude is required. One of the measures suggested in the pre and post independence era in India is the policy of positive discrimination. Under the policy of positive discrimination reservation in employment and education are provided so that the participation of the depressed can be ensured.

The legacy of reservation belongs to the pioneer educationist, philosopher and eminent lawyer Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He envisioned a time bound which can be extended if needed framework of reservation to uplift the depressed. Ambedkar suggested education is the medium through which a Dalit can become aware and capable. After app. 70 years of independence, the policy of reservation still exists even extended to other backward classes also. Demands of reservations from different castes and sub caste all around India are very common these days. The people who were at times couldn't tolerate even the sight of the untouchables are now very keen to get themselves listed in the same category in which all the depressed castes are listed. So reservation instead of a kind of compensation to the disadvantaged has become a tool of securing seats in employment, politics and education. This must be surely not envisioned by Ambedkar. The Government in this time of controversies and debates over reservation has come with reservation policy i.e EWS quotas under RTE Act 2009 in privately unaided schools. The private schools which are already blamed for the commercialization of education are expected to do social welfare by the Government. This is also reflective of the failure of the Government who only has the resources for ensuring common welfare. By forcefully admitting poor children without any mechanism of providing support for their daily routine life difficulties, the Government will not be able to ensure inclusion and equality.

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DR. B.R.AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

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Dr.Ambedkar will always be remembered as the architect of the Indian Constitution, having been the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution. But, in the popular mind, his major contribution will be his crusade for securing the rightful place for the discriminated, deprived and downtrodden sections of our society. In this paper an attempt is made to look at Ambedkar not as a dalit hero alone, but as saviour of the Indian women. Ambedkar made sincere efforts in understanding the reality about the status of women in India and advocate practical reformist measures, like the comprehensive Hindu Code Bill, for the upliftment of women.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14 April 1891 at Mhow, in present-day State of Madhya Pradesh in a Mahar family . The Mahars are considered low- caste and treated as untouchables by higher-caste Hindus. His birth as an untouchable gave him a bitter taste of caste tyranny, oppression and unbearable agony.This sowed the seeds of discontentment about the Hindu social system in the life of Dr. Ambedkar. His life was a struggle of a champion of human rights. Being a pioneer of social justice, he always worked for the woman emancipation. His principle aim was to build up a society based on social justice.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar not only championed the cause of social justice for the downtrodden and underprivileged sections of Indian society but also worked tirelessly throughout his life to challenge the legitimacy of orthodox Hindu social order that upheld iniquitous gender relations in an institutionalized manner. His mission in life was to reconstruct Hindu society along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. On Ambedkar's death Pt.Jawahar lal Nehru's condolence message read, 'Dr.Baba Saheb Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of the Hindu society'¹

It will not be wrong to regard Dr. Ambedkar as one of greatest intellectual and social reformer of modern India for his pioneering contribution in reforming Hindu social order. Exposed to the Western ideas of humanism and rational thinking, Dr.Ambedkar was appalled at the low

status of women in the Hindu society. Throughout his life, Ambedkar worked tirelessly for the upliftment and emancipation of social status of the underprivileged and women in the Indian society. He has done extensive and in depth thinking on the Hindu social order and the status of women within the Hindu society. He was the first Indian reformer who roots out the barriers in the way of advancement of Indian society in general and of women in particular. Above all he was a pioneer of social justice. He started his movement in 1920. He raised his voice against the Hindu social order and social system through his renowned journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bahiskrit Bharat in 1927. Through these journals he spoke on the gender equality, women education and exposed the problems related to women and other depressed class. He was also a strong advocate of family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. He was also involved to root out the evil practices like prostitutions. He worked for the welfare of the people throughout his life. He built up awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devdasi system. He stated that women of Indian society should be given equal opportunity and equal share with their male counterpart. He not only worked hard at the grassroots level to raise awareness about the degraded status of women in India but also wrote extensively to counter the views on gender relations sanctioned by Shastras and upheld by traditions.

Through his writings, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar unravels the inequality and injustice inherent in Hindu social order that perpetuates inequality and subordination of women in a systemic manner. In his treatises, “ *The Rise and Fall of Hindu Women*”, “*The Women and Counter Revolution*”, “*The Riddle of Women*”, and “*Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*”, Dr. Ambedkar has analyzed the manner in which gender relations are artificially constructed under Hindu social order which not only moulds attitude of Hindus towards their women but also conditions women to conform to a stereotype feminine behavior. He worked hard to challenge the iniquitous gender relations under the Hindu social order so that Hindu society could be reconstructed along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Dr. Ambedkar raised awareness about gender inequality inherent in the Hindu social order characterized by caste, patriarchy and endogamy and challenged the legitimacy of established social order.

Ambedkar's writings

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar studied extensively the Hindu Shastras and Smritis to find out the root cause of degraded status of women in India. In his article, “The Rise and Fall of Hindu Woman”,ⁱ he made a historical study of the women's status in ancient India and the factors that led to a decline in their status in later years. He points out that during the pre-Manu days women occupied a very high position in the intellectual and social life of the country. Patanjali's MahaBhasya, which is written in the second century BC, shows that women were teachers and taught Vedas to girl students. Women also entered into public discussion with men on various subjects like religion, philosophy and meta physics. The stories of public disputation between Janak and Sulabha, Yajnavalkya and Gargi, Yajnavalkya and Maitreyi, and Sankracharya and Vidyadhari shows that Indian women in pre-Manu days could attain the highest pinnacle of learning and education.

In the articles, “The Woman and Counter Revolution” and “The Riddle of Women”,ⁱⁱⁱ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar asserts that women in pre-Manu days were highly respected cannot be disputed.

In his paper presented for the anthropology seminar at Columbia University, USA in May 1916 on, “Caste in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development”^{iv}, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

unravels the genesis, mechanism and spread of caste system in India and its consequences for gender relations on the Hindu society.

In this paper, the 25-year-old Ambedkar offered the insight that the caste system thrives by its control of women, and that caste is a product of sustained endogamy. Since then, till the time he piloted the Hindu Code Bill, seeking to radicalise women's rights in the 1950s, Ambedkar deployed a range of arguments to make his case against Brahmanism and its twin, patriarchy. In the first essay, Ambedkar explains the mechanism of the caste structure in India. He argues that endogamy is the foundation of maintaining caste. Castes are not the division of labor rather they are division of laborers. Initially there were classes and people could be mobile across those classes. But at some point, some castes (Brahminical class) began to close doors to others and others found doors closed at them. The only caste that was able to close doors was the Brahmin class and therefore he names the Brahminical class as the "father of the caste structure". Yet, Ambedkar also argues that there is no caste in the singular term. There are only castes. The caste structure is a graded inequality system. Every caste has someone below them and they emulate the upper caste to maintain their status.

The only way to maintain the caste structure was to ensure endogamous marriages. If everyone is to marry into their own caste, what happens to the surplus man and surplus woman? How do you ensure that they do not marry outside the caste. Ambedkar argues that rituals such as child marriage and sati were introduced for that purpose. Surplus men would be allowed to marry young girls and surplus women would engage in sati. For those women who could not engage in sati, they were subjected to oppressive, degraded widowhood. In any case, women's sexuality had to be controlled. In order to control women's sexuality, it was essential to have an ideological basis and Manu Smriti was indeed critical for that purpose. According to Ambedkar, Manu was able to convert Brahmanical patriarchal ideals into state law. Dr. Ambedkar points out that Shastras, Caste and Endogamy – the three important pillars of patriarchy in Hindu society – were responsible for discriminatory practice against women and their degradation in social status.

Ambedkar and justice to women

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's mission in life was to challenge the ideological foundations of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu society. He believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. Therefore, in order to reconstruct Hindu society along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, he suggests in "The Annihilation of Caste System"^v that Hindu minds should be purged from the thralldom of the Shastras. To quote him, "Make every man and woman free from the thralldom of the Shastras, cleanse their minds of the pernicious notions founded on the basis of Shastras and he or she will inter-dine and inter-marry with out your telling him or her to do so". He found education, inter-caste marriage and inter-dinning as methods by which caste and patriarchy maintained through endogamy can be eliminated.

On December 25, 1927 at a Conference of Depressed Classes held at Mahad, Dr. Ambedkar made a bonfire of Manusmriti in presence of more than fifty women to protest against the discrimination of women and untouchables upheld by it. At the end of the Conference, Dr. Ambedkar also addressed a meeting of about three thousand women of the Depressed Classes, the first meeting of its kind in modern India and urged them to dress well and live a clean life. Do not feed your spouse and sons if they are drunk. Send your children to schools. Education is as necessary for females as it is for males.^{vi} Speaking on the burning of Manusmriti later in 1938, he said, "The bonfire of Manusmriti was quite intentional. It was a very cautious and drastic step but was taken with a view to forcing the attention of Caste Hindus. —We

made a bonfire of it because we view it as a symbol of injustice under which we have been crushed across centuries——”^{vii}

In January 1928, a women s association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar’s wife, as its president. In the Kalram Temple Entry Satyagraha at Nasik in 1930, five hundred women participated and many of them were arrested along with men and ill treated in jails. At various places, depressed classes women’s conferences were held and they began to present their demands assertively. The encouragement of Dr. Ambedkar to empower women to speak boldly was seen when Radhabai Vadale addressed a press conference in 1931. She said “It is better to die a hundred times than live a life full of humiliation. We will sacrifice our lives but we will win our rights.” The credit for this self respect and firm determination of women goes to Ambedkar.^{viii}

Ambedkar’s perception of women related questions and issues, emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men , right to property and involvement in the political process resembled the global feminists demand. As J. S. Mill expressed in the Subjection of Women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself and one of the chief hindrance to human development; and ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no privilege or power on the one side, nor disability on the other, Ambedkar also holds the same views on work for women.^{ix}

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar championed the cause of women with in the Legislative Council as well. As a member of Bombay Legislative Council, he raised the problems of Indian women in the discussion within the Council and sought their solutions. His arguments on the Maternity Benefit Bill and on Birth Control were quite relevant to recognize the dignity of women. Supporting the Maternity Benefit Bill for women labourers in his speech, he said: “It is in the interest of the nation that the mother ought to get a certain amount of rest during the pre –natal period and also subsequently and the principle of the Bill is based entirely on that principle——. That being so Sir, I am bound to admit that the burden of this ought to be largely borne by the government. I am prepared to admit this fact because the conservation of the people’s welfare is primarily the concern of the government. And in every country, you will find that the government has been subjected to a certain amount of charge with regard to maternity benefit.”^x

In his address at the Depressed Classes Women’s Conference held at Nagpur on July 20, 1942 Ambedkar underlined that women should learn to be clean and keep themselves away from vices. They should educate their children and instill high ambition in them. Speaking on marriage and parental responsibilities, he advised women to get married only when they are financially able. They should stand by their husband as a friend and equal and refuse to be his slave.^{xi}

Ambedkar’s goal was to make a society based on social justice. To secure this goal, Ambedkar has given equal status to women on par with men by providing many provisions in the Indian constitution. To him, sexual discrimination should be rooted out from the society and everybody should get equal opportunity in the society. The Preamble of Indian constitution guarantees social and economic justice to women and that is because of Ambedkar contribution. In the preamble it is mentioned: i) social, economic and political justice, ii) freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, iii) equality of status and opportunity and iv) fraternity assuring dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste .creed and sex.

Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women’s right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. i.e.

Article 14 -Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.

Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

Article 39 –Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.

Article 42 –Human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 51 (A) (C) -Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 46 –The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 47 –The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.

Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System

In the Manu Smriti, Manu not only shows contempt for women but goes on to degrade them as slaves, devoid of intellect; denies them the right of education and the right to property; and forbids them from performing sacrifices. Being India's first Law minister and chairman of drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar thought it appropriate, rather his duty, to free women from the age old thralldom by reforming the Hindu social laws created by Manu. He, therefore, took initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly.

The Hindu Code Bill, the most formidable legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalise only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters. Ambedkar was deeply involved in the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill. Ambedkar had played a huge role in improving the lives of all women. Ambedkar was very clear that without women's liberation, caste structure will not break. Through the Hindu code, he introduced legislation regarding intercaste marriage, divorce, property rights, maintainance, guardianship and inheritance.

It is further evident how Nehru and the Congress party successfully stalled the Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament. They would not have wanted to alienate the propertied upper castes who formed the backbone of the new Hindu nation. Popular culture recorded the Hindu Code Bill as the 'divorce bill' that favoured over-educated women. The events reveal Ambedkar's commitment to the democratic struggles for women's rights against the Brahmanical patriarchy of the state. Dr. Ambedkar said "And all I am asking this House is: If you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated" As he asks in the debate, 'Are you going to have the law of the 90 per cent of the people as the general law of this country, or are you going to have the law of the 10 per cent of the people being imposed upon the 90 per cent?'^{xii}

In his letter of resignation dated 27 September, 1951 to the Prime Minister, he wrote "For a long time I have been thinking of resigning my seat from the Cabinet. The only thing that had held me back from giving effect to my intention was the hope that it would be possible to give effect to the Hindu Code Bill before the life of present Parliament came to an end. I even agreed to break up the bill and restricted it to Marriage and Divorce in the fond hope that at least this much of our labour may bear fruit. But even that part of Bill had been killed. I see no purpose in my continuing to be a Member of your Cabinet."^{xiii}

Sharmila Rege says it best when she says, "Ambedkar's resignation - a protest against the suspension of the democratic social contract - becomes a landmark in the history of women's

rights in India. Ambedkar's statements in Parliament in defence of the Hindu Code Bill and his statement in explanation of his resignation from the cabinet need to be given their due recognition in the history of democratic struggles for women's rights against the Brahmanical patriarchy of the state." ^{xiv}

The Hindu Code Bill was later split in to four Bills and the same were put on the Statute Book by Parliament. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 are the four enactments which incorporate the ideas and principles of Hindu Code Bill formulated by Dr Ambedkar. They give independent status to women and endow them with the right of adoption, succession and property, so completely denied by Manu. Therefore, it is truism to say that it is due to Dr. Ambedkar that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced western countries.

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DR. B.R.AMBEDKAR'S EFFORT FOR WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

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Abstract

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was not only the father of Indian constitution; he was a great freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, thinker, writer, economist, editor and a revivalist for Buddhism in India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for extensive economic and social rights for women. His mission in life was to reconstruct Hindu society along the modern democratic idea of liberty, equality and fraternity. The paper analyses the contribution of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar a thinker and social reformer in the emancipation of social status of women in the Hindu society. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar saw women as the victim of the oppressive, caste based and rigid hierarchical social system. His effort for women empowerment and equal status in Hindu society in India.

Keyword: - Women Status, Women Empowerment, Gender Equality, Hindu society.

"I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved". Dr. B.R.Ambedkar

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was not only the father of Indian constitution; he was a great freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, thinker, writer, economist, editor and a revivalist for Buddhism in India. He was the first Indian reformer who roots out the barriers in the way of advancement of Indian society in general and of women in particular. Above all he was a pioneer of social justice. To secure all these goals he laid down the foundation of social justice by incorporating many factors or issues into Indian constitution through its various articles for the Hindus and other sections of the society; specially for backward communities and for under privileged classes. He extensive for economic and social rights for women. His mission in life was to reconstruct Hindu society along the modern democratic idea of liberty, equality and fraternity.

In ancient India, women enjoyed a very high position but gradually their position degenerated into merely objects of pleasure meant to serve certain purpose. They lost their

individual identity and even their basic human right. Indian women treated like a slave, devoid of intellect and she has to rights due to male domination society women faced many difficulties. She has no right to education; totally depend upon the male member of family; no freedom some examples are there like sati system, child marriage, the right to property; and forbids them from performing sacrifices.

Being India's first Law minister and chairman of drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar thought it appropriate, rather his duty, to free women from the age old thralldom by reforming the Hindu social laws created by Manu. He, therefore, took initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly. Dr. Ambedkar started involving women in the struggle, for eradication of caste systems and upliftment of the underprivileged sections. He realized that this could not be achieved without liberating the women themselves. He motivated women and addressed them to participate in struggle against caste prejudices. During the Mahad Tank Struggle, women marched in the procession along with men. He encouraged women to organize themselves. Impressed by the large gathering of women at women's conference held at Nagpur on 20th July, 1942, he told women to be progressive and abolish traditionalism, ritualism and customary habits, which were detrimental to their progress. Empowerment envelops developing and building capacities of individuals, communities to make them part of the main stream society. Education is the only mean by which societies grow out of oppression to democratic participation and involvement. It is a powerful tool for empowerment of individual.

Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India:-

- I. **Article 14** - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.
- II. **Article 15** - prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.
- III. **Article 15(3)** - enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.
- IV. **Article 39** – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
- V. **Article 42** – Human conditions of work and maternity relief.
- VI. **Article 46** – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- VII. **Article 47** – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.
- VIII. **Article 51 (A) (C)** – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.
- IX. **Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4)** - provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.
- X. **The Hindu Succession Act** gives male and female heirs almost equal rights to inheritance. Section 14 says that any property possessed by a female Hindu shall be held by her as full owner and not a limited owner. Dr. Ambedkar introduced Hindu Code Bill in 1948 which was revolutionary in confinement of proprietary rights to women but when not accepted by the parliament, he resigned from the ministerial post from the cabinet in 1951. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 was amended in 1976 made the following provisions for women:
 - i. The legitimization of illegitimate children (Sec.16).
 - ii. Punishment-bigamy (Sec.26).
 - iii. Custody of children (Sec. 26).
 - iv. Marriageable age of females raised to 18 years.

- v. Provision for alimony (Sec. 25). The Act abolishes the difference between a maiden and a widow.

XI. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 This Act contains the following provisions for women:

- i. A widow has a right to adopt a son or a daughter which was not there in the Hindu Law.
- ii. It also provided an opportunity to be independent and dispose of her property by will as she wishes and desires (Sec. 14).
- iii. A uniform scheme of succession to the property of a Hindu female, who dies, intestate after commencement of the Act, was made in Section 15. Previously under the uncodified law the succession to stridhan varied according to the marital status of a woman.

XII. The Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956: This Act has the following provisions:

- I. This Act accepts adoption of a male and a female child without any difference, whereas under the uncodified law a daughter could not be adopted.
- II. This Act permits a wife to adopt a child on her own right even during her husband's life time. She had no such right prior to this enactment.
- III. In the uncodified law a spinster or a widow had no right to adopt whereas this Act grants them the right to adopt.
- IV. Under the old Hindu Law a wife need not be consulted while adopting a child or while giving a child for adoption, whereas this Act made it essential to consult her in both the cases.
- V. Section 11 lays down that, a father should adopt a daughter atleast 21 years younger to him.

Due to above all Article it raises the status of women in India. Our constitution of India gives equal rights to everyone. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters. He provided strong constitutional safeguards to women. The Preamble of Indian constitution guarantees social and economic justice to women and that is because of Ambedkar contribution. In the preamble it is mentioned: i) social, economic and political justice, ii) freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, iii) equality of status and opportunity and iv) fraternity assuring dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste, creed or sex.

Present Status of Women:

Today scenario of women status is improved. According to constitution of India man and woman have equal rights. In urban area women in India more educated, more independent in every field, social and economic status are rise, she know their legal rights. Today Indian women have excelled in each and every field from social work to visiting space station. There is no arena, which remains unconquered by Indian women. Whether it is politics, research work, field of education, sports, entertainment, literature, technology everywhere, its women power all along. The Modern Indian woman, does not let social constraints to keep her behind, but prioritizes her education or her career before anything else. From a time when there no woman writer in India who was taken seriously, today names like Arundhati Roy, Anita Desai, Kiran Desai, Shobhaa De, Jhumpa Lahiri can put any other writer to shame. In the field of cinema, women like Rekha, Smita Patil, Shabana Aazmi and Vidya Balan and Konkona Sen are such names who don't play feminized roles, but have asserted themselves over this male-dominated realm. In the field of Politics, from Indira Gandhi to Shiela Dixit, Uma Bharti, Jayalalitha, Vasundhara Raje and Mamata Banerjee today, women are making their presence

felt. Today modern woman is so deft and self-sufficient that she can be easily called a superwoman, juggling many fronts single handedly.

Conclusion

In the condolence message, on Ambedkar's death in parliament, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said "Dr. Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of Hindu society". His dream of society, based on gender equality is yet to be realized and therefore his thoughts are important for the social reconstruction that favors women empowerment. Dr. Ambedkar strongly believed that women empowerment can be achieved by welfare of women. The activities of empowering women worldwide should follow the vision of Dr. Ambedkar. He stated that women must be treated equally and given equal prestige. He insisted on Hindu Code bill suggesting the basic improvements and amendments in assembly. He also insisted and evoked all the parliamentary members to help to pass the bill in parliament. Eventually, he resigned for the same. The teachings and thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar are useful not only women but also all the Indian even today.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

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Women Empowerment

Empowerment is a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional and multi-layered concept. Women's empowerment is a process in which women gain greater share of control over resources material, human and intellectual like knowledge, information, ideas and financial resources like money - and access to money and control over decision-making in the home, community, society and nation, and to gain 'power'. According to the Country Report of Government of India, "Empowerment means moving from a position of enforced powerlessness to one; of power". But, from time immemorial, the women in this land of ours were treated as a sort of thing.

"I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved" – Dr. B.R. Ambedkar .

Considering sacrifices, sufferings & contribution of women for the welfare of the family, in the early times of human history, the families were Matriarchal (mother as head of the family). Although woman was not weaker than man, during illness, pregnancy & child birth she had to depend upon man., who subsequently enslaved her and society took the form of "Patriarchal" (Father as Ruler & Head of family). Still woman continued to enjoy authority & respect in the family. This continued in the Vedic Period, and women continued enjoying equal rights as men with liberty to choose their husbands in open "Svyamvars" The respect enjoyed by woman of that time could be gauged from the verse " **Yater Nariasye Pujante, Ramte Tater Devita** (God reside at places where women are worshiped)" No religious ceremony by man was complete without participation of his wife and Rama had to get statue of Sita made to carry on with ceremonies for Ashawmegh Yagya In ancient India, women enjoyed a very high position but gradually their position degenerated into merely objects of pleasure meant to serve certain purpose. In Hindu Shastras, she has been branded just like animals or some Objects of enjoyment. From the verses of Ramayana as written by Tulsi Das, Dhol, ganwar, shudra, pashu, naari - Ye sab tadan ke adhikari", In 'Manusmriti' the ancient Hindu Code-book, the

status granted to women is quite visible and she was treated at par with the animals and slaved by the proprietors of Hindu Dharma. Such was the placement earmarked to our mothers, sisters and even great grandmothers that humanity was ashamed of. That is why Dr. Ambedkar, the father of Indian Constitution, was one of the firm opinions that until and unless, we defy the Hindu Dharma- Shastras, nothing much can be changed.

Changed Era: Upgraded Society

Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He started fierce propoganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bahiskrit Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women. The encouragement of Dr. Ambedkar to empower women to speak boldly was seen when Radhabai Vadale addressed a press conference in 1931. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. Dr. Babasaheb spent his life for the betterment of women even involved in bad practices and professionals like prostitutions.

Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devdasi system. Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women s right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. He insisted on Hindu Code bill suggesting the basic improvements and amendments in assembly. He also insisted and evoked all the parliamentary members to help to pass the bill in parliament. Eventually, he resigned for the same. Thus his deep concern and feelings for all round development of women is expressed from his each sentence and word.

Vision of Dr. Ambedkar on Women Empowerment

- The vision of Dr. Ambedkar about women is explicitly depicted in Indian Constitution. Equality of sexes is strongly backed by the constitution through articles 14, 15 and 16.
- The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles.
- He laid down the foundation of social justice and there can be no social justice without gender equality. In his paper on "Casts in India: their mechanism, genesis and development", Dr. Ambedkar described how women were trenforced widowhood and girl marriages just to maintain strict endogamy in a caste.
- The social evils regarding women in Hindu religion as well as in Muslim society were highlighted by him.
- As a researcher, Dr. Ambedkar extensively studied the position of women in both the religion (and also in the other religions) and thrown light on denial of rights to her and ultimately the status of individual.
- He stated that the consequences of purdah system on Muslim women were that it deprives her of mental and moral nourishment.
- Dr. Ambedkar sought that Buddhism awards women, status equal to men and considered women capable of attaining spirituality. By adopting Buddhism, Dr. Ambedkar expelled in just for underprivileged segments including women and accepting the dignified equal status.
- Dr. Ambedkar denied worshipping Hindu deities, ultimately freed women from inhumane customs, rituals and superstitions and made the way for her liberation.

Constitutional Provisions:

Baba Sahib Dr. Ambedkar worked with, dedication, zeal & conviction for the betterment of women on becoming Chairman of Constitution Drafting Committee & First Law Minister of Independent India. Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. i.e.

- Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.
- Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.
- Article 39 – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
- Article 42 – Human conditions of work and maternity relief.
- Article 51 (A) (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.
- Article 46 – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.
- Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

Hindu Code Bill:-

To strike last nail in the coffin of discrimination against Indian women, Dr Ambedkar raised a new battle cry by finally submitting modified and revised Hindu Code bill to Constituent assembly in October 1948, which was under consideration since 1941 this gave a great shock to the reactionary opponents. But elite persons supported it as Justice Gajenderagadkar, an imminent Sanskrit Scholar, jurist & Judge of the Bombay High Court said, "If Dr Ambedkar gives us Hindu Code Bill, his achievement would go down in history as a very eloquent piece of poetic justice indeed". The discussion on this historic Bill by the Modern Manu began on Feb.5, 1951 in the Parliament and continued for three days, when its consideration was postponed to next session in Sept., 1951. Pt Nehru promised for the passage of the Bill and said that, if, the Hindu Code bill was not passed he along with his Cabinet of Ministers shall resign. But it is reported that even Dr Rajindra Prasad (Then President of India), a devote Brahmin, said, that, if, the Bill was passed he shall resign. Patel was not in favour of even its consideration, not to speak of passing of the Hindu Code Bill. It was decided by the Congress Party to take it up on Sept., 17, 1951, but only the first part of the Bill "Marriage & Divorce" and other clauses to be taken later. Elaborate security arrangements were made in & around Parliament, as opponents of the Bill, were gearing up for trouble. During discussion Dr. Shayama Prasad Mookerjee said "The Hindu Code Bill would shatter the magnificent structure of Hindu culture—." The tactics of long speeches to delay the passage of the Bill was resorted to by the members opposed to the Bill. All objections raised against the Bill, during debates were replied ably by the Law Minister, but even the "Marriage & Divorce" Bill could not be completed, and the rest of the Hindu Code Bill was never taken up. The Hindu Code Bill was let down in the tragic manner and in the words of Dr. Ambedkar "It was killed and buried, unwept and unsung after four clauses were passed". Even Nehru did not honor his word of full support for passage of the Bill. The four clauses of the Bill, which were adopted by the House on 25 Sept, 1951, strengthened the position of the women in the society. The four clauses passed were incorporated in the Hindu Code Bill, these were

- I) The Hindu marriage Act, 1955
- II) The Hindu succession Act, 1956
- III) The Hindu Minority and guardianship Act 1956
- IV) The adoption & maintenance Act 1956

The First Union Law Minister was disappointed due to non-passage of the Hindu Code Bill, as was conceived by him and promised support by Pt. Nehru. So Dr Ambedkar created history of sorts in sacrificing his Cabinet Law Ministry for the just cause of women by resigning

on Sept., 27, 1951 as a matter of protest. An example of supreme sacrifice for women liberation was created in not only Indian but world history. Although Dr Ambedkar could not succeed in getting passed the full Hindu Code Bill, he successfully put the ball rolling & laid the foundation of equality for the women of India in all spheres of life.

Women Rights in Indian Constitution by efforts of Dr.Ambedkar:

- Women can now have custody of child, no marriage before age of 18 years,
- Provision of alimony (maintenance allowance from husband on getting legally separation).
- Widow can now adopt a child, rights over parental property, a uniform scheme for succession to the property of a Hindu female who dies intestate (not having made a will).
- Mother can change guardian of minor by will, and many more rights due to the relentless efforts of Dr Ambedkar.

Due to Dr. Ambedkar efforts the women are now holding high positions of authority in all fields including, Engineering, Medical, Education including Higher Education; Army, Air Force, Aviation, Navy. Police, Administration. Politics; Foreign Services, Industry & Trade. India was proud to send in Space Indian Woman Kalpana Chawla. Installing Miss Mayawati a Dalit woman as Chief Minister besides other women CM's, Mrs Indra Gandhi as Prime Minister of India & Madam Pratibha Singh Patil was President of Indian Union as per the equal rights granted by our Constitution. Madam Sonia Gandhi is chairperson of one of the ruling National Parties, Madam J. Jayalithaaa, madam , Mamta Bhennerji has been the proud Chief Ministers in India, where at one time woman was equated with the man's shoe. With the proposed amendment to Art.243-D of Indian Constitution, India shall have 50 percent share of women in Panchayati Raj with nearly ten lacs and forty thousand women force. Already 15th Lok Sabha have 59 Women members(10.82%), which shall be raised three fold in the next Parliament with the passing of the proposed Women's Reservation Bill, for which ruling party is committed . However adequate representation to deprived castes women in Parliament and other elected bodies is a distant dream.It may be noted that Dr. Ambedkar was not against Religions, he was against un-religious acts in the name of religion, by the orthodox clergies and he always opposed the unreligious act of differentiating between humans (woman & Child included) on the basis of castes, sects, sex, color or place/ status at birth. Dr. Ambedkar said "If God does not recognize man or woman by caste or place of birth, the man made Orthodox and superstitious religions cannot/ should not do so."

Dr. Ambedkar's heart can be read for women welfare from his following saying "Unity is meaningless without the accompaniment of women. Education is fruitless without educated women, and agitation is incomplete without the strength of women".

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WOMEN LIBERATION IN THE VISION OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR

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Abstract

I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

This paper deals with the foresight of Dr. B.R Ambedkar, who is a great socialist, politician, economist, scholar and for Indian Women's Movement, provides a powerful source of inspiration to formulate a feminist political agenda which addresses the issues of class, caste and gender. "Empowerment means moving from a position of enforced powerlessness to one; of power". But, from the time immemorial, the women in this land of ours treated as a sort of thing. Women empowerment is uplifting the women towards her rights and gaining the equal position as her counterpart. In this regard, Dr. Babasaheb spent his full life for the amelioration of women even involved in bad practices and professions like prostitutions. Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devdasi system. Dr. Ambedkar tried an ampleful inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. The present paper is an attempt to highlight Dr. Ambedkar's view on women issues in pre and post independent India and his relevancy of ideas in present scenario of contemporary Indian society. His single word of every quote makes and excites every individual towards the attainment of his/ her rights.

Key-Words: Dr. B.R Ambedkar, Women Empowerment, Women issues, Women rights.

Introduction

Ambedkar known to be a genius and was a notable thinker, philosopher, revolutionary, jurist-par excellence, prolific writer, social activist and critic and strode like a colossus in the Indian socio-political scene who brake down the barriers in the advancement of women of India. Paul Baran, an eminent Marxist economist, had made a distinction in one of his essays

between an “intellect worker” and an intellectual. The former, according to him, is one who uses his intellect for making a living whereas the latter is one who uses it for critical analysis and social transformation. Dr. Ambedkar fits Baran’s definition of an intellectual very well (Singariya, 2014). His mission in life was to reconstruct Hindu society along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. The Writings and Speeches of Ambedkar show what values India should develop and how they would modernize its social and political institutions.

Ambedkar saw women as the victims of the oppressive, caste-based and rigid hierarchical social system. He believed that socio-cultural forces artificially construct gender relations, especially by Manusmriti and Hindu religion (Usha, 2009).

In Hindu Shastras, she has been branded just like animals. From the verses of Ramayan as written by Tulsidas crackpot: **“Dhol, ganwar, shudra, pashu, naari-Ye sab tadan ke adhikari”**

The status of our mother, sister, and wife has been given a status to that of an animal and has been put at stake in gambling by Yudhishter in Mahabharata. In ‘Manusmriti’ the ancient Hindu Code-book and Hindu Shastras been mentioned that the woman is the bond slave of her father when she was young, to her husband when she is middle aged and to her son when she is a mother.

Ambedkar raised the question, “Why Manu degraded her (woman)?” In his treatises, The Riddle of the Woman, The Woman And the Counter Revolution, The Rise and Fall of Hindu Women, Castes in India: Their Mechanism Genesis and Development and through the issues of his journals Mooknayak (1920) and Bahishkrit Bharat (1927), Ambedkar tries to show how the gender relations and differences are constructed by Hindu Brahminical order, which conditions women to conform a stereotype feminine behaviour, requiring them to be passive and submissive, suited only to a life of domestic and family responsibilities. He attacked Manusmriti as a major source, which legitimizes denial of freedom, self respect, right to education, property, divorce etc., to women by attributing a very lofty ideal to them.

He stated that women should be given all round development importantly social education, their well being and socio-cultural right. He emphasized that each and every section of Indian women be given their due share and it is a must to maintain and protect dignity and modesty of women. This can be seen by his quote- “It is the education which is the right weapon to cut the social slavery and it is the education which will enlighten the downtrodden masses to come up and gain social status, economic betterment and political freedom.”

This paper is not a comprehensive exploration of all his work, writings and speeches, due to the voluminous work on all the areas, but an attempt to look into his perception on the women’s issues and rights analyzes the pertinent of his ideas in the contemporary Indian society.

Struggle Towards Gender Parity

During the last decade of the 19th century, many Indian leaders born among the lower castes like Narayan Guru (1854-1928), Jotiba Phule (1827-1890), and Ramaswamy Naicker (1879-1973) launched massive struggles for the dignity of Dalits throughout India. Ambedkar was the most towering figure among these Dalit leaders. He adopted various means to safeguard women rights. Dr.B. R. Ambedkar’s approach to women’s empowerment is entirely different from other social reformers like Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahatma Gandhi who tried to reform the Hindu society of certain outdated customs and practices without questioning the hierarchical social order. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s

mission in life was to challenge the ideological foundations of Varna system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu society. He believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. Therefore, in order to reconstruct Hindu society along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, he suggests in "The Annihilation of Caste System" that Hindu minds should be purged from the thralldom of the Shastras. To quote him, "Make every man and woman free from the thralldom of the Shastras, cleanse their minds of the pernicious notions founded on the Shastras and he or she will inter-dine and inter-marry without your telling him or her to do so". He found education, inter-caste marriage and inter-dinning as methods by which caste and patriarchy maintained through endogamy can be eliminated.

Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education..." He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mooknayak in 1920 and Bahiskrit Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education andexposed the problems of the depressed as well as women.

On December 25, 1927 at a Conference of Depressed Classes held at Mahad, Dr.B. R.Ambedkar made a bonfire of Manusmriti in presence of more than fifty women to protest against the discrimination of women and untouchables upheld by it. At the end of the Conference, Dr. Ambedkar also addressed a meeting of about three thousand women of the Depressed Classes, the first meeting of its kind in modern India and urged them to dress well and live a clean life. Do not feed your spouse and sons if they are drunk. Send your children to schools. Education is necessary for females as it is for males.

In January 1928, a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar's wife as its president. Along with the Depressed Classes Conference in Nagpur in August 1930, women also had their separate conference. In the famous Kalaram temple entry movement at Nasik launched in March 1930, about five hundred women participated in the non-violent Satyagraha and many of them were arrested along with men and ill-treated in jails. To face tortures along with their men, women also organized their Samata Sainik Dal. When Dr. Ambedkar returned to India after attending the Round Table Conference in 1932, hundreds of women were present for the committee meetings.

As the first Law Minister of independent India, Dr.B. R.Ambedkar introduced Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament in February 5, 1951 so as to codify Hindu laws pertaining to marriage, divorce, inheritance. The government lacked political will to pilot the bill through Parliament and decided to withdraw it. He later on resigned from the post from Union Cabinet to show his protest against the government.

Pertinance of his Notions in Present Status

Dr B.R. Ambedkar was a great pioneer in the empowerment of women and liberation of women from Hindu social order slavery system. He studied Shastras, Smritis, Buddhist literature, Kautilya's Arthshastra and so on to find out the root cause of degraded status of women in India. Through his critical analysis of these religious and political texts he interpreted that the women in pre Manu days enjoyed equal social status vis-à-vis men and even were economically independent, their status declined in the post-Manu period under the influence of Manusmriti. That is to say, the social institutions of caste and endogamy upheld by Manusmriti were largely responsible for decline in the social status of women in the Hindu society by denying them the equality in matter of entitlement of rights, property and inheritance.

In Bombay Legislature, 1928, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar was in the forefront in championing the cause of women's empowerment by forcefully arguing for the passage of Maternity Benefit Bill. In this regard he said, "I believe that it is in the interests of the nation that the mother ought to get a certain amount of rest during the pre-natal period and also subsequently. I am prepared to admit this fact because the conservation of the people's welfare is primarily the concern of the Government. And in every country, therefore, where the maternity benefit has been introduced, you will find that the Government has been subjected to a certain amount of charge with regard to maternity benefit. I think, therefore, the benefits contemplated by this bill ought to be given by this Legislature to the poor women who toil in our factories in this Presidency." Dr.Babasaheb framed many laws for Women Labours in India:

1. Mines maternity benefit Act
2. Women Labour Welfare Fund
3. Women and Child Labour Protection Act
4. Equal pay for Equal work Irrespective of sex.

Article 14-Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15-prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.

Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

Article 39-Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.

Article 42- Just and human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 51(A)(c)-Fundamental duties to renounce practises, derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 46-The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 47-The state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.

Article 243 D(3),243T(3)and 243R(4)-provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System

As the Law Minister in the Union Cabinet, Dr.Ambedkar made every effort for the passage of Hindu Code Bill despite staunch opposition from vested interests. (Barnwal, 2014) They are Rights to property, Order of succession to property, marriage, divorce, guardianship. They were passed as the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act,1956; the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act,1956; and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956.As Lord Casey said, Ambedkar stands as the "fountainhead of wisdom and knowledge" in modern India. It was by any time a revolutionary measure and first step towards the recognition and empowerment of women in India by Babasaheb has been started towards the empowerment which is seen as a changing agent for today.

Conclusion

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar not only be regarded as the father of Indian Constitution but also a great thinker, scholar, social reformer and a true champion who fought throughout his life for the liberation and equality of women class especially the depressed and down- trodden, from the so called caste system of Indian society. He laid down the foundations for gradual transformation of Indian social consciousness and gender justice in India by introducing the various rights for the weaker section i.e women in the Constitution of India and reformation of Hindu Code bill.

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DR. AMBEDKAR AND GENDER JUSTICE

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Abstract

The Indian society is undoubtedly male-dominated and based against the female gender. All sorts of discriminations and exploitative practices are observed against them since time immemorial. Obviously, for this reason the status of Indian women is unjust and inhuman. The instances of female foeticide/infanticide, Sati, Sexual atrocities, Physical abuse, dowry tortures etc were and are widespread and practiced in our society. Most of the social reformers tried to enhance and restore the glory of women through preaching, Press and platform. A few notable reformers are Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwarchandra Vidya Sagar, Swami Dayanand, Vivekananda Jyotiba Phule etc. But most of all Dr. Ambedkar has done a pioneering work to improve the status of women by granting the fundamental rights to all the citizens irrespective of caste, creed, race and sex.

'I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved.'- Dr.B.R.Ambedkar

The long history of humanity and its development, the propagation of the human race and in the Social economy of the world, Women is undoubtedly one of the important factors as man, but still she has been considered as inferior gender. This lower status of women throughout the ages prevails not merely in family and society but also in the matter of privileges and rights. The Indian society is undoubtedly male dominated and based against female gender. All sorts of discriminations and exploitative practices are observed against them since time immemorial.

Obviously, for this reason the status of Indian women is unjust and inhumane. The instances of female foeticide/infanticide, Sati, Sexual atrocities, physical abuse, dowry tortures etc. were and are widespread and practised in our society. Most of the Social reformers tried to enhance and restore the glory of women.

There were two groups of leaders who worked for the emancipation and liberation of women. The first group consists of the liberal social reformers like Rasa Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, G.k. Deodhar, Marhashi Karve, Mehtasi, Beharamsi Malabari etc; and the second group of the revivalists consist of the name of the Swami Vivekanand, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Annie Besant and Mahatama Gandhi. The relentless efforts of these reformers paved the path in changing the women's status but not upto the mark. And then on the Indian scene Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar appeared as hero who brought pragmatic approach to equalize the position of man and woman.

The major plank of Dr. Ambedkar's movement was the oppression of women. He followed the path of Mahatma Jyotiba Phule who led him to the weakest among the weakest, which surfaced in his mind that social revolution must begin from the lowest strata of the society. He made an in depth study of Hindu scriptures and realized the irrationality, inhumanity and hollowness of Manu Smriti. He observed that Manu was basically responsible for the fall of Hindu women. According to him, "A women in the eyes of Manu was a thing of no value. It was he who was responsible for the degradation of women in India." Dr. Ambedkar considered that even Muslim women were influenced by the Indian environment created by many laws contrary to the laws of Islamic Shariah.

He lamented on the sad plight of Muslim women while stating that no Muslim girl has the courage to repudiate her marriage, no Muslim wife has dare to think to have a contract reserving her right to divorce. He even opposed the Indian Muslim Purdah System. This system paralyzed women socially and morally. This makes women helpless, timid and unfit for any plight in life. In this manner, Dr. Ambedkar worked not only for enhancing the status of Hindu women or Muslim women but for Indian women by and large, to equalize with men.

He was a great visionary; he always thought that the progress of the community can be measured by progress of women. Dr. Ambedkar, the father and architect of Indian constitution, was of the firm opinion that until and unless, we defy the religious epics, nothing much can be changed. In the name of rituals, Indian women are tied to bondages of superstitions, which they carry till their death. They are also responsible for inculcating certain wrong notions learnt through these baseless traditions in the budding minds of their offspring. Hence, he has given equal status to women at par with men by providing many discrimination and guarantees social, political and economic justice to women, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste, creed and sex. He enacted several constitutional provisions to safeguard the rights of all weaker slots of India. These are:

Article 14 guarantees equality.

Article 15 prohibits discrimination on any grounds.

Article 16 provides Equality of Opportunity.

Article 23 prohibits human trafficking.

Article 39 (a) and (d) provides equal means of livelihood.

Article 42 promotes humane conditions of work and Maternity Relief.

Article 51A (e) imposes a fundamental duty on every citizen to practice derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 243D provides 1/3rd seats reservation for women in Panchayats through direct election.

Article 243T (3) provides 1/3rd seats reservation for women in Municipalities through direct election.

Article 243T (4) provides reservation of offices of Chairperson in Municipalities for SC, ST and women.

Besides providing constitutional guarantees to women, he also introduced and got four Acts passed which strengthened the position of women in the society. These were incorporated in the Hindu Code Bill. They are The Hindu Marriage Act, 1956; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; and The Adoption and Maintenance Guardianship Act, 1956.

The Hindu Marriage Act' 1955 which was amended in 1976 made certain provisions for women as: The legitimization of illegitimate children (sec 16), punishment for bigamy (sec 26), custody of children (sec 26), provision of alimony (sec 25), marriageable age of females rose to 18 years. The act abolishes the difference between a maiden and a widow.

The Hindu Succession Act' 1956 depicted that a widow has a right to adopt a son or a daughter which was not there in the Hindu law. It also provided an opportunity to be independent and dispose of her property by will as she desires and wishes (sec 14). Section 15 commences a uniform scheme of succession to the property of a Hindu female who dies, intestate after implementation of the act.

The Hindu Minority and guardianship Act' 1956 explained that the women is empowered to change the guardian, appointed by the father and may appoint a new guardian by will. The father's right to appoint a guardian for the minor during the lifetime of minor's mother is prohibited

The Adoption and Maintenance Act' 1956 described that the act accepts adoption of a male or a female child without any difference. It also permits a wife to adopt a child by her own will during her husband's lifetime. It also accepts the adoption of a child by a spinster or a widow. This act made it essential to consult mother/wife before adopting a child as well as giving child to adoption. Section 11 lays down that, a father should adopt a daughter at least 21 year younger to him.

Thus it is clear from the aforesaid acts of Hindu Code Bill that not only perfect equality but special protection have also been guaranteed to women under the Indian Constitution.

In order to realize the high ideals of these provisions the Central and the State government have also enacted several other legislations like Maternity Benefit Act' 1961, Factories Act' 1948, Plantation Labor Act' 1961, Mines Act' 1952, Equal Remuneration Act' 1976 etc. which provide relief to women working in different avocations.

Dr, Ambedkar championed the cause of women. He believed that 'It is the education which is the right weapon to cut the social slavery and it is the education which will enlighten not only the downtrodden but gendered masses to come up and gain social status, economic betterment and political freedom. Hence education to women is the most powerful instrument of changing their position in the society. It also brings about reduction in inequalities and also becomes a mean to improve their status within family. This not only leads to welfare and development of women in society but also to empowerment.

In the end we can say that it may undoubtedly be mentioned here that Dr. Ambedkar was a path maker of all the women irrespective of religion, caste, creed, race, etc. He brought new trends for uprising the women through his thoughts and beliefs. Not only women, rather all the citizens of India should be thankful to him for his tremendous and everlasting steps of developmental actions. Keeping in mind the importance of his views towards Indian society, the then Prime Minister of India Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said "Babasaheb Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of Hindu society." In the words of Nobel Laureate

Gunnar Myrdal “All over the world the memory of B.R.Ambedkar will live forever as a truly great Indian in the generation which laid down the direction of Independent India.”

In present day context, Ambedkar and his thoughts on society based on equality are yet to be realized for reconstructing Indian society and making the life of women better. No doubts women have achieved a lot by having equal rights yet they are still suffering severely due to various social evils like dowry, rapes, eve teasing, sexual trafficking etc. The Indian women have March forward to the glorious developmental process but somewhere empowerment is yet to be achieved so as to establish shining India.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND THE INDIAN SOCIETY

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Although less well known than Gandhi and Nehru, Ambedkar occupies a unique position in India's collective imagination. Father of the Constitution and virulent critic of the caste system, he remains today a key figure for the Dalits, who have a hard time finding their way into the official narratives of the struggle for independence. In France, there are generally only two figures who are remembered in connection with the struggle for Indian independence: Gandhi and Nehru. Our fascination with these two personalities surely reflects our tendency to obscure the complexity of Indian society in order to recall only certain picture postcard images, such as those reflecting Gandhi's ideology of nonviolence.

This narrative of India's national independence also conceals the persistence of strong social, cultural, linguistic and geographical cleavages. In particular, India's caste society did not vanish with independence~ far from it.

Focusing on Ambedkar, a figure often neglected in spite of being crucial in the eyes of a large part of India's population, allows us to understand better one part of the complexity of the stakes in the struggle for independence. A lawyer and a politician, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar left a deep impression on Indian society for at least three main reasons: he had a major influence on drawing up the Constitution of India~ he introduced persons regarded as "untouchables" into the centre of Indian political life~ and, finally, he initiated a renewal of Buddhism in India. He was also the author of a very fine body of writings, the impact of which on Indian society is surely as great as that enjoyed by the writings of Gandhi or Nehru, even though the sociological profile of his readers tends to be very different. Indeed, dependence on Ambedkar's work is most influential on the contemporary Dalit movement, affecting its political, social and artistic dimensions.

However, although he continues to be an essential figure in India, the "Father of the Indian Constitution" is often relegated to a subordinate level in narratives of the period of the struggle for independence, which, written from a western point of view, are almost exclusively

centred on the issue of emancipation from the colonial yoke. Revisiting the role played by Ambedkar allows us to see the complex, nonlinear relations among the national consciousness, social structures and religious beliefs that infuse Indian society. Ambedkar represents another vision of independence, partly defeated but still enduring, based on radically questioning the Hindu and hierarchic character of Indian society.

Early Life

The ancestral village of Dr. Ambedkar is Ambavade, which is located in Rathagiri District of Maharashtra state and is located about 5 miles from Madhavgarh, which is a small village. Bhimrao Ambedkar was born on 14th April 1891 in village Mahu in a Mahar Caste, which was considered to be of the untouchables. His father's name was Ramji Sakpal and he was married to Bhimabai who was from murbadkar family. Ramji Sakpal had 14 children out of which Bhimrao was the 14th. Bhimrao started experiencing the pangs of untouchability right from his childhood. Bhimrao's father was working in a distant village named Gurgaon. One summer he, along with his brother and cousin, went to Gurgaon to meet his father. They had written a letter to his father but his father had not received it in time and, therefore, he did not come to the railway station to receive his children. The boys facing the difficulty of transport requested the station master for help, who after persuasions could rent a bullock cart for these children. Hardly has the cart gone few yards when the cart man came to know that the well dressed children sitting in his cart were untouchables, and in a fit of rage he threw them out on the road as one overthrows the dustbins~ for he felt that his bullocks had got polluted by the touch of the untouchables. But the boys soothed the cart man's anger by paying double the fare and Bhim's elder brother drove the cart, the cart man following the cart upto Gurgaon his was the first rude shock to the budding mind of Bhim. After few days Bhimrao faced another bitter experience. He was very thirsty, one day and was drinking water from a public water course.

Savarns saw this, and felt that this kid has polluted their drinking water, and they beat Bhimrao black and blue. However, all Brahmins are not alike. There are exceptions. There was one Brahmin teacher in his high school. He loved Bhimrao very much. He dropped portions of his meals into the hands of Bhim daily during his recess. This teacher has left a permanent impression on Bhim's life. The original family name of Bhim's father was Sakpal. But Bhim's village was Ambavade from which in his school, his family name was written as Ambavadekar. But the family name of the teacher who loved Bhimrao was Ambedkar. The teacher loved Bhim so much that he changed Bim's family name from Ambavadekar to Ambedkar. And in the school register, he noted it according. Bhimrao very gracefully accepted this new family name given to him by his beloved teacher. And for the rest of his life, he lived with that last name. Dr. Ambedkar has always remembered this teacher for his life time.

Dr. Ambedkar was the most ambitious leader, pursuer of the target, strong willed, determined, discreet, courageous, hardworking, studious thoughtful, self respecting, expert in work, dutiful, devoted recipient of the highest degrees, manifold knowledgeable, good user of the knowledge for the welfare of the people. The great man Bharat Ratna Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had obtained B.A., M.A., Ph.D., M.Sc., D.Sc., Bar atLaw, LL.D. and D.Lit. such the higher and highest degrees. These degrees were like the very attractive jeweled ornaments of the gold, which were growing the respect, glory and dignity of the Shining Personality of Dr. Ambedkar.

Father of the Indian Constitution :

Role of B.R. Ambedkar in drafting Indian constitution has been immense. With the independence of India on 15th August 1947 the leadership of Indian national congress invited Dr Ambedkar to serve for the nation as the first law minister which is gladly accepted. Few weeks later he was also appointed as the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee,

charged by the Assembly to write India's new Constitution. Many well known scholars have defined the Indian constitution in their own way like Granville Austin has described the same as "first and foremost a social document". The majority of India's constitutional provisions are either directly arrived at furthering the aim of social revolution or attempt to foster this revolution by establishing conditions necessary for its achievement." The text that was prepared by Dr B.R. Ambedkar also offered constitutional assurances and security for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, which included freedom of religion, the elimination of untouchability and the banning of all types of discrimination. B.R. Ambedkar also worked for widespread financial and social rights for women society, and also won the support of Assembly for bringing in a system of job reservations in the Indian Civil Services, schools and colleges for members of planned castes and scheduled tribes, a system similar to positive action.

Lawmaker's of India wished to get rid of the socioeconomic inequalities and be deficient in of opportunities for India's miserable classes through this way. The Constitution of India was adopted on 26th November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly. In 1951, B.R. Ambedkar at last submitted his resignation as a member of the cabinet, following the standing in parliament of his draft of the Hindu Code Bill that required explaining gender equality in the laws of inheritance, marriage and the economy. In the year 1952, Dr Ambedkar independently contested an election to the lower house of parliament, the Lok Sabha, but lost the contest. He was appointed to the upper house, of parliament, the Rajya Sabha in March 1952 remained as member till death.

Contribution to Indian Society :

For the sake of solidarity and unity in the country Dr. Ambedkar desired a social union as much as a political union in the Indian society. He was aware of the fragility of a political union sans social union. Dr. Ambedkar was clear in his mind that so long as there are castes in Hinduism, the social unity cannot be achieved. His treatise on annihilation of caste is superb in its analysis of the caste system and desirability to abolish the castes in order to bring social unity. The most eminent mission of DR. Ambedkar's life was undoubtedly the unshackling of the bondages and upliftment of the depressed castes among Hindus. He was of the view that this is possible only through attainment of political power. Dr. Ambedkar was as much a doer as a thinker and he fiercely and ceaselessly fought for capture of this lawmaking power by the depressed classes. He organized Mahad satyagrah inspite of great risk to himself personally and to the members of his community. He fought for separate electorate for the depressed classes as he thought that the representatives elected by joint electorate would not wholeheartedly fight for the cause of Dalits. Due to Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death against the communal award, Dr, Ambedkar did not succeed in securing a separate electorate for the Dalits, yet he got more seats for Dalits by way of reservations in legislature. As chairman of the committee to draft the Indian constitution, he ensured provision of reservation in legislature for 10 years (initially). Moreover, reservation in recruitment of scheduled castes/scheduled tribes to various services was also provided in the Constitution. This ensured entry of Dalits in the administrative machinery which implements the policies of the government. This machinery, although not in law but in practice, greatly influences the political leadership in the government in forming its politics. Ambedkar's writings, exhortations, untiring efforts and his inputs in the Indian constitution have undoubtedly had tremendous effect in raising the selfpride, aspirations, status and desire to unshackle themselves from the ageold bondages of the depressed classes. They have also helped in material advancement of some of them, who are proving to be role models for others to follow. Reservations for Scheduled Caste/ Schedule Tribes in recruitment and promotions in government services have ensured their easy entry into the bureaucracy.

Many literary, social and political groups have been formed among Dalits to further the cause espoused by Ambedkar and to capture political power. Special provisions for S. Cs./S. Ts. in education have vastly helped in increasing their enrolment at primary level as well as in providing higher education to them. Among various government services S.C./S.T. groups and unions have also come up which are very active in furthering the interests of schedule caste/schedule tribe employees: Bamsafe and DS4 are noteworthy among them. Propelled by the government officials covertly and overtly, the conversion of S. Cs. to Buddhism is gaining momentum day by day. Lately, Ambedkar's ideas are reported to be influencing some disadvantaged groups in western countries also. For example, the Romans Of Hungary, who are stereotyped as thieves and criminals by other Europeans, are reportedly organizing themselves under the influence of Ambedkarites.

Therefore, it can be confidently concluded today that Dr. Ambedkar has succeeded greatly in his mission 'to uplift his community.' He had wide vision of life and such an audacity to overcome adversities that the bitterness of his experiences in life only made him stronger and stronger to strive for the annihilation of their causes. His is a saga of development of one's personality in geometrical progression. His desire and earnestness to strive for welfare of mankind despite obstacles and risks is exhibited in his own words : "One who has striven neither for his own welfare nor for that of others, i. e., neither for his own liberty and equality, nor for that of others, is a worthless person. He is useless to the world. And he is useless to himself. One who has fought for the liberty and equality of others at the cost of his own life is both excellent and eminent. But in the case of the person who has striven both for his own welfare, liberty and equality and for that of others is the best man, a person of highest virtues." Thus , he is regarded as a true legend in the history of India. His contributions to the cause of upliftment of India and the Indian society are praiseworthy. One should respect the ideals propagated by him. Moreover, The Indian Constitution which is a result of his untiring efforts must be abided by all the citizens of India with due respect.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN ECONOMY

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Abstract

Dr. B.R Ambedkar was not only multidimensional leader of our country but an illustrious son of Bharat Mata. He was a great scholar. His contribution to mother land was appreciable. He was great economist and did his doctorate from abroad but still spent his life for increasing the GDP of the country. His contribution for increasing the value of money or increasing GDP by using land reforms are the major contribution that are still applicable in the country. He was a big supporter of collective farming. He spent his life for achieving Social justice. Dr. Ambedkar became the first Law Minister of India. Even while drafting the Indian Constitution (as the Chairman, Drafting Committee) in 1948-49, the economist in Dr. Ambedkar was very much alive. His contribution to Indian Economy was indispensable.

Introduction

Whenever any community wants to organize itself politically, socially, economically it has to face basic problems. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is one such great thinkers, leader and intellectual of its time in India who has not only changed the life of millions by giving the solution at the time of independence. Babasaheb was a great scholar who made outstanding contributions as an economist, sociologist, legal luminary, educationalist, journalist, Parliamentarian and above all, as a social reformer and champion of human rights. Babasaheb organized, united our country so that the goal of social equality could be attained.

Born in 1891 to an untouchable school teacher in the British Army, he was highly educated – Ph.D. from Columbia University (1917), D.Sc. from London School of Economics and Bar-At-Law from Gray's Inn in London (1923). His work on agricultural Economy and Indian Rupee as well as on provincial finance is notable. Under British rule when India Govt. was struggling with falling value of Indian Rupee, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar In 1923 wrote 'The

problem of Rupee, its origin and solution. He focused his studies and research on the condition of Indian currency during British India.

In his book, "The Problem of the Rupee", Ambedkar was not in favour of linking the rupee with gold and recommended establishment of a fully managed in-convertible currency with fixed limit of issue. Ambedkar's mainly criticize the recklessly issue of rupee currency .By removing the automatic link between money supply and gold reserves of the country, huge power was vested with the government to increase money supply, without similar increase in production of goods and services, leading to an unstable currency value. The ex-cessive importance given to maintain the external stability of exchange as against internal stability of the value of currency was not a proper policy for India, he argued. Ambedkar took the position that floating cur-rency could lead to uncontrolled inflation; since a "man-aged currency system" allowed the government to in-dulge in fiscal extravagance and wasteful government expenditure. Inflation, as we all know from economic theory, imposes a disproportionately heavier burden on the poor and middle class than on the rich. This is the central point of his thesis. In short, Baba Sahib conclusion is clearly to-wards price stability through conservative monetary management. The growing Fiscal Deficit of Cen-tral and State governments, stubbornly ranging at 6-7% of GDP for the past decade is proof of the fiscal extrava-gance that Dr. Ambedkar was cautioning us against. It has led to the creation of a highly inflationary economy.

Bharat Ratan Dr. Ambedkar Contribution to Indian Agriculture and land Reforms are also noteworthy. At present his ideologies are very useful in collective farming and land revenue. He was critique of traditional definition of collective land holding and redefined that economic land holding is not depend up on the size of land holding but proportion of factor inputs.

Table No. 1
Average Size of Holding in India

Years	Average Size of holding
1970-71	2.30
1976-77	2.00
1980-81	1.84
1990-91	1.57
1995-96	1.41
2000-01	1.32
2012-13	1.16

Source: Agriculture census in India 2010-11

From the table no. 1 it is clear that after independence the average size of holding has continuously declining trend. The main reason for decline in average land holding is the heavier burden of population on land, defective laws of inheritance, the decay of cottage industries etc.

India being a second most populated country in world, seventh in world as regards the size of its area. Thus, in India we are having 2.4 percent of world area with 1.8 percent of world's income and maintaining 18 percent of world population. India is facing many problems related with each sector of economy, as in agriculture we are facing low productivity rate and high dependency ratio without any technical improvement agriculture productivity can't be increased. Many factors are responsible for this; one of them is fragmented land with low share of holding, so there is urgent need to introduce corporative and collective farming throughout the country. Table number 1 also indicates that average size of holding in India

during 1970-71 was 2.30 and now the average size of holding comes down to 1.16 in 2012-13. Analytically we can say the marginal share of agriculture holding is increasing in an increased rate, Dr Ambedkar was against this low share holding and suggests there is an urgent need for reform in agriculture sector included with corporative farming and formulation of corporative societies for the development of our agriculture sector with high productive rate and low factor inputs. In fact, He was of the view there should be nation-alization of land and the leasing out of land to groups of cultivators, who are to be encouraged to form coopera-tives in order to promote agriculture. Moreover baba Sahib is of the view that if disguised labour are withdrawn from Primary sector and adjusted in the secondary or territory sector then average size of holding can be increased. Currently the country is on the footsteps of Dr. Ambedkar but need a lot of effort due of some technical, social and institutional problems. Even in today's world in developed country contribution of Primary Sector is 5%, secondary sector is 30% and territory sector is 65%. In India, there is also a favorable change; but approximately in more than 60 years of independence, here Primary Sector contributes 13.9%, Secondary sector contribution is 27.1%, and territory sector contributes 59%.

After Independence, Dr. Ambedkar became the first Law Minister of India. Even while drafting the Indian Constitution (as the Chairman, Drafting Committee) in 1948-49, the economist in Dr. Ambedkar was very much alive. He not even strongly recommended democracy as the 'governing principle of human relationship' but also emphasized those principles of equality, liberty and fraternity which are the corner stone's of democracy in any democratic country. At present in the era of Globalization, liberalization and privatization, the concept of Social justice given by Dr. Ambedkar has assumed a greater significance. For this the state should make various rules, regulations and procedures, so that the concept of social justice should not remain only on paper.

Conclusion

In short, Dr. B R Ambedkar is one man army who tried his best to make their country out from Social, Political evils and established a social equality by giving the country its own constitution. He make his full effort to increase country's GDP by introducing land reforms, and provide more employment opportunities in cottage and small scale industries. After so many years of independence India is still running on the track shown by this intellectual person named as **Dr. B.R Ambedkar**

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DR. BHIM RAO AMBEDKAR: A FORGOTTEN ECONOMIST

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Abstract

The towering persona of Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar whom we remember and celebrate as the architect of Indian Constitution overshadows his achievements as an Economist. We often glorify his relentless struggle against the denial of social justice, economic opportunities and human dignity to a vast majority throughout India. He is remembered as a social reformer and not as an economist. His economic ideas do not find representation in the main stream discussion about economist. He was one of the first generation of professionally trained economists. Armed with four postgraduate degrees two from Ivy league university in US and two from a university in UK, he clearly stands out as an economist for years prior to his legal and political career. He was primarily an economist whose achievements in economics should not be overshadowed by his achievements elsewhere. This paper aims to revisit his economics and highlight the different dimensions which will help us in reestablishing the identity of this great visionary leader as an Economist.

Key–Words: Equality of opportunity, inclusive growth, Nationalism, sustainability.

Introduction

When Dr. Ambedkar talked about inclusive growth and equality of opportunity, for a vast majority of Indians, we cease to recognize him as a thinker in Economics. Was he not using his training and knowledge in the discipline for the benefit of the human being? He should have stood out as a pragmatic political economic thinker whose goal was to achieve inclusive growth for a vast majority of humanity. It is indeed surprising that people in general and academicians in particular have chosen to ignore his economic theory. We seldom talk of

his career as a professional economist and only celebrate him as the “Father of Indian Constitution”.

His ideas of Economic realism which seek both realism and welfare prompted Prof. Amartya Sen to say “Ambedkar is my father in Economics”. Ambedkar clearly voices the cause of the underprivileged when he talks about equality of opportunity to all. Should not the common man be the ultimate beneficiary of what economics as a discipline aims to achieve. It is indeed paradoxical that a thinker who tried to uphold the basic premise of the subject finds no mention among economic thinkers. Our syllabus in economics refrains from mentioning him even in the areas of Indian monetary economics, public Finance and towards land reforms where he greatly contributed. He was beyond doubt a great theorist whose legacy as Ramchandra Guha points out “has been distorted to suit particular interests”. It is indeed the need of the hour that we start looking at this outstanding intellectual thinker of his time as an economist, discuss his economic ideology and its relevance in contemporary times.

When we discuss his economics the first aspect which attracts our attention is his training in the discipline. Eminent thinkers like John Dewey, Edwin RA Seligman, Edwin Cannon have nurtured and shaped his ideologies. Among a wide range of economic issues he studied International trade and commerce, Indian currency, provincial finance and agricultural productivity are a few worth mentioning. He published a wide range of research articles in professional journals. He has to his credit four thesis, two for his master’s degree and two as a part of his requirement for a doctorate degree. In 1922 Ambedkar’s thesis for D.Sc degree from London School of Economics titled “The problem of the Rupee: Its origin and Its solution” was submitted which was later published as a book. Similarly the thesis submitted by him in 1916 titled “ National Dividend for India: A Historic and Analytical study” for a Phd degree in Columbia University was published as a book titled “The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India-A study in the provincial decentralization of Imperial India”.

The data preserved by Columbia university reveals that during his three year stay there Ambedkar studied 29 courses in economics, 11 in history, 6 in sociology, 5 in philosophy, 4 in anthropology and only 3 in politics. This establishes him very much as an economist of his time wedded to the welfare of Indian Economy. In 1918 The Journal of the Indian Economic Society (vol 1) published one of his most significant paper “Small holdings in India and their remedies”. He also has to his credit evidences given to various commissions and his speeches in various legislative bodies. We should not forget that the Reserve Bank of India came into being according to the guidelines laid down by Dr Ambedkar. When the Hilton Young Commission came to India, under the name of Royal commission on Indian currency and finance, it was Ambedkar who presented the guidelines, working style and outlook of the Reserve Bank of India.

Issues addressed in Ambedkar’s economic writings concern exchange rate stability, continued devaluation of the Indian currency and price stability. His frank criticism of the British fiscal system raised an uproar on the University of London with even the most liberals branding him as an Indian revolutionary. Edwin Cannon asked him to rewrite his thesis. As advised by Cannon he rewrote his work, but did not change any conclusions drawn from his work. We should acknowledge the magnanimity of professor Cannon as he did not compel Bhim Rao into changing any of his controversial conclusions. Here Ambedkar very clearly explained the relationship between the two currencies British pound and Indian rupee, the manipulation of the pound to suit the imperial interests, increasing the financial burden on the Indian economy.

This very clearly establishes his extraordinary intellectual capabilities and his intentions to serve the interests of India despite his western education.

In his "Small holdings in India and their remedies" he arrives at conclusions which may be more relevant today than they were during his times. He highlights the relationship between land and the other factors of proportions. He understood the problem of ideal proportion among the factors of production and suggested remedies by way of land reforms to increase productivity. He talked about the need to increase investment in agriculture. In his opinion it was the scarcity of capital in agriculture along with a disproportionately high magnitude of labour force which was the cause of low productivity. The problem was identified and the solution came in the form of simultaneous investment of capital in agriculture and at the same time transfer of the surplus labour from agriculture to industry. Land reforms and rapid industrialization were suggested as policy measures aimed towards increasing productivity.

Writing extensively on a variety of economic issues he provides a well articulated theoretical framework for economic development. In his vision of economic planning he incorporates a active role of the state. He has a definite place for the socially deprived population in the economic development of a nation. In 1945 he talks of the role of the state and the aim of planning as follows, "planned economic development should not only develop programmes, but translate them in terms which the common man could understand namely, peace, housing and enough clothing, education, good health and, above all the right to work with dignity. The state could not be contented with securing merely fair conditions of work for labour but fair conditions of life. A great responsibility lays on the state to provide the poor with facilities for the growth of the individuals according to their needs". Ambedkar clearly lays out that the state as a policy maker should incorporate both the social and economic phenomenon. The issue of exclusion cannot be resolved without the help of state directed remedies. The growth agenda of the state should be welfare oriented, embedded in a casteless society with equality of opportunity.

Conclusion

It was the prime duty of the state to plan the economic lives of its people. The plan thus sketched should aim at equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth and sustainable development. Each and every ideology of this intellectual was concerned about human welfare and advocated an active role of the state in planned development of the country. He clearly voices his regret when he writes about his inability to bring out the second edition of his book *The problem of the Rupee* which was published in 1923, "The demand for the book has continued, but unfortunately I could not bring out a second edition of the book for the reason that my change from economics to law and politics left me with no time to undertake such a task". Thus an Economist gives up his further study in the discipline, to follow politics and law as he probably felt that it was a path which could help him realize his goal of equality of opportunity for the citizen of this great nation. Economics as a discipline needs to analyze and educate the future generations about his economic ideas. Whether it was politics, or law he stands out as a political economic thinker. The aim equal opportunities to everyone, so that an equal and inclusive society is established. He should be remembered as a policy maker who successfully incorporates both social and economic phenomenon and brings it in the perception of policy making.

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DR.B.R.AMBEDKAR VISION TOWARDS EDUCATION

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Abstract

Dr.BhimRao Ramji Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891, at Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. His parents belonged to the Mahar community, which was considered as 'untouchable' at that time.Those days education was primarily meant for upper castes only.Ambedkar himself had faced indignation during his studies in the school as well as in the college. Humiliation from the society did not deter him in pursuing his studies.He was an intellectual who did the upliftment of the weaker section of the society especially the dalits through schooling only.As compared to other communities, the dalits and tribals were much lower in the educational status. This was the time when Ambedkar supported schooling that inculcates human rights education, education that teaches justice and human dignity in India. Education philosophy plays a vital role for the society where the main objectives are to create skills, responsibility, respectable and knowledgeable citizens for nation states.Ambedkar was not only a social reformer but also very well known as "the father of Indian Constitution" who firmly believed that "Education is something, which ought to be brought within the reach of every one". In 1927, during the Council Debates in the Bombay Assembly, he submitted the report of the backward classes who suffered for not being literate and made an appeal to make primary education compulsory for every section of the society. He also recommended higher education to be as cheap as possible so that it will be within the reach of the lower class people. In this paper, the struggle and the hardships done by the Ambedkar for the progress and upliftment of the indian society will be discussed.

Key-Words : Upliftment, Constitution, Untouchability.

1. Introduction

Ambedkar earned a law degree and various other doctorates from Columbia University and the London school of Economics. He was an economist, professor and lawyer during his

starting phase of career and later on, he joined politics for advocating political rights and social freedom for the Dalits. Ambedkar believed that the education plays a vital role in a person's life. Also, the judgement regarding the quality of the nation can be made on the basis of the number of literate people living in that country. He firmly believes that a nation can sustain and development is possible only if education is provided to each and every person. Dr Ambedkar said "In every country the intellectual class is the most influential class. The masses are largely imitative and follow the intellectual class. There is no exaggeration in saying that the entire destination of the country depends upon its intellectual class". He was totally against the caste system as he believes that a person must be recognised by his education and work instead of his or her caste. As a chairman of the Constitutional Committee, he achieved some of his objectives by incorporating the following principles in the constitution:

1. Making the Indian constitution workable, flexible enough and strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and war time.
2. Providing special safeguards to the minorities and certain classes who are socially and educationally backward.
3. Incorporating the principle of one man, one value, and one man, one vote. Thus, the constitution of India accepted one individual and net on village as a unit.
4. Incorporating exceptions and qualifications to the FRs while advocating, preventive detention and emergency powers of the president of India.
5. Abolishing untouchability and forced labour to achieve the ideal of "one man, one value, and one man, one vote", and placing all people equal before the law; securing equal protection of laws for every citizens as also freedom of profession and equality of opportunity.
6. Incorporating the right to constitutional remedies for making the right real.

2. Relevance of Education

Ambedkar always recognized education as a major tool for masses to claim their rights who faced discrimination and socially excluded by the society. The fundamental part of his speeches and meetings were education always. Also, the fundamentalists at that time considered his ideas and thoughts as misleading and threatening. But later on, his idea of 'upliftment' of weaker section was accepted and as a lawyer he put his thoughts in the Assembly and fought for making policies for the lower class so that they can be recognized in the intellectual class through their knowledge and work.

Ambedkar's last words emphasized: 'Educate, Agitate and Organize' and when he talks about knowledge, he lists two purposes of knowledge: first, to acquire it for betterment of others and secondly to use it for one's own betterment.

Ambedkar listed these three components as objectives for policy makers:

1. Recasting the aims and purposes of education.
2. Education as an instrument of substantive equality.
3. Women's education.

3. Right to Education

After a long period of independence, Indian government realized how important are the thoughts of Ambedkar to make India, a developing country. It is only then the Government of India included 'Right to Education' under the Fundamental Rights from April 1, 2010. This Act is RTE (Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education).

The RTE Act provides the following:

- Right of children to free and compulsory education till completion of elementary education in a neighbourhood school.
- It clarifies that 'compulsory education' means obligation of the appropriate government to provide free elementary education and ensure compulsory admission, attendance and completion of elementary education to every child in the six to fourteen age group. 'Free' means that no child shall be liable to pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing elementary education.
- It makes provisions for a non-admitted child to be admitted to an age appropriate class.
- It specifies the duties and responsibilities of appropriate Governments, local authority and parents in providing free and compulsory education, and sharing of financial and other responsibilities between the Central and State Governments.
- It lays down the norms and standards relating inter alia to Pupil Teacher Ratios (PTRs), buildings and infrastructure, school-working days, teacher-working hours.
- It provides for rational deployment of teachers by ensuring that the specified pupil teacher ratio is maintained for each school, rather than just as an average for the State or District or Block, thus ensuring that there is no urban-rural imbalance in teacher postings. It also provides for prohibition of deployment of teachers for non-educational work, other than decennial census, elections to local authority, state legislatures and parliament, and disaster relief.
- It provides for appointment of appropriately trained teachers, i.e. teachers with the requisite entry and academic qualifications.
- It prohibits (a) physical punishment and mental harassment; (b) screening procedures for admission of children; (c) capitation fee; (d) private tuition by teachers and (e) running of schools without recognition.
- It provides for development of curriculum in consonance with the values enshrined in the Constitution, and which would ensure the all-round development of the child, building on the child's knowledge, potentiality and talent and making the child free of fear, trauma and anxiety through a system of child friendly and child centred learning.

One of the benefit of the RTE ACT is that now 25 percent seats are reserved for weaker section of the society. The Central ACT defined the children belonging to Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, socially and educationally backward class or such other group facing disadvantage owing to social, cultural, economic, geographical, linguistic, gender or other similar factors comes under disadvantage sector. But in 2011, amendments are made and HIV affected, transgender and orphans are also included in the list.

But still private schools who charge hefty fees are not fully ready to accept this ACT. So, only 4 to 5 children belonging to weaker section are able to get admissions in these schools. Moreover, lack of awareness among people is also one of the major factor for partial implementation of this ACT.

Conclusion

Dr. Ambedkar recognized education as a pillar for individuals growth especially people belonging to weaker section. He himself faced humiliation and was socially boycotted for being Dalit but nothing can stop him for completing his studies. He understood the discrimination between intellectual class and lower class. The present situation of education is because of his efforts and struggle. Although, it was neglected for a very long time but colleges and universities upliftment is because of his suggested policies for the progress of a country so that it can

sustain and can be recognized world wide. His words and struggle will be remembered by the nation always. He was against caste discrimination as he observed in other developing countries where he completed his education that a person is judged by his qualities and knowledge and get the job according to his capabilities. But for his own mother-land, he was disturbed to see the divided section of the society on the basis of the birth in a particular family and wanted to eradicate the conventional system.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S IDEAS ON UPLIFTMENT OF DEPRESSED CLASSES IN RURAL INDIA

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Abstract

Social disintegration on the basis of caste is a big hurdle for removal of backwardness in the countryside in India. The dominancy of upper castes and the practice of untouchability caused social disharmony in the society. Moreover women non participation in work caused wastage of valuable human resource. There are plenty of resources in India, but problems in distribution of income and wealth persists for long time. Indian society is based on Varna system, where exploitation of lower varnas was inbuilt. The evil practices of might is right caused concentration of income and wealth among few which caused serfdom. The survival of poor and depressed class people depends on mercy of upper castes, in the absence of legal protection. Longer hours of work and hard working conditions without minimum wages causes destitution. Among Shudras the untouchables denied human rights and opportunity for further development caused chronic poverty. Zamindari system caused landlessness and hunger among the scheduled castes and the other depressed classes. Greater inclusiveness depends on the distribution of income, qualitative employment creation and its gender dimensions. The enactment of constitution under the leadership of B.R Ambedkar, made revolutionary change in social and economic organisation.

Key Words: Depressed Classes, Exploitation, Concentration of Wealth, Disharmony, Legal Protection, Serfdom, Constitution, Egalitarian Society.

I. Introduction

There are plenty of resources in India, but problems in distribution of income and wealth persists for long time. Indian society is based on Varna system, where exploitation inbuilt in the system. Among Shudras the untouchables denied opportunity for further development. The Zamindari system caused landlessness and hunger among the scheduled castes and the other depressed classes. Karl Marx stated that economic matters determines

political, social and cultural and other spheres. Greater inclusiveness depends on the distribution of income, qualitative employment creation and its gender dimensions.

Ambedkar felt that agriculture will be treated as a state industry. This means that the state will initiate collective farming. Farmers will be allowed to enjoy part of the agricultural produce and the state will get some share in the form of levy. Food-grains procured by way of levy will be used for distribution at fair prices. In other words, state will actively control both the industry and the agriculture, this will ensure equitable distribution of wealth and protect the needy and the poor. Rapid industrial progress and welfare of all the sections of the society will be the responsibility of the state.

Inclusiveness is more difficult to assess, because inclusiveness is a multidimensional concept. Inclusive growth should result in lower incidence of poverty, broad-based and significant improvement in health outcomes, universal access for children to school, increased access to higher education and improved standards of education, including skill development. It should also be reflected in better opportunities for both wage employment and livelihood, and in improvement in provision of basic amenities like water, electricity, roads, sanitation and housing.

Education is a merit good based on the assumption that the government steps in to provide education services, because it is 'good' for society. It is recognised that most of the private educational institutions operating with profit as their primary motive, do not lay sufficient emphasis on producing citizens with moral, ethical, scientific and basic human sensitivity. Theodore Schultz (1961) felt that education is an investment leading to human capital formation that contributes to economic growth. Education transforms raw human beings into productive 'human capital' by imparting knowledge and inculcating skill required to all the sectors of the nation.

Prosperity in non-agricultural sectors are increasing but the larger number of people remained as poor in rural areas. "About 75% of the world's poor live in rural areas. Even with rapid urbanization the developing world is expected to remain predominantly rural in most regions until 2020, and the majority of the poor are projected to continue to live in rural areas until 2040" (World Development Report, 2008). It is difficult to redistribute income, which is generated in other than agricultural sectors unless rural poverty is reduced and occupational diversification is ensured. About 81% of the world poverty reduction in rural areas during 1993-2002 is because of rural development and the remaining is due to migration. Growth generated in agriculture sector is two times powerful to reduce poverty, than the growth generated in other sectors (WDR, 2008).

The most common features of rural depressed are- landlessness or limited access to land, larger family size with higher dependency ratios, lower educational attainment and higher underemployment. The major subgroups of rural poor are the landless, marginal farmers, tenants, indigenous peoples, scheduled castes, internally displaced persons, Pastoralists and coastal fishermen are important subgroups of the rural poor. Within the above subgroups, woman-headed households are particularly prone to distress.

Majority of the rural populace had bypassed the fruits of increase in national development in India. Exclusion continued in terms of unequal yield from lands, lower productive employment, low human development, rural-urban divide, gender and social inequalities and regional disparities etc. Casual agricultural labour, women headed households, tribal population, scheduled caste groups, and religious minorities in particular are excluded from the growth process in terms of lesser job opportunities, earnings and human development. Exclusive growth can result in real or apparent inequities, which has its own social and political implications.

Apart from addressing the issue of inequality, the inclusion of all the depressed people in the growth process may also make the poverty reduction efforts more effective by explicitly creating productive opportunities for the poor and vulnerable sections of the society. Inclusive growth meant for trickle down benefits to the hitherto excluded population. The concept "Inclusion" should be seen as a process of including the excluded as agents whose participation is essential in the very design of the development process, and not simply as welfare targets of development programmes. In India rural depressed faces number of exclusions mentioned below (intensity may be different among various socio ,economic, religious groups) are the reasons for persistence of rural poverty in India.

II. Good Governance

Governance failure is one of the most critical challenges in upliftment of depressed classes in India. The executive branch responsibilities in providing timely services ,honestly implementing laws having no less importance in a parliamentary democracy . Poor and vulnerable people tend to suffer more because of mal functioning of public institutions. Good governance facilitates participatory, pro-poor policies. It ensures the transparent and judicious use of public funds, encourages growth of private sector, promotes effective delivery of public services and helps to establish the rule of law .

Corruption is a cause of backwardness in developing nations, and an obstacle for removal of destitution, so that fighting corruption can be treated as poverty reduction strategy in many poor nations (Walter Eberlie et al, 2003). Corruptions deny poor from their rightful share of economic resources or life-saving aid. Corruption puts basic public services beyond the reach of those who cannot afford to pay bribes. By diverting scarce resources intended for development, corruption also makes it harder to meet fundamental needs such as those for food, health and education. It creates discrimination between the different groups in society, feeds inequality and injustice.

III. Relief from Indebtedness

If depressed people remain indebted either due to lack of assets , crop failures, natural calamities causes severe poverty. Feudal lords in the process of doing money business , grab lands of marginal and small farmers will add to the army of rural poor. Credit market failure (financial exclusion) is considered as one among the major factor for the persistence of the incidence of rural backwardness . Indebtedness among rural people is considered as a major obstacle in an attempt to improve their living standards. There are various reasons for indebtedness. Natural calamities and failures of monsoons are reported to have blow to farmers. Most of their borrowings are spend to meet their consumption needs and social functions, have an ill effect on further generation of income. About 70% of the rural credit needs are being satisfied from non-institutional sources of credit. Village Mahajans and moneylenders charges exorbitant rates of interest over such borrowings.

Devolving credit to rural depressed classes involves many constraints. Among the supply side, banking staff hesitate to work in rural areas , concern for profitability of the branches, weakness of the co-operative credit system, legal impediments , fear of sustainability of the business , lack of infrastructure , low levels of loan recovery, high transaction costs for banks . Demand side constraints are , lack of financial information, lack of awareness ,long procedure , paper work, time consumption , timely non availability of loans , corruption among the banking staff for the approval of sanctioning loan , lack of extension and supporting services have come in the way of effective credit delivery.

IV. Remove Hunger And Mal-Nutrition

Among human needs food security occupies dominant place, hence means to entitle food is to be provided by the government. The changing lopsided cropping pattern and food inflation imposes threat on food security of the rural depressed . Per head availability of land and availability of lands for cultivation of food grains has declined. Profitability and economies of scale lead to diversion of lands for non-agricultural purposes. Contract farming and commercialization of agriculture caused scarcity of mass consumption food grains results in inflation. About 2/3rd rural population does not have adequate means to ensure minimum calorie intake, hence any further increase in price level will have disastrous impact on their living conditions. If all the sections of the population were enjoying fruits of growth in exactly the same way, then inflation would not be a matter of great concern (GOI, 2010).

Commercialization and mechanization of agriculture caused reduction of need for labor, so this tendency accelerated labor migration, further increased the army of informal labor and transmission of rural poverty into urban areas. Degradation of environment caused either by the poor or the rich but ultimately income of the poor will effect badly. Poor become poorer due to destruction or capture of common property resources such as ,forest lands , water bodies by the elite groups , in addition to that contamination of water by the use of chemical fertilizer, pesticide axe on the earnings of poor. There is a vicious link established between poverty and environmental degradation (Lele, S.M. 1991).

V. Free From Vicious Circle Of ill-Health

Ill-health causes reduction of earning capacity and also increases indebtedness if poor desires to come out of illness. Health insurance covers less than 10% of the Indian population. The low penetration levels of market-led insurance, and the presence of only a few community risk-pooling initiatives place a huge burden of healthcare financing on the poor . India has one of the highest rates of out-of-pocket health spending. Public health financing in India has been largely restricted to the supply-side, focussing on hospital infrastructure and staff costs. However, public hospitals face high rates of doctor absenteeism, shortage of consumables and do not focus more on low-income families (WHO, 2007). When the need to get the treatment arises poor often ignore it because of lack of supporting resources, fearing wage loss, or wait till the last moment causing untimely death of earning members. Even if they do decide to get the desired health care, it consumes their savings, forces them to sell their assets and property or cut other important expenditure on children's education, and food security.

VI. Appropriate Education

In rural areas literacy rate, number of educational institutions and teachers are increasing at progressive rate but the levels of learning outcome lag behind. Access to quality education and other resources are not uniform across different socio religious groups and gender. Children from poor and socially backward families suffer from resources crunch and quite often discriminated in educational opportunities at various levels of education, resulted in low levels of outcome. In India the legitimate aspirations of most of the population, which has hitherto been effectively excluded from access to quality education (Jayati Ghosh, 2008). There are huge disparities in access to higher education in India ,among various social groups, regions, sex, occupation groups and so on (Sukhadeo Thorat, 2006).

The quality of education in rural colleges is recognizably much lower than what it is in the urban areas. Most of the rural colleges run without even moderately adequate sources of funds. It also appears that the urban rural gap in the quality of education over the years has increased. Even if the quality is not available, at least a degree is sought after in the hope that

it would lead to some improvement in living standards. Students taught in rural colleges do not do well in competition for good jobs (India Development Report, 2008).

VII. Create Awareness

Information inadequacy is one among the causes for backwardness in rural areas. The information which poor people want to know is missing. Hence, the gap between 'information rich and information poor' is increasing and 'poor' do not have the resources to acquire such information which made them off the information superhighway. Many poor people would be unable to participate in debate or express their opinions on public policies that affect them directly. Without information, they are unaware of their rights and lack the knowledge they need to take action to improve their conditions. Famine can only occur if nobody is allowed to criticize policy decisions, government action or inaction or corrupt practices that lead to crop failures and food shortages (Amartya Sen, 2000). Voicelessness and powerlessness have come to be seen as key dimensions of poverty. Many poor people would be unable to participate in debate or express their opinions on public policies that affect them directly. Without information, they are unaware of their rights and lack the knowledge they need to take action to improve their conditions.

VIII. Assets and Amenities

The availability and accessibility of social infrastructure is minimal to poor in rural areas. Housing, electricity, telecommunications, drinking water, health, sanitation, educational institutions, road connectivity and financial infrastructure are the inputs for improving quality of human resources and standard of living. Poorer states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, and Uttar Pradesh have the lowest share of households living in pucca houses. The north eastern states in general have a higher proportion of households living in Kutcha and semi Pucca houses. About one third of the rural households still do not have access to electricity for domestic use. Inadequate road connectivity continues to be a major hurdle for poor families to access markets, hospitals and schools, especially in rural areas.

IX. Policy Measures

Given the chronic and multi-dimensional nature of destitution in rural India, it is imperative to take measures from multiple angles. Inclusiveness is more difficult to assess, because it is quantitative as well as qualitative. Inclusive growth should result in lower incidence of rural poverty, broad-based and significant improvement in health outcomes, universal access for children to school, increased access to standard higher education including skill development. It should also be reflected in better opportunities for regular jobs, credit and improvement in provision of basic amenities like water, electricity, roads, sanitation and housing. Public and private sectors jointly need to implement pro poor projects on governance, education, energy, telecom, technology, infrastructure, healthcare, financial infrastructure and business model innovation.

Rural housing schemes should implement effectively. Components of land reforms should be redefined and implemented. The aged, destitutes, widows and disabled among the rural poor needed broad based social security by reducing the existing leakages. Agriculture is extremely important for inclusive growth; hence 4 percent growth should be maintained by increasing public investment in agriculture, because the large majority of the Indian population is dependent on agriculture. Social and economic overheads should be created by the government in rural areas to attract labour intensive private investment; in this process exploitation of informal labour should not be allowed.

Conclusion

Government policies should target depressed masses to maintain equality. Employment policies should be biased towards generation of regular jobs which yield adequate earnings. Rational use of resources and rapid pro poor rural development is essential to reduce rural distress. Dignity of labor should be considered by maintaining gender parity. Implementation directive principles of state policy should not be completely left to the discretion of the government, while making policies these principles are to be kept under consideration. Quality education should be available to the depressed classes to reduce earning inequalities to ensure classless society.

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DR. BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR AND DALIT LITERATURE**Ms. Tanuja Pathak**Assistant Professor, Department of English,
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As the country will celebrate the 65th republic day in a couple of days, it is very right to pay some tribute to one of the main architects of the Constitution- Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. The preamble of the constitution which he help design, declares our nation to be 'sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic'. As the nation moved from slavery to freedom, a pledge was made to share this freedom equally amongst all the people of the country - country which had been divided by caste and creed from time immemorial. It has been 68years since India has been free and 64years since it became a republic, yet, equal freedom is not enjoyed by all sections of the society. A large section of the society is still not considered at par with others, namely the schedule castes. Attempts were made at various times to uplift the lower castes; to incorporate them in the mainstream, beginning with naming their category. Earlier they were called Achut or Shudra; Gandhi tried to initiate a reform by calling them 'harijan'. But this nomenclature was never willingly adopted by most of the low caste for its condescending nature. It was Dr. Ambedkar who named the category Dalit. In his fortnightly, *Bahiskrit Bharat*, he defined it comprehensively, "Dalithood is a kind of life condition which characterizes the exploitation, suppression and marginalization of the lower castes by the social, economic, cultural and political domination of the upper castes Brahminical order." Ambedkar did not use the term frequently, he preferred to use 'depressed classes' or 'Scheduled castes', the term which came into being by the Government of India Act 1935. It was the Dalit Panthers of Maharashtra, who revived and reused the term Dalit in 1970s. The term Dalit is now an all encompassing nomenclature which homogenizes the otherwise heterogeneous identities of the various oppressed caste communities which inhabit almost every region of India.

Ambedkar stood out as a low caste Indian as he stood for everything that was attainable but was denied to the low castes or Untouchables by the upper caste Hindus. He was inspired by the Periyar Movement as well as the Adi movement. During the freedom struggle there was no love lost between Gandhi and Ambedkar. Despite formers claims and actions, Ambedkar

never considered Gandhi as a champion of the Untouchables. In one of his speeches he said, "Mr. Gandhi is kind to the Untouchables. But for what? Only because he wants to kill by kindness, them and their movement for separation and independence from Hindus." He emphatically stated that Gandhi wanted to keep "Hinduism and the Hindu caste system intact". Thus, by positioning himself against Gandhi, Ambedkar provided an alternative to Gandhi albeit an antagonistic one as opposed to Gandhi's accomodationist one. Those who supported Ambedkar felt that the narratives of sufferings in terms of which upper caste liberals liked to look at the lower caste misery were just not adequate enough. What the Dalits needed, was primarily a strategy as well a narrative of their own.

Literature against casteism existed before it became 'dalit literature' as we know it now. Right from the time of Buddhism, which in itself was a protest against casteism in a way, there have been writings against caste based discrimination. Later Bhakti poets in many ways showed devotion as a way out of the mire of caste based prejudice. But in recent history it was Jyotiba Phule (1828-90) who dealt with this demon of casteism directly and aggressively. He wanted a place for the untouchables not just as an accommodating position within the confines of Hinduism, but outside of it and by itself. His greatest contribution was the emphasis on education as a tool against the fight against casteism. It was he who prepared the stage for Ambedkar to launch what came to be known as the Dalit movement.

Ambedkar's observation that, "The Hindu wanted the Vedas and they sent for Vyasa who was not a caste Hindu. The Hindu wanted epic and they sent for Valmiki who was an untouchable. The Hindu wanted a Constitution, and they sent for me" can very well be treated as the foundations for the modern day Dalit Literature. The term "Dalit literature" can be traced to the first dalit literary conference in 1958, organised by the Maharashtra Dalit Sahitya Sangha. They were inspired by Ambedkar. Self respect that Ambedkar exhibited and demanded from Dalits reflects in the literature that was penned during this period, both in the themes as well as the language that was used. The Dalit stories were told in the rough language which was the dialect of the Dalits as opposed to the refined language used by the upper castes. In literature, there have been two positions in relations to the narrative provided to the caste issue- i) one provided by the upper caste writers and ii) the lower caste writers or Dalit writers giving their own narrative. Bandhumadahav, a dalit intellectual, in his article in the *Prabudha Bharat* of 15th February 1958, put in words the exigency of having a Dalit narrative.

Just as Russian writers helped the revolution by the spreading of Lenin's revolutionary ideology through their works, our writers should spread Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy to the villages Politics is just one of the ways of attacking opposition. Unless we attack from all sides we cannot defeat those who have inflicted injustice on us for the last thousand years.

This sums up the social as well as political need for the Dalit narrative in literature. Having said that, one cannot ignore the writings of the non-Dalit writers -be it Premchand, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahashweta Devi, Vijay Tendulkar or U. R. Ananthamurthy, who effectively brought out the pain and anguish of the untouchables (including the tribals), and provided the critique to the Dalit literature. It is understandable that while upper caste criticism of untouchability has undoubtedly helped to harness special opinion against casteism, Dalit writings have instilled a tone of immediacy to the note of intensity informing most upper caste criticism of untouchability. These Dalit writings though began in Marathi from Maharashtra in 1950s & 1960s, with writers like Bagul, Dhasal, Dangle and many others. But were soon almost concurrently writings were also pouring in Gujarati by the likes of - Ramesh Chandra Parmar, Mohan Parmar, Mahgal Rathor, Kisan Sosa; in Kannada by - Siddalingaiah, Mogalli Ganesh, Devanoor Mahadeva, K

Siddaiah; in Oriya by – Bichitra Mand nayak, Dr Samir Ranajan Kalindi Chandra Behara Jagannath Malik; and in Tamil and Telgu in the eighties including Bama, Abhimani Rajan, Unjai Rajan; in Hindi O P Valmiki, J P Kardam, Mohandas Naisrai among many others.

Ambedkar compared the experience of Dalit to that of Jews-

What my fear is that the problem of the Untouchables may be forgotten as it has been so far. That would indeed be a calamity. For the ills which the Untouchables are suffering if they are not as much advertised as those of the Jews, are not less real. Nor are the means and the methods of suppression used by the Hindu against the Untouchables less effective because they are less bloody than the ways which the Nazis have adopted against the Jews. The Anti-semitism of the Nazis against the Jews is in no way different in ideology and in effect from the Sanatanism of the Hindus against the untouchables.

The ghettoisation of the untouchables has been practiced in India for centuries altogether, but the unfortunate part is that upper caste is still in denial and believes in the projection of the national image is that of a just and fair society. This is reason why it is the lived experience - '*anubhav*' that makes the Dalit narrative from a Dalit's perspective relatable and differentiates it from that of the non-Dalit writers. With the weight of thousand years of oppression and social ostracization, the dominant tone of Dalit writing has been to reclaim and establish their identity. Thus, the narrative of the suffering has to be from the lived experience, which now must form the main body of the Dalit literature.

Dr. Ambedkar was the towering figure who steered dalit movement from during independence movement and much after it too. He stood against Gandhi he openly opposed him and demanded a place for himself in the whole freedom struggle. His self assuredness during the freedom struggle, his astuteness at understanding the politics being played around the untouchables/dalits and his standing up against it is what earned him the special place he holds in history. His aggression, his revolutionary ideas have always been the source of inspiration; he appears in person or as emblem of change, anger, frustration and humiliation felt at the hands of the upper caste Hindus. Among writers, it has been the writings of Baburao Bagul who was mentioned earlier too, which gave the Dalit writings the much needed push. He is rightfully considered the father figure of the Dalit writings.

Autobiography as a genre has been effectively used by dalit writers be it Bama, the Tamil woman dalit writer who talks about her life in a convent in *Kanukku*, or Urmila Pawar in her book *The Weave of My Life- A Dalit Woman's Memoirs* talks about her experiences as a Dalit woman and her struggle at earning a name for herself. Ambedkar once observed that Dalits were 'doubly bonded'- they were poor and they were low castes. From this perspective women Dalit must be seen as more than doubly marginalised- they were poor and Dalits, and on top of that they were women. In autobiographical short story "Goshta Seshvachi"- "A Childhood Tale" Pawar talks about child protagonist's difficulties in understanding with her Dalit status and the discrimination that came with it: her inability to comprehend why it always fell on her pick up the cow dung from the school campus, the pain of untouchability when the upper caste women dropped coins on her hands for the fear of touching her; her shame at her mother's torn clothes and the fact that they lived outside the village. She questions the discriminating attitude of various sections of societies. The agony and anger expressed by the child protagonist is what constitutes the Dalit identity – Dalit self. The glaring gap between her life and that of the other children, hurts the child protagonist. She is very conscious about the fact that what she eats and how she dresses up is very different from upper caste children.

She questions this disparity and in her naive way holds her parents responsible for it, as she feels they could end it. Ambedkar's influence is clearly visible in her father's obsession with his children's education. It is with a missionary's zeal that he unrelentingly wants to pursue his children's education. The fact that he was only 'seven pass' and yet commanded the respect of his community, is difficult for the child protagonist to digest. She could never understand why her teacher, Harlekar Guruji, always made her sit at the back of the class, or why he beat her even when she studied her lessons well. Her views about her own education change along with her relationship with her mother when she decides to stand up to her teacher. She refused to pick up cow dung when it was not 'her turn' as she puts it. The teacher slaps her for her defiance and this is when her mother stands up for her. Pawar very subtly points out how the child protagonist never expected her mother - an illiterate woman who didn't even know how to dress well, who couldn't speak grammatically correct Marathi, to open her mouth in front of her teacher. But when her mother stood up for her against the learned Harlekar Gururji, it earned her her respect. The mere fact that this illiterate outcast woman was standing up to him makes the Guruji stammer. She challenged him to hit her daughter again and be prepared for the consequences, and Guruji fled the scene. The mother clearly questioned his role as a teacher because she knew that it was only education that could end her children's exile from the mainstream society. This changed the child protagonist's views towards education and her mother as well; she accepts it as her ticket towards inclusion. This inclusion was much more difficult than the one her teacher Harlekar Guruji gave her. At a recent function Pawar recounts how even celebrating her children's birthdays was difficult for her because mothers of upper caste children objected to her feeding them the birthday cake; any food from the house of untouchables was unacceptable, even birthday cake !

Recent incidents of children being asked to wear different colored bands to school so as to differentiate their caste are indicative of the fact that the society needs to change. The Hyderabad University incident has again brought the focus back on the caste issues. The society could be on the threshold of a new Dalit movement. Literature reflects the society, let the pen of young brilliant Dalit writers shake the upper caste custodians of the society out of their slumber. J V Pawar's poem "I have become the Tide" says it all:

I'm the sea; I soar, I surge
 I move out to build your tombs
 The winds, storms, sky, earth
 Now all are mine.
 In every inch of the rising struggle
 I stand erect.

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VISION OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE TO WOMEN

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Abstract

The vision of Dr. Ambedkar was that “I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved”. Dr. Ambedkar provides a powerful source of inspiration for Indian women’s movement to formulate a feminist political agenda which simultaneously addresses the issues of class, caste and gender in the contemporary socio- political set up, which still keeps conservative and reactionary values in many respects, particularly on gender relations. He tried his best in life to reconstruct Hindu society along with the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. He kept on struggle and tried that every individual have this vision that social justice can be delivered to the members of the society. The Writings and Speeches of Dr. Ambedkar show what values India should develop and how they would modernize its social and political institutions. Here I do not intend to provide a comprehensive review of all his works on various areas, because of the voluminous nature of his work, but try to attempt only a profile of his perception on women’s status and their rights. The paper analyzes the contribution and relevance of Dr. Ambedkar’s ideas in the contemporary feminist discourse on gender equality under Indian social conditions. Dr. Ambedkar tries to show how the gender relations and differences are constructed by Hindu Brahminical order, which conditions women to conform a stereotype feminine behaviour, requiring them to be passive and submissive, suited only to a life of domestic and family responsibilities.

Keywords: Caste, Hindu social order, Gender Equality, Social Conditions.

Introduction

Dr. Ambedkar, the determined fighter and a deep scholar, secured the highest academic honors from some of the most prestigious universities of the world. He made significant efforts to lead the society on the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It is proved by a recently conducted survey by,, History TV 18 and CNN IBN in June 2012. Who is the greatest Indian

after Mahatma Gandhi, was the question asked from the people of India. The contestants include, First PM Jawahar Lal Nehru, Singer Lata Mangeshkar, Industrialist J.R.D.Tata, A.P.J.Abdul Kalam, Indira Gandhi and Vallbhbhai Patel etc. The final cumulative ranking was conducted following the three ways poll; ranking by jury (online and on ground), ranking by popular votes and ranking by market research. Finally, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar declared as winner. Historian Ramchandra Guha stated on the declaration of results “Dr. Ambedkar’s legacy has been distorted to suit particular interests. Dr. B.R Ambedkar was among the most outstanding intellectuals of India in the 20th century in the world. Paul Baran, an eminent Marxist economist, had made a distinction in one of his essays between an “intellect worker” and an intellectual. The former, according to him, is one who uses his intellect for making a living whereas the latter is one who uses it for critical analysis and social transformation. Dr. Ambedkar fits Baran’s definition of an intellectual very well. Dr. Ambedkar is also an outstanding example of what Antonio Gramsci called an organic intellectual, that is, one who represents and articulates the interests of an entire social class. Dr. Ambedkar believed that socio-cultural forces artificially construct gender relations, especially by Manusmriti and Hindu religion. As Simone De Beauvoir observed, “Women are made, they are not born”,

Ojective and Method

The present paper is an attempt to highlight Dr. Ambedkar’s views on women problems in pre and post independent India and the relevancy of his ideas in present political and social scenario of India. Secondary data collected from internet, Government documents, newspapers, published papers, books and speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar in Parliament, various conferences and meetings in pre and post independent India.

Manusmriti and Gender Discrimination

Dr. Ambedkar raised the question, “Why Manu degraded her (woman)?” The women in Pre-Manu days enjoyed respectable status in the Hindu society. Women were free and enjoyed equal status along with men in matters of education, divorce, remarriage and economic independence. The deterioration in status of women in the society began with the imposition of severe restrictions on them under the influence of Manusmriti. Manu held a very low opinion about women. According to Manusmriti, women are not to be trusted for it is in their nature to seduce men. Men are forbidden to sit in a lonely place even with one’s mother, sister or daughter. He observes in the law book of Manu that the killing of a woman is like the drinking of liquor, a minor offence. It was equated with killing of Sudra. Women are not to be free under any circumstances, day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males of their families; her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth and her sons protect her in old age; a woman is never fit for independence. Manu instructs women: “Though destitute or virtuous or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife. ...She must always be cheerful, clever in management of her household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economic in expenditure”. Manu did not give right to divorce to women under any circumstance while allowing man to give up his wife at the same time. Indeed man was allowed to abandon and even sell his wife. Even after repudiation by her husband, she was not released from her husband and could not become legitimate wife of another. A wife could be subjected to corporal punishment by her husband reducing her status to that of a slave. Like *Shudras*, a woman was forbidden by Manu to study Vedas. In matters of property, a wife was reduced to the level of a slave as she was not allowed to have any dominion over property. Dr.Ambedkar points out that *Shastras*, Caste and Endogamy – the three important pillars of patriarchy in Hindu society were responsible for discriminatory practice against women and their degradation in social status.

He also suggests strategies for emancipation from oppression. He found their emancipation in Buddhist values, which promotes equality, self-respect and education. Dr. Ambedkar believes that Buddha treated women with respect and love, and never tried to degrade them like Manu did. He taught women Buddha Dharma and religious philosophy. Ambedkar cites women like Vishakha, Amrapali of Visali, Gautami, Rani Mallika, queen of Prasenajith who approached Buddha, as evidences of Buddha's treatment of women as equals. It was mainly the Hindu culture and social customs, which stood in the headway of women's empowerment. Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "**We** shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education..." He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bahiskrit Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women. Ambedkar's perception of women question, emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men, right to property and involvement in the political process resembled the global feminists demand. As J. S. Mill expressed in the Subjection of Women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself and one of the chief hindrance to human development; and ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no privilege or power on the one side, nor disability on the other, Ambedkar also holds the same views on work for women..

Dr. Ambedkar was sworn in as a nominated member of the Bombay Legislative Council on 18th Feb., 1927. He advised Indians to participate in the world war on behalf of the British Government. "On December 25, 1927 at a Conference of Depressed Classes held at Mahad, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made a bonfire of Manusmriti in presence of more than fifty women to protest against the discrimination of women and untouchables upheld by it. At the end of the Conference, Dr. Ambedkar also addressed a meeting of about three thousand women of the Depressed Classes, the first meeting of its kind in modern India and urged them to dress well and live a clean life. Do not feed your spouse and sons if they are drunk. Send your children to schools. Education is necessary for females as it is for males. In January 1928, a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar's wife as its president. Along with the Depressed Classes Conference in Nagpur in August 1930, women also had their separate conference. In the famous Kalaram temple entry movement at Nasik launched in March 1930, about five hundred women participated in the non-violent Satyagraha and many of them were arrested along with men and ill-treated in jails. To face tortures along with their men, women also organized their Samata Sainik Dal. In a press conference held in 1931, Radhabai Vadale said, "we should get the right to enter the Hindu temples, to fill water at their water sources. We call these social rights. We should also get the political right to rule, sitting near the seat of the Viceroy. We do not care even if we are given a severe sentence. We will fill all the jails in the country. Why should we be scared of lathi-charge or firing? On the battlefield does a warrior care for his life? It is better to die a hundred times than live a life full of humiliation. We will sacrifice our lives but we will win our rights" The credit for this self-respect and firm determination of women goes to Dr. Ambedkar. When he returned to India after attending the Round Table Conference in 1932, hundreds of women were present for the committee meetings. At various places, depressed classes women's conferences were held and they began to present their demands assertively. The encouragement by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar empowered women to speak out boldly their feelings. Speaking on the burning of *Manusmriti* later in 1938, he said, "The bonfire of *Manusmriti* was quite intentional. It was a very cautious and drastic

step. We made a bonfire of it because we view it as a symbol of injustice under which we have been crushed across centuries—”.

Literary Contribution

Exposed to the Western ideas of humanism and rational thinking, Dr. Ambedkar was appalled at the low status of women in the Hindu society. He not only worked hard at the grassroots level to raise awareness about the degraded status of women in India but also wrote extensively to counter the views on gender relations sanctioned by *Shastras* and upheld by tradition. Through his writings, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar unravels the inequality and injustice inherent in Hindu social order that perpetuates inequality and subordination of women in a systemic manner. In his treatises, “The Rise and Fall of Hindu Women”, “The Women and Counter Revolution”, “The Riddle of Women”, and “Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development”, Dr. Ambedkar has analyzed the manner in which gender relations are artificially constructed under Hindu social order which not only moulds attitude of Hindus towards their women but also conditions women to conform to a stereotype feminine behaviour. His approach also differed from Bhakti movement which preached brotherhood without attacking the iniquitous Hindu social order that was based on grade system of caste hierarchy. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s approach to women’s empowerment is entirely different from other social reformers like Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahatma Gandhi who tried to reform the Hindu society of certain outdated customs and practices without questioning the hierarchical social order. Gaining inspiration from Ambedkar, many women wrote on various topics. And Tulsibai Bansode started a newspaper “Chokhamela”. This shows how Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devdasi system.

In his address at the Depressed Classes Women’s Conference held at Nagpur on July 20, 1942 under the presidentship of Mrs Sulochanabai Dongre in which 25000 women participated, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar evoked women in the following words. “Never wear such clothes which will degrade our personality and character. Avoid wearing the jewellery on your body everywhere. It is not fare to make hole on nose and wear nath.” He condemned all the bad traditions, habits and ways of life which made life difficult and complex. And to the surprise, even the illiterate women followed his advice from the bottom of their heart. “I am a great believer in women’s organizations. I know what they can do to improve the condition of society if they are convinced. In the eradication of social evils they have rendered great services”. He also underlined that women should learn to be clean and keep themselves away from vices. They should educate their children and instil high ambition in them. Speaking on marriage and parental responsibilities, he advised women to get married only when they are financially able. They should stand by their husband as a friend and equal and refuse to be his slave. He reminded them that having too many children is a crime. He concluded his address, “I am sure if you follow this advice, you will bring honour and glory to yourselves”. Dr. Ambedkar spent his life for the betterment of women even involved in bad practices and professionals like prostitutions. The greatest example of it was seen in Kamathipura. There was a person named David who was the mediator working in brothel. He left his profession persuaded by the thoughts and teachings of Dr. Ambedkar. He evoked the entire prostitute to give up their profession and lead the life of honour. The extent of awakening achieved among the women of down-trodden classes was visible from the fact that the Women’s Conference demanded abolition of polygamy and urged institutions of pensions and leave with pay for women workers. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. In 1942, being a

Labour Minister of Executive Council of Governor General, he introduced a Maternity Benefit Bill. He provided several provisions in the constitution for protecting the welfare and civil rights of women. Addressing the Samata Sainik Dal Conference, Dr.B. R. Ambedkar observed that he had love for the principle of non-violence but he differentiated non-violence from abject surrender. He told the volunteers that it did not befit a man to live a life of surrender, servitude and helplessness. He declared that he believed with the saint Tukaram that destruction of the wicked was also a form of non-violence.

The Hindu Code Bill, the most formidable legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalise only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters. Dr. Ambedkar said, "I should like draw attention of the house to one important fact. The great political philosopher Burke who wrote his great book against the French Revolution said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair. And all I am asking this House is: If you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated". But on the eve of the first elections in 1951 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru dropped the Bill by saying that there was too much opposition. In his letter of resignation dated the 27 September, 1951 to the Prime Minister, he wrote¹ "For a long time I have been thinking of resigning my seat from the Cabinet. The only thing that had held me back from giving effect to my intention was the hope that it would be possible to give effect to the Hindu Code Bill before the life of present Parliament came to an end. I even agreed to break up the bill and restricted it to Marriage and Divorce in the fond hope that at least this much of our labour may bear fruit. But even that part of Bill had been killed. I see no purpose in my continuing to be a Member of your Cabinet". The Hindu Code Bill was later split in to four Bills, and the same were put on the Statue Book by Parliament. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 are the four enactments which incorporate the ideas and principles of Hindu Code Bill formulated by Dr Ambedkar. Therefore, it is true to say that it is due to Dr. Ambedkar that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced western countries.

Constitutional Provisions for empowerment of women

The Constitution of India contains various provisions, which provide for equal rights and opportunities for both men and women. The salient features are:-

- Article 14 guarantees that the State shall not deny equality before the law and equal protection of the laws;
- Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the ground of sex;
- Article 15 (3) empowers the State to make positive discrimination in favour of women and children;
- Article 16 provides for Equality of Opportunity in matters of public employment;
- Article 23 prohibits trafficking in human beings and forced labour;
- Article 39 (a) and (d) enjoins the State to provide equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work;
- Article 42 enjoins upon the State to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work, and for maternity relief;

- Article 51A(e) imposes a Fundamental Duty on every citizen to renounce the practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
 - Article 243D (3) provides that not less than 1/3rd of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat to be reserved for women, and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat;
 - Article 243T(3) provides that not less than 1/3rd of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality;
 - Article 243T(4) provides reservation of offices of Chairperson in Municipalities for SC, ST, Women in such manner as the legislature of a State, may by law provide;
- In pursuance of the above Constitutional provisions, various legislative enactments have been framed to protect, safeguard and promote the interests of women. Many of these legislative enactments have been in the sphere of labour laws to ameliorate the working conditions of women labour.

Conclusion

Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar who was recognized internationally as a crusader against caste system, a vigilant fighter for the human rights of all the oppressed and enslaved and the emancipator of humanity from social and economic injustice, expired on 6th December 1956. In the condolence message, on Ambedkar's death in Parliament, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said: "Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of the Hindu society." His dream of society based on gender equality is yet to be realized and therefore his thoughts are important for the social reconstruction that favours women's empowerment. The Nation honoured Baba Saheb Ambedkar by offering Bharat Ratna posthumously to him which was received by his widow Savita Ambedkar in 1990. Dr. Ambedkar foundation was set up under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment on 24th March 1992 for the purpose of promoting and propagating his ideology of social justice so as to reach the common masses. The foundation implemented Schemes such as Dr. Ambedkar National Memorial, Dr. Ambedkar National Public Library, Dr. Ambedkar Chairs in Universities / Institutions, Dr. Ambedkar Award for Social Understanding and upliftment of Weaker Sections and the Dr. Ambedkar International Award for Social Change. It made a feature film on Ambedkar and published 144 volumes of his speeches and writings so far in various languages. Dr. Ambedkar Chairs have been set up in nine universities/institutions. Baba Amte was given Dr. Ambedkar International Award for Social Change in 1999 and Remy Fernand Claude Satorre Bonhomme of Spain has been selected for the year 2000. As Lord Casey said, Ambedkar stands as the "fountainhead of wisdom and knowledge" in modern India also.

Indian Society is still in continuous process of evolution. It has taken decades for removing some imbalances amongst men and women. Education of both men and women has changed the attitudes and perceptions. Law has played significant role in change. The absence of effective law enforcement in initial period resulted in low rates of conviction, which in turn emboldened the feeling that the accused can get away. A beginning has certainly been made in urban areas. Working women continue to remain primarily responsible for taking care of home and child rearing, in addition to their careers. Increased stress has made them more prone to heart and other stress related diseases. Hence, it is necessary to improve the Support System for working women. The march towards elimination of gender bias has to go on, so as to make it meaningful for the vast majority of women in this country. There is a greater representation now in the legislature, executive and judiciary. India is one of the few countries

in the world, which has had a woman Prime Minister. Various States have from time to time, had women Chief Ministers. A woman Judge in the Supreme Court, and in the High Courts, has today become the norm. Women have crossed many barriers, and head various departments in large multinationals today. A beginning has been made in the Army also, when women are being commissioned as SSC Officers. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution were brought about in 1993, which served as a break-through towards ensuring equal access and increased participation in the political power structure. The empowerment of women in urban areas and the metropolitan cannot be the indicator of growth in the country. In a country, where sixty percent of the population is in rural areas, until the life of women in these areas is also not improved simultaneously, development will remain an illusion to them. The status of women cannot be raised without opening up opportunities of independent income and employment. In the rural areas, employment of women is concentrated mainly in labour-intensive, unskilled jobs where simple or traditional skills are required. There is lack of access to vocational institutions. Women in the rural areas are wholly oblivious of their rights. It will require a much greater and concerted effort for the various measures to become a living reality for women in the rural areas. This can happen only through the collective effort of the State, NGOs, imparting of formal and informal education, through the media, etc. Empowerment of women so as to enable them to become equal partners with their male counterparts so that they have mutual respect for each other and share the responsibilities of the home and finances should be the ultimate goal that we must aspire to achieve. Enforcement of basic human rights of gender equality must take place, without undermining the institution and sanctity of marriage, and family.

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SAVINDRA SAWARKAR – THE FIRST DALIT PAINTER OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART

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Abstract

Art is the expression of our deepest feelings and emotions. The language of art being universal is experienced more emotionally than technically. This ability powers art to transcend boundaries, cultures, time and creates a lasting impression on mankind. If art is universal, then is the content universal too or does personal ideology of the painter have an impact on his art? Any work of art to be effective emotionally requires an amalgamation of an artist's personal content synthesized with his cultural, social, geographical and psychological background. What challenges the artist faces in life and how his ideology influences his creative process. What factors determine his creative journey which quantifies his content, style and ideology behind his art? These questions are more relevant in the present contemporary context as the artists now have more freedom to express themselves than their predecessor.

Dalit Art is. Dalit Art is a relatively new area, which in the contemporary context of Indian art is now being viewed with much seriousness than ever before. This art is the voice of the oppressed in the visual form. In this research paper my area of study will be Dalit art in India and the prime focus will be on the artistic creativity of Savindra Swarkar- the first Indian Contemporary Dalit painter of India.

Key-Words: Dalit Art, Savinder Swarkar, Contemporary Indian Art.

Art is the expression of our deepest feelings and emotions. Our personal implications and thoughts are represented in our creative process. An artist's creative process and his visual content are most definitely influenced by his immediate environment along with his social, cultural, and psychological background.

The wide plethora of cultural, folk, traditional art has enriched our cultural ethos for centuries. Artisans, craftsmen, folk, traditional and tribal artists have contributed immensely in the rich cultural traditions of Indian traditional arts. Despite the great contribution of such talented

artists and master craftsmen they were never accepted in the mainstream as painters. With time, class and caste differences broadened this divide between the fine art and the traditional arts. The art educational institutes opened in various parts of the country by the British completely ignored the traditional arts and artisans who were indigenous to our culture and background. They did not incorporate the indigenous styles in the curriculum which led to a wider gap in the future years to come.

India is a country which is very rich traditionally and culturally having multi-lingual, multi-cultural societies and sub-societies for the past many centuries. The diversity of our nation is also the major reason for many shades of variations in our traditional and cultural values. However, the caste divide so prevalent in our society for the past many centuries has had a lot of social implications on our society.

What is Dalit Art?

It is relatively a new term and talked about more recently in the Indian contemporary art context. It is a new found attempt to venture into area which has not been explored and more so openly depicted in visual arts earlier. Dalit art, more so like Dalit literature has been a reaction to the caste, gender and social bias within our country. As Dalit literature was born as a reaction to the caste and gender bias in our social system, similarly, in context to visual expression of similar sensibility can be seen in the form of visual arts in painting.

Dalit Art is in totality a reasonably new area, which in the context of contemporary Indian art is now being viewed with much seriousness than ever before. In the recent times some serious work on the issue of Dalit art forum is being done, but as such to see it as a complete entity in the Indian Contemporary art will practically require more time. The major reason for it not getting a mainstream acceptance is the fact that very few artists consciously identify and work under the pennant of Dalit Artists.

One such artist with a very strong visual presence, whose art has created a lot of interest in the Indian contemporary art, is Savindra Sawarkar the first Dalit contemporary painter of India. Not that there are no other dalit painters, but what makes him special is the fact that he has never concealed his identity, in fact he has been very proud of his dalit background.

Caste inequalities have never been represented very blatantly through visual art forms. In context to contemporary Indian art, Savinder Swarkar can be termed as a pioneer in creating that potential rebellion through his paintings.

About the Artist Savinder Swarkar:

He was born on the 23rd of January, 1961 at Nagpur. He grew up in a joint family having marginal means only. His father Haribhau Sawarkar was a clerk with Indian Railways and had to support a big family in his limited resources. His grandparents were believers of Ambedkar philosophy and had converted to Buddhism in 1956. As a child he grew up hearing stories of dalit oppression from his grandparents which had a lasting impact on his young receptive mind. Savinder was drawn towards painting from his High school days¹. He would often copy images of Ambedkar from popular calendars in his school days. Seeing his potential his art teacher harnessed his potential and encouraged him to continue in the field of art. Taking his advice very seriously, he joined Chitrakala Mahavidyala in Nagpur².

As he matured he made his own understanding and perception about the tales and stories of Ambedkar told by his grandmother Gajabai. He translated his pent up anger and oppression into visual expression and started painting themes related to Dalit oppression. He rediscovered his emotional quest through the medium of drawing and painting. Savindra was a very prolific painter and would sketch at great lengths at common places.

Early days as an artist:

College provided him the freedom to express himself. He made optimum use of his time and passion towards art to nurture his abilities to their full potential. His aptitude for experimenting with textural rendering was instrumental in giving him a distinct style of painting in his later years.

Though he suffered a lot of financial hardships due to his economic conditions, yet he never gave up his will and desire towards artistic pursuits. To move on in his destined path of creativity, he took up odd jobs in college to support himself through formal education. The famous idiom saying that 'It is a blessing in disguise', proved correct for Savinder Swarkar because what started as an austerity drive to save money on paper became his biggest asset in the years to come.

Savinder would buy cheap quality paper³ in bulk from local newspaper office and as he could not afford to buy many colours, he concentrated more on pen, ink and pencil drawings on paper. These drawings became his signature style and he became famous for them later in his life.

Kashinath Salve his teacher and mentor in college made him go to Delhi and work in Garhi artist's studio. This decision changed his life as he got exposed to the contemporary art world and met and interacted with many senior and upcoming artists working on different ideologies. This revolutionized his thought process and opened new vistas making him more confident and assured about his body of work. From there he went to Baroda to do his Masters in Painting. This city too contributed a lot in his creative journey and took him further in his artistic pursuits. His Ambedkar ideology was strengthened as Baroda was a very politically active city as well. Savindra Swarkar was able to initiate the issue of untouchability for the first time through pictorial representation in contemporary Indian art. What made these paintings heart rendering were the fact that a Dalit (artist) was questioning about these intense social issue.

Thought and Content of his drawings and paintings:

Painting came naturally to him and it was never a chance happening or an alternate career. Content of his paintings were born from his own life experiences. It saddened him to witness gender disparity and casteism even in the present society. Reaching to his level of achievements, he has had his share of troubles and problems. He studied Art from MS University, Baroda. He faced a lot of financial difficulties of paying his college fees and other expenses. To meet these expenses he worked as a part-time illustrator for support. When he was pursuing art he studied the social structure of Indian society very closely and came across the life and events of Devdasi. He was shocked to know that majority of them were dalit girls. In his choice of colours he mostly uses red, black used in bold and defiant strokes, almost as a means of catharsis for his pent up anger against the social disparities.

He is the first painter to visualize the *Chaturvarna*⁴ through pictorial representations in his drawings and paintings. His series of paintings titled, "*Voice of the Voiceless*" and "*Expression of the Untouchables*", "*Colours of oppression*", all his painting series on issues voicing oppression, exploitation and gender disparity towards the oppressed- The Dalit. These series of works have created a lot of interest and impact in the Art world at the international level as well. He does a lot of pen, ink drawings with almost frenzied strokes with figures in bloated, stretched, and crouching in agony. This is reflective of not only the physical pain but the mental agony and low self esteem of the untouchables. This frenzied anger and oppression is very evident in Swarkar's paintings, perhaps it is his own way of dealing with his pent up anger.

Woman as a subject too find ample representation in his paintings. The plight of 'Devdasis' and 'Jogtins' is strongly voiced in his paintings. He does not objectify the woman rather portrays them in a very humane and pathetic manner. He captures the aloofness of her eyes, the deteriorating body and the unanswered questions that her eyes seem to ask about her plight. Dalit women are often victimized by upper caste men to appease their sexual appetite.

What makes the art of Savindra Swarkar different and special?

There are many painters of Contemporary Indian Art, who have voiced social issues, but what makes Savinder or Savi as he is fondly called is the fact that he is a very powerful voice for visual art and he is unquestionably a Dalit painter who voices Dalit themes and problems. His work becomes more convincing for the fact that he has faced a lot of harassment and grown to feel the pinch.

He has created his own visual grammar and pictorial language greatly inspired by Buddhist philosophy. His work as a painter is of great social meaning and interest. It has also become an area of interest for studies and researches both in India and abroad

Savindra is considered as the only dalit painter working on dalit themes. His work focuses on themes related to caste, gender perspectives and exploitation of dalits through his paintings. He was very upfront in his depiction of narratives about dalit society, and never became apprehensive to touch such controversial and volatile subjects; in fact his works closely echoes the voice of the oppressed. Another significant reason that makes him different from other dalit artists is the fact that he just does not paint portraits of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar rather his works are more researched and meaningful evolved from his own experiences and ideology. His art has been persuasive in the sense that he is one of his kind artist to put Dalit art and social issues related to Dalit at an International level as well. He has made a mark for himself in the Indian Contemporary art, bridging the caste barrier and visually representing such issues which were not so profoundly depicted in the contemporary art today.

Conclusion

Sawarkar speaks and paints fearlessly, representing the oppressed and never apprehensive to represent controversial and volatile subjects in his paintings. His own background of a Dalit and his personal pain becomes the voice of the Dalits through his paintings. In his paintings one can visualise the transformation of reality and what actually reality lacks. The visual expression of Savinder Swarkar is a singular voice against deep rooted social issues.

As he says in a statement on his website, "My pictorial idiom draws its energy from the anguish of untouchables, from the plight of Devdasi and her kin-people i.e. the *Jogtins*, *Jogtas*, *Zhulvas*, *Potrajs*. My idiom also draws upon the tribulations of minorities in Indian society. I stand firmly by social justice and a just attitude towards the first settlers of this land."

The pictorial representation of this caste oppression has created and led to the birth of a new cultural movement in visual representation.

According to Gary Michael Tartakov, "Swarkar's intention is not only to achieve acceptance into the celebrated precinct of high art display, but to do so while denouncing the identities of the very social and economic elite upon whom this art world depends."

Swarkar's work is of immense social importance in context to Contemporary Indian art as well. Though Dalit Art it is still to be accepted as an entity in contemporary Modern Indian Art, but the onset has already begun.

Notes:

1. He did his schooling from Vinayakrao Deshmukh High school in Lakadgunj area near Garoba Maidan in Nagpur.
2. That is the Art College of Nagpur
3. He would buy bulk left over paper from a local newspaper office at the rate of Rs.3.50 per kg.
4. The varna system is discussed in Hindu texts, and understood as idealised human callings. The concept is generally traced to the *Purusha Sukta* verse of the Rig Veda. However modern scholarship believes that this verse was inserted at a later date. The four Varnas were The Brahmins: priests, scholars and teachers.: the Kshatriyas: rulers, warriors and administrators, the Vaishyas: cattle herders, agriculturists, artisans and merchants. the Shudras: laborers and service providers.

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GENDER EQUALITY : A KEY TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

Women form nearly half of the world's population and a sustainable development can not be achieved without equal participation of men and women. Thus gender equality is not only a goal in its own right but also crucial factor for the sustainable development of any country. A route to sustainable development can only be achieved by providing men and women equal opportunities in all the spheres and both's interests should be given parallel preference while allocating the resources. Women empowerment is imperative for gender equality which in turn leads to sustainable development. In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) made important provisions for the recognition of women's contributions and their full participation in sustainable development. Equal participation in decision-making and a balanced involvement of both men and women in all policy making areas and at all levels of implementation will ensure that women and men take equal responsibility for the equitable distribution of resources, over the course of people's lives and between present and future generations. Therefore, gender equality should not be discussed only in socio-cultural milieu but other dimensions like Economic, Political and environmental should also be taken into consideration for sustainable development.

Women's Empowerment is not an absolutely a new phenomenon. It is omnipresent in almost all societies for a number of reasons throughout history. Becoming increasingly popular in public makes it a new phenomenon. The shift took place from women's welfare to the women's empowerment through the route of 'development'. Now the specific focus is given to the issues related to development of the women's empowerment. There is now immediate need to address women's empowerment as absolutely essential rather than imperative at not only family and society level but also at national and international level for development and progress of the society. So this issue should be addressed essentially by all the countries of the world not only at the administrative level but also at the individual level.

The first ever world conference to address the issue of gender inequality was held in Mexico in 1975. It was followed by a second world conference on women at Copenhagen in 1980 and a third in Nairobi in 1985. At the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio United Nations – Agenda for Development (United Nations, New York, 1997), de Janiero (1992), world leaders accepted women's vital role in achieving sustainable development. At the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993), it was also acknowledged that women's rights are human rights. and headed the evidence of widespread violence against women. At the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), it was stressed that women's empowerment is an effective way to implement the population policies. At the World Conference for Social Development in Copenhagen (1995), gender equality was recognized as a prerequisite for the achievement of productive employment, social integration and poverty eradication. The fourth world conference on women took place in Beijing in September 1995 followed by Beijing + 5 held in Geneva in 2000.

All the four conferences held at Mexico(1975), Copenhagen(1980), Nairobi(1985) and Beijing(1990), the importance of women's empowerment was stressed. From each of these global conferences emerged a more powerful recognition of the crucial role played by women in different sectors of society which in turn led to the progressive strengthening of the role of women in the legal, economic, social and political sectors. While women have made significant advances in many societies, women's concerns and issues are still given secondary importance almost everywhere. This can be illustrated by the Report of the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Copenhagen, July 1980: "While Women represent 50 per cent of the world adult population and one third of official labour force, they perform nearly two-thirds of all working hours, receive only a-tenth of world income and own less than one per cent of the world property". The picture is not different in India. Despite development planning, and the special status accorded to women in the Indian Constitution, there has not been a substantial qualitative improvement in the position of a large majority of women living in rural areas

Meaning of Women's Empowerment

Empowerment can be defined as a "multi-dimensional" social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society, by acting on issues that they define as important" (Page and Czuba, 1999). There is no doubt that all over world the women form the disadvantage section of society as compared to men. This disadvantage is apparent in the different spheres of economic, socio-cultural and political life in all societies. Empowerment in this context means women gaining more power and control not only over their own lives but also on economic, political and socio-cultural prevailing in the society. Women empowerment is an important tool in reaching gender equality.

Gender equality is understood as distribution of rights, responsibilities and opportunities equally among the individuals without any discrimination on the basis of sex. The role expectations from male and female depend upon the socio-cultural context in which they live. Gender roles are learnt by each person through socialization processes. This socialization takes place through social interactions with their families, peers and society at large. On a larger scale, dominant role of men in the form of gender role expectations are institutionalized through educational, political and economic, cultural, traditional and legislative system. This can be illustrated by giving an example that shows the division of labour on the basis of sex in daily life: women continue to play a dominant role as domestic worker in providing unpaid care to family members and taking care of domestic chores but they play a subordinate role in

political and economic life. As women dedicate most of their time to unpaid activities, they are often dependent on men's income and less protected through financial savings, pension entitlements and property in their name. This means that women are at greater risk of poverty and have fewer opportunities in the labour market.

Therefore, to create a level playing field for both men and women and reduce the 'gender inequality' women need to be "empowered". According to the United Nations Population Fund an empowered woman has a sense of self worth. She can make her own choices, and has access to opportunities and resources providing her with an array of options she can pursue. She has control over her own life, both within and outside the home and she has the ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, both nationally and internationally (UNDP, 2005).

Meaning of Sustainable development

For the first time in the late 1980s the World Commission on Environment and Development in its report 'Our Common Future' defined the concept "sustainable development" as development which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Thus sustainable development means the continuous and economic use of natural resources by taking into account the consequences of our actions for coming generations, ensuring that the resources they will require for their own well-being are not depleted, and that the natural environment into which they will be born will not be polluted or destroyed.

Basis of sustainable development

Sustainable development is conceptualized as resting on three inter-related pillars: economic development, social development and environmental protection. A fourth pillar – the preservation of cultural diversity has been proposed. Here an integrated and comprehensive approach to socio-culturally responsible, environmentally-friendly economic development should be taken in to consideration, So that sustainable development can be understood as a multidimensional and dynamic process. As noted in a recent report by the Secretary General, "the goal, and indeed the ultimate test, of sustainable development is the convergence among the three trajectories of economic growth, social development and environmental protection".

Similarly, it is important to acknowledge that the promotion of gender equality also requires an integrative approach. It is important not to understand women's empowerment and gender equality only in social context alone, but also economic and socio-cultural development and environmental protection should be taken in consideration.

Why is a gender-sensitive approach to sustainable development needed? Because sustainable development can be achieved only with equitable distribution of resources in a society not only in present time but also in future but prevailing inequalities are deeply gendered. Equal participation in decision-making and a balanced involvement of both men and women at all levels of implementation will ensure that women and men take equal responsibility for today's and future generations. The area of concern is not only the economic but also educational and political where women are always at disadvantage position. Understanding this and acting upon it is imperative for achieving sustainable development.

Economic empowerment: More women than men live in poverty. Economic disparities persist partly because much of the unpaid work at the domestic front and within communities is the responsibility of women and they have to depend economically on the male members of society. Also if a woman is working, she is paid less as compared to men and she has longer hours of working as compared to men.

Political empowerment: Social and legal institutions still do not guarantee women equality in basic legal and human rights, in access to or control of land or other resources, in employment and earning, and social and political participation. Laws against domestic violence are often not enforced on behalf of women. Experience has shown that addressing gender equality and women's empowerment requires strategic interventions at all levels of programming and policy-making.

Educational empowerment: About two thirds of the illiterate adults in the world are female. women's education is not only strongly associated with both lower infant mortality and lower fertility, but also with higher levels of education and economic opportunity for their children.

Gender Inequalities in Major sectors in India

The gender inequalities with respect to social sector that involves education and health sectors, economic and political sector have been discussed as follows

Social Sector

Social sector is divided in to following two sectors:

Educational Sector:

There is a wide gender disparity in the literacy rate in India: effective literacy rates (age 7 and above) in 2011 were 82.14% for men and 65.46% for women. The census provided a positive indication that growth in female literacy rates (11.8%) was substantially faster than in male literacy rates (6.9%) in the 2001 –2011 decadal period, which means the gender gap is narrowing. But as far as school attendance of children is concerned only two-thirds of girls and three-fourths of boys' age 6-17 years are attending school. The sex ratio of children attending school is 889 girls per 1,000 boys. There is gender equality in school attendance in urban areas but in rural areas, the females are disadvantage section of society. School attendance is lower. School dropout is a major problem for both girls and boys beyond primary education.

In case of adults, Gender disparity in literacy is much greater in rural than in urban areas and this disparity is related to high economic status. Forty-one percent of women and 18% of men age 15-49 have never been to school. Educational attainment remains very low-even among the 20-29 age group, only 27% of women and 39% of men have 10 or more years of education.

Health Sector:

Health sector is the another area in which women again have a lower position as compared to men. This is apparent not only in low sex ratio but also in high maternal mortality rate among women. According to 2011 census, there are 943 women per 1000 men. This is due to the societal preference for male child as compared to female child that results in to female foeticide. Social neglect of women and girls, manifested in less access to nutrition and healthcare that in turn results into high maternal mortality rate. India is ranked second in maternal mortality rate in the world with a figure of 125,000 deaths due to pregnancy and pregnancy-related illnesses every year. In the rural areas, condition of women is more pathetic. Here, more than half of girls are married before the age of 18, and 60% of married girls bear children before they are 19. Almost one-third of babies are born with low birth weight because of poverty, early marriage, malnutrition and lack of healthcare during pregnancy. The child mortality rate between the age group (1-4 years) is 61% higher for girl child.

Ultrasound tests are being widely used for sex detection, the trend of sex selection being more evident for the wealthiest women as compared to women in the other wealth quintiles. Thus, the preference for male child is more evident in well off section of society.

Political Sector

Women are invisible and marginalised in decision-making bodies. It was only with the setting up of the Committee on the Status of Women in India (CSWI) September, 1971 that the demand for greater representation of women in political institutions in India was taken up in a practical and systematic way. 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Indian Constitution in 1992 and 1993, which provided for 33 per cent reservation for women in panchayats and urban local bodies served as an positive action for major breakthrough towards ensuring women's equal access and increased participation politically.

Women have, however, not found adequate representation in the Lok Sabha. The percentage of elected women Lok Sabha members has never exceeded 12 per cent. The presence of women in the Upper House has been only slightly higher overall, probably due to indirect elections and nomination of some women members. It was highest in 1990 at 15.5 per cent and shows a declining trend thereafter. Thus gender gap occurs in political sector in assigning not only the seats but also important portfolios to the women. This scenario is also typical at the state level. There are only a few instances of women holding portfolios of finance, industry, etc., and are mainly relegated to what are considered 'women specific' departments. The source reveals that the highest percentage of women in the State Legislative Assemblies has been 10.8 per cent in 1957 in Madhya Pradesh.

Economic Sector

The economic sector of a country can not progress without the involvement of Women because women form the half of the human capital. So women will need to be more efficiently integrated into the economic field to tap India's long term competitive potential. The unpaid activities like domestic work is not accurately identified by the census in India as a fruitful and result oriented activity by the women.

Women's a work in home-based industries like bidi and agarbatti-rolling, bangle-making, weaving, etc is not only considered equal but also it is not paid equally as compared to men. They are also denied the social security benefits. 33% of agricultural workers are women. On an average, their wages are 30% lower than men's wages. It is quite difficult for the women to get credit in the form of loans from banking institutions. In spite of legislation of equal right of women in ancestral property, Women's right to land and other assets is not very much strong. Percentage of women in employment is half as compared to men. The employment percentage is positive for women in Rural area due to their involvement in agriculture sector as compared to organised sector of urban area.

Measures for Empowerment of Women

Government of India has adopted many measures for women's empowerment. Some of these measures have been discussed as below:

Constitutional and Legal Provisions For the Empowerment of Women

The architect of Indian Constitution was of the opinion that empowerment of women can bring a change in their destiny. The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles of state Policy. The Constitution not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Within this constitutional framework and legal framework, development Policies, Plans and Programmes have aimed at women's advancement in different areas. India has also ratified various international conventions and human rights instruments committing to secure equal rights of women. Key among them is the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

(CEDAW) in 1993.

Constitutional Provisions for Women includes Equality before law for women (Article 14), The State not to discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, creed, sex, place of birth or any of them (Article 15 (i)), The State to make any special provision in favour of women and children (Article 15 (3)), The State to direct its policy towards securing for men and women equally the right to an adequate means of livelihood (Article 39(a)) equal pay for equal work for both men and women (Article 39(d)), The State to make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief (Article 42), Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat to be reserved for women and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat (Article 243 D(3)).

To uphold the Constitutional provisions, India has enacted various legislative measures to ensure equal rights to women to discourage social discrimination and various forms of violence and atrocities and to provide a support system especially to working women. Government has set up an independent 'Ministry of Women and Child Development', to address and protect the issues related to women.

Some acts which have special provisions to safeguard women and their interests are

- The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 with amendment in 2005
- Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956
- The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 (Amended in 1995)
- Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
- The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971
- The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976
- The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006
- Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
- Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987
- The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

Apart from these, In January 1992, the Government set up a statutory body named 'National Commission for Women' with a specific objective to study and monitor all matters relating to the constitutional and legal safeguards provided for women. 'The Department of Women & Child Development' in the Ministry of Human Resource Development has prepared a —National Policy for the Empowerment of Women in the year 2001. with a goal to bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. On 8th March, 1996, on the occasion of International Women's Day, a resolution passed by the parliament to set up a Standing Committee for the improvement of the status of women' in India which results in the constitution of 'Committee on Empowerment of women' in April, 1997. The Cairo conference in 1994 organized by UN on Population and Development also focused on the issue of women's empowerment and UNDP developed the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) based on the three variables that reflect women's participation in society in every sphere. 1995 UNDP report was devoted to women's empowerment.

National Mission for Empowerment of Women: The National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW) was launched by the Government of India (GOI) on International Women's Day in 2010 with a view to empower women socially, economically and educationally. The main aim of mission is to strive for the women's empowerment on all the fronts. The focus is to converge all the schemes or programmes of all the ministries of Indian

governments and state governments. The government of India stress the need to address this issue at the grassroots level by involving Panchayati Raj Institution(PRI) in the implementation of policies. The Mission has been named 'Mission Poorna Shakti', implying a vision for holistic empowerment of women.

Main focus areas of the Mission

- Coverage of all girls in schools from primary to class 12 especially those belonging to vulnerable groups
- Higher and Professional education for girls/women
- Prevent crime against women and taking steps for a safe environment for women
- Gender sensitization and dissemination of information
- Skill development, Micro credit, Vocational Training, Entrepreneurship, SHG development
- Access to health, drinking water, sanitation and hygiene facilities for women

National Policy for the Empowerment of Women of India (2001)

Goal and Objectives

- To enjoy all the human rights and fundamental freedom at par with men in every spheres i.e. Political, economic and social sphere.
- To create an environment to make the women to realize their strength through positive economic and social policies.
- Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation
- To strengthen the legal system to eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women.
- Equal accessibility to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal pay for equal work, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.
- Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.

Twelfth Five Year Plan of India (2012-2017)

This plan deals with the following provisions:

Economic empowerment

The Twelfth Plan focuses to increase women's employability in the organised sector i.e. secondary and tertiary sector and improving the conditions of self employed women. The key features of this plan are concerned with the flexible work hours, addressing the issues women related to agriculture and manufacturing sector, financial assistance, and extending land and property rights to women.

Skill development

To deal with the difficulties faced by the women in organised sector, this plan came up with idea of upgrading the traditional skills to emerging skills so that women can have employment equally with the men in all the fields as technicians, plumbers, sale persons, auto rickshaw drivers, taxi drivers.

Besides the above measures the Government of India and also state governments came up with the other schemes to give benefits to women Such as, Antyodaya Anna Yojana(2000),National Rural Health Mission, 2005, Janani Suraksha Yojana,2005, Indira Sahara,2000, Mukhya Mantri Antodaya Pusthaar Yojana,2009, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh,1993, Apna Beti Apna Dhan Yojana, Haryana(1994), Kamdhenu Yojana, Maharashtra, Girls Child

Protection Scheme, Andhra Pradesh etc. There are two main programmes in the Department of Women and Child Development, which aim at convergence of services delivery at the grass root level. Those are Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), which reaches 85 percent of the villages in the country and Integrated Women's Empowerment Programme (IWEP), formerly Indira Mahila Yojana, which extends to 650 blocks operate through the self help groups of women. In the field of education, 2180 residential Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya schools have been sanctioned and are providing elementary education to 1,82,000 out of school girls. Gaun ki Beti, Kisori Balika Divas Yojana, Ladli Lakshmi Yojana, Cycle Praday Yojana etc.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that efforts have been made at national and international level to empower women. A number of acts and legislation passed to ensure equality to the women, for example, reservation of seats for women in panchayats and municipal corporations by 73rd and 74th amendment of constitution, has not much beneficial for women because they act as dummy only and all the power is vested in the hands of their brothers, husbands or male members of family. So despite the various measures taken up, there is not much improvement in the condition of women. This can be reflected in low participation of women at policy making level, low literacy rate of women as compared to men, high rate of maternal mortality, female foeticide, dowry deaths, violence against women all over world, low sex ratio. Overall scenario shows a gloomy picture of women condition. The ground reality is deprivation, degradation and exploitation of women specially women from rural areas and those belonging to deprived sections of the society. The Urban elite class women have no doubt advantageous position as compared to rural women. The major challenge of 21st century is women are being brutalized, Commodified, materialized and subjected to inhuman exploitation and discrimination.

Therefore, gender equality should be at the heart of policy-makers. Women form fifty percent of the human capital in the world. how can one imagine the attainment of 'Sustainable Development' without the active participation of this population? Need of the hour is to take effective and sincere efforts to make the dream of Sustainable Development true and practical by making an effort to create awareness among the women about their rights. Otherwise, all the laws would be in books only without having any effective and practical implications. Hence, this paper is concluded with the beautiful lines given by 'Swami Vivekanand'

“There is no chance of the welfare of the world unless the condition of women is improved. It is not possible for a bird to fly on one wing.”-Swami Vivekananda

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CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IN LAND ACQUISITION ACT AND ITS IMPACT ON THE DALITS

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The principal architect of the Constitution of India Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was ardent supporter of State Socialism and propagated that state should own the land. He always favoured distributive justice to all especially the downtrodden and the poorest of the poor. The acquisition of land in India was based on the age old Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The government of India enacted The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in the Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RCFTLARR), 2013 that makes it mandatory to conduct SIA of any development project in India. This act has is being debated and has become a contentious issue. The involvement of the Project Affected Population in the decision making process is essential to avoid any unintended consequences on the stakeholders. An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the difficulties faced by the Dalits depended on the agricultural land that has been acquired for the purpose of infrastructural development by the state. These landless labourers are not identified as stakeholders in the Land Acquisition Act, till the clause of Social Impact Assessment and public consent was added to the Act.

An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. In an ideal society...there should be social endosmosis.....Democracy is not merely a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen.

- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 'Annihilation of Caste'

This paper attempts to analyze the Social Impacts of Land Acquisition Act and its subsequent amendments, on the dalits. The principal architect of the Constitution of India Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was ardent supporter of State Socialism and propagated that state should own the land. His concept of state socialism was based on the principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. He always favoured distributive and compensatory justice to all especially the

downtrodden and the poorest of the poor. The acquisition of land in independent India was based on the age old Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The government of India enacted The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in the Land Acquisition Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (RFCTLARR), 2013 that makes it mandatory to conduct SIA of any development project in India. This act has is being debated and has become a contentious issue. The involvement of the Project Affected Population in the decision making process is essential to avoid any unintended consequences on the stakeholders. It was Dr. Ambedkar's vision to provide social justice to all the citizens of independent India. Social justice for him involves equal distribution of the socio-economic resources of the country. The aspirations of the people belonging to different sections of society should be considered by the government. He tried to promote social equality and social justice in terms of one man- one value and for him was the true basis for nationalism was to provide social justice for all. (Purohit and Joshi, 2003)

The process of acquisition of private land for public purpose is present around the globe and India is no exception. Land Acquisition can be defined as the action of the government whereby it acquires land from its owners in order to pursue certain public purpose or for any company. The compensation is paid to the owners or persons associated with land. This can be distinguished from an outright purchase of land from the market. Land acquisitions by the government generally are compulsory in nature, not paying heed to the owner's unwillingness to part with the land, (Robin George, 2009).

The acquisition of land by government agencies in India goes back to the early nineteenth century when the British enacted various Acts in the then Presidency towns and later expanding across the country to facilitate the land acquisition process for the construction of roads, canals and other 'public purposes' with compensation to be determined by specifically appointed arbitrators, (Law Commission of India, 1958).

The British used land as a tool to capture India's economic independence and to destabilize the social institutions. The traditional land ownership patterns were modified and legislated by the British government in order to facilitate acquisition of land by English businessman. They introduced the system of private ownership of land and de-legitimized the joint or community ownership system. The British favoured the Zamindari system over Jajmani system and introduced the Permanent Settlement Act 1793, under which the land was taxed. The result of this system was that the land was concentrated in the hands of few landlords. These acted as intermediaries between the British and the poor Indian citizens and these followed the appeasement policy that suited the British. The British introduced the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 that was supposed to bring some sort of uniformity in the acquisition process. It meant to amend the law for acquisition of private land for public purpose and private enterprises. (Ishita Aditya Ray and Sarbapriya Ray, 2011)

India after independence inherited a semi-feudal agrarian system in which the ownership of land was in the hands of few rich Landlords and their major intent was to extract maximum rent from the landless tenants. This led to increase in disparity in independent India and a rapid increase of discontent among the poor. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his memorandum to the constituent assembly on behalf of the All India Scheduled Castes federation in the year 1946, titled "States and Minorities" outlined a strategy for India's development. In this memorandum he stated that it is the "obligation of the state to plan the economic life of the people on lines which would lead to highest point of productivity....and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth". (Ishita Aditya Ray and Sarbapriya Ray, 2011)

He further specified that "the born or naturalized citizens of India should be treated equally. Any privileges or extra privileged arising out of rank, birth, person, family, religion or

religious usage should be abolished. All citizens of India without caste, creed, religion, race, birth etc. should be treated by equality before law and equal protection of law. The state should be played a crucial role to protect the fundamental rights of Indian citizens". (Badal Sarkar, 2013)

After independence in 1947 the Government of India adopted the 1894 Land Acquisition Act and it was rendered a concurrent list subject and hence both center and states were empowered to make laws on requisition and acquisition of property. Dr. Ambedkar in clause iv, Article II of his memorandum entitled on "States and Minorities" submitted to the Constituent Assembly recommended that:-

- Agriculture shall be a state industry
- Key and basic industries shall be owned and run by the State
- The State shall acquire the subsisting rights in such industries, insurance and agricultural land held by private individuals
- The State shall divide the land acquired into farms of standard size and the farm shall be cultivated as a collective farm in accordance with rules and directions issued by Government
- The tenants shall share among themselves in the manner prescribed the produce of the farm left after the payment of charges properly livable on the farm
- The land shall be let out to villagers without distinction of caste or creed and there will be no landlord, no tenant and no landless labourer (Badal Sarkar, 2013)

He wanted to remove the inequalities existing at structural level that were the result of exclusion and exploitation of the poor from the mainstream and proposed a policy that would ensure structural equalization³. Let us understand the progression of the legislations enacted by the British government to expedite the process of acquisition of land in India. (Sukhdeo Thorat, 2005)

Evolution of Land Acquisition Legislations in India

The system of maintaining records of agricultural land originated in Pre-colonial era but it was the British government that started the acquisition of land for public purposes. It was in 1824 that first legislation related to the acquisition of land was enacted. It was called the Bengal Regulation I of the year 1824. This law was applicable to the whole Bengal province subject to the presidency of Fort William. This enabled the government to acquire land required for the construction of roads, canals and for other public purpose at a fair evaluation of the land. This regulation was extended to Calcutta (present day Kolkata) with the objective of confirming the title to lands in Calcutta taken for public purposes. The Bombay presidency passed the Building Act XXVIII of 1839. It included present day states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka. In this Act the government could acquire the land for the purposes of widening or altering the existing streets, roads, thoroughfares. The British started developing railway network across the country by the middle of 19th century and to facilitate the process of land acquisition the Act XLII passed in 1850 brought railways in the ambit of public work and hence the provisions of Bengal Regulation I of 1824 could be used for the acquisition of land. Two years later the Madras presidency passes Act XX of 1852 to make the process of land acquisition easier for public purpose (Law Commission of India, 1958).

To bring the whole of India under single uniform law the British government passes the Act VI of 1857 and removes all the previous enactments that were related to land acquisition. The British government justified the move by saying that it was necessary to determine the amount of compensation to be paid and it would make the process of land acquisition uniform. This act was amended in 1861 and then in 1863 as the method of settlement for compensation

was arbitrary and was found to be incompetent. The government passed the Act X of 1870 and it provided for definite rules for deciding the compensation and for a reference of the matter to a civil court in case of any dispute. This act was also found to be dissatisfactory and it led to the passing of the Land Acquisition, 1894. It allowed the government to forcibly acquire land for projects of public purpose. (Law Commission of India, 1958)

The government of the independent India adopted the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 by the “Indian Independence (Adaptation of Central Acts and Ordinances) Order” in 1948. **(Live mint| E-Paper)**. The Indian government pursued the policy of development along with the maintenance of social equity. A number of laws and amendments after independence such as abolition of Zamindari system, town planning, land reforms, slum clearance, resettlement of refugees etc., have been enacted, (NamitaWahi,2013). New cities of Jamshedpur, Chandigarh etc. were constructed and acquisition of land took place under Jawaharlal Nehru’s modernization model.

It was repeatedly felt by the government that the Right to Property was a roadblock in land acquisition as it was a fundamental right. In 1978 the government through 44th amendment to the constitution abolished the right to property as a fundamental right but it declared that it would remain a legal right. This Act was amended by Act 68 of 1984, which came into force with effect from 24th September, 1984. The effect of this amendment is that in case of breach of this Right, an aggrieved person may approach the High Court (under Article 226) and not the Supreme Court (under Article 32), an option that was available earlier that ensured speedy remedy (Singhal, 1995).

It would be appropriate to state that this step of government was against the principles that were enshrined in the constitution. Dr. Ambedkar would not have approved this amendment as it contradicts the fundamental rights of the constitution. The objective of Fundamental Rights for Dr. Ambedkar is twofold – firstly, that every citizen must be in a position to claim those rights. Secondly, they must be binding upon every authority . . . which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it.” (Aggarwal, 2014)

There has been increase in the public outrage regarding the land acquisitions especially for the reward of fair compensation, valuation of land, definition of ‘public purpose’ and other issues since independence. There has been massive displacement of traditional communities, tribal people and environmental damage that has resulted in lot of conflicts throughout India. The Land Acquisition Act, 1894 in spite of amendments has been draconian because the government does not account for the emotions, sentiments of the displaced, (Robin George, 2009).

RFCTLAR&R Act, 2013

It is known as The Right to Fair Compensation in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013. The government has amended the act in 1984 and notified the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2007 (in October 2007), and followed that up with the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2007 and the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Bill 2007. It was amended and represented in the union cabinet which cleared in December 2012, (Iyer, 2009). The bill after being discussed in both the houses got the assent of the President and The Right to Fair Compensation in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act came into force on 1st January, 2014.

Social Impact Assessment:

The government of India succumbing to the pressure and outrage of the citizens and complying with the guidelines of the international funding agencies made it mandatory to carry out Social Impact Assessment (SIA) of every developmental project involving land acquisition.

Social Impact Assessment originated in USA as a part of the 1969 National Environment Policy Act (NEPA). The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) became an imperative component of environmental planning and decision making and has enjoyed a remarkable rise to the prominence in academic and applied social science literature. SIA has been evolving from its modest beginnings in the early 1970s when few guidelines were available, and a Social Impact Assessment was generally carried out as an afterthought to Environmental Impact Assessment, (Barrow, 2001).

The planners, decision makers and the government across the globe have recognized a need for better understanding of the social consequences of projects, programmes and policies. In response to this need a group of social scientists formed the Inter-organizational Committee on Guidelines and Principles for Social Impact Assessment (ICGPSIA), with the purpose of outlining a set of guidelines and principles that will assist state agencies, private parties and the stakeholders in fulfilling their obligations under NEPA. The term 'Social Impact Assessment' was first used when the Department of the Interior, of United States was preparing the report on Environmental Impact Assessment for the Trans-Alaska pipeline in the early 1970's, (ICGPSIA, 2003).

The, International Association for Impact Assessment, (IAIA) defines Social Impact Assessment as - "a process of analyzing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (Policies, Programs, Plans, Projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions. Its primary purpose is to bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment". (ICGPSIA, 2003)

This definition of IAIA not only incorporates the concept of a priori assessment of social impacts, but also includes post facto components. The terms monitoring and managing are crucial in dealing with the social effects of development. There is a lot of difference between preparing a technical report regarding the future social impacts on one side and initiating a process to manage and minimise the social impacts of a developmental project.

The 'International Guidelines and Principles for Social Impact Assessment' prepared by the IAIA has listed some of the important features of Social Impact Assessment:-

1. Social impact assessment should be carried out to bring about a more socio-culturally and economically sustainable and equitable environment. It promotes community development and empowerment, enhances capacity building and develops social capital.
2. The major concern of SIA is a proactive stance to development and better outcomes of development and not just the amelioration of negative and unintended outcomes.
3. SIA contributes directly to the process of adaptive management of policies, programs and projects.
4. SIA utilizes participatory processes and builds on local knowledge to analyze the concerns of all the stakeholders. The stakeholders are involved in the assessment of social impacts, analysis of all the available alternatives, and monitoring the development of planned intervention.
5. SIA recognizes that social, economic and biophysical impacts are complex in nature and are intrinsically interconnected. Any alteration in one domain may lead to subsequent change in the other domains.
6. The analysis of the impacts of past activities should be done for the growth of the discipline of SIA. It must be reflexive and evaluative of its theoretical bases and of its practice.

7. SIA is typically applied to planned interventions; the techniques of SIA can also be used to consider the social impacts that derive from other types of events, such as disasters, demographic change and epidemics, (ICGPSIA, 2003).

SIA is best understood as an umbrella or overarching framework that embodies the evaluation of all impacts on humans and on all the ways in which people and communities interact with their socio-cultural, economic and biophysical surroundings. The social impacts of the developmental projects should be the most important consideration of any government. Adverse social impacts can decrease the intended benefits of a proposal, and can even threaten its viability. In such cases, a social impact assessment is carried out along with EIA. This approach is used to analyze the impacts of a proposal on individuals and communities, and to lessen the adverse effects and enhance the positive effects. It also provides a framework to manage social change.

Social impacts are the consequences faced by people of any proposed action that changes the way they live, work, relate to one another, organize themselves and function as individuals and members of society. It includes social-psychological changes, for example to people's values, attitudes and perceptions of themselves and their community and environment. Indeed, some SIA practitioners consider social impacts to be only 'as experienced' (e.g. stress, disruption, hunger) and differentiate these from the causal processes (e.g. over-crowding, infrastructure pressure, poverty). (ICGPSIA, 2003)

F.Vanclay (2002) opines that social impacts include all human impacts including - "aesthetic, archaeological and heritage, community, cultural, demographic, development, economic and fiscal, gender, health, indigenous rights, infrastructure, institutional, political (human rights, governance, democratization etc.), poverty-related, psychological, resource issues (access and ownership of resources), the impacts of tourism and other impacts on societies". The social impacts may be positive or negative or both. These bring about changes in income, standard of living, employment patterns, sources of livelihood, place of residence, environment, political systems, health and well-being, perception, attitude and aspirations.

With the increase in the number of developmental projects in the developing countries more and more people are being displaced affecting their social milieu in more than one ways. Social impacts are impacts of developmental interventions on human settlements. Such impacts not only needed to be identified and measured but also need to be managed in such a way that the positive effects are magnified and negative ones minimized.

Conducting Social Impact Assessment in acquisition of land is a step towards realization of dream of Dr. B.R Ambedkar of ensuring social justice and equality to all irrespective of cast, creed, socio-economic status. The government should identify all the stakeholders involved in any land acquisition. These should include all those who are directly or indirectly associated with the land that has to be acquired. Government should ensure distributive and compensatory justice from land lords to the landlesslabourers that are affected by any planned intervention.

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डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर : व्यक्तित्व एवं विचार

डॉ. देशराज सिरसवाल
सहायक प्रोफेसर
स्नातकोत्तर राजकीय कन्या महाविद्यालय
से0 11 चण्डीगढ़

भारतीय संविधान के निर्माता डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर सिर्फ दलितों के ही नेता नहीं हैं। वह एक ऐसे राष्ट्र पुरुष हैं। जिन्होंने समूचे देश के सम्बन्ध में, भारत के इतिहास के सम्बन्ध में, एवं समाज परिवर्तन पर महत्वपूर्ण वैचारिक योगदान दिया है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर एक विद्वान, लेखक, राजनीतिज्ञ, समाज-सुधारक, कानून विशेषज्ञ, शिक्षा-शास्त्री और नवसमालोचक के रूप में नई पीढ़ी के सामने उदय हुए हैं।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर अपने पिता के अलावा गौतम बुद्ध, ज्योतिबा फुले और कबीर से प्रभावित थे, जिन्हें अम्बेडकर के तीन गुरु भी कहा जाता है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने पाश्चात्य स्वतन्त्रता और मानवतावादी सम्बन्धी विचारों का ज्ञान प्रो. जॉन डेवी, जॉन स्टूअर्ट मिल, एडमण्ड बुके और प्रो. हारोल्ड लॉस्की इत्यादि विचारकों से लिया। जिसका प्रमाण उनकी लिखितों और भाषणों में प्रयोग उद्धरणों से लगाया जा सकता है। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि डॉ. अम्बेडकर को पश्चिम ने उनके “हथियार” और पूर्व ने “आत्म-बल” दिया, जिसके आधार पर सामाजिक समानता और सामाजिक न्याय के लिए उन्होंने संघर्ष किया।²

डॉ. अम्बेडकर आधुनिक भारत के महान चिंतक दार्शनिक, अर्थशास्त्री विधिवेता, शोषितों के मुक्ति-नायक, संघर्षशील सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता और संविधान निर्माता थे। वे स्वतन्त्रता-समानता-बन्धुत्व के क्रान्तिकारी आदर्शों को भारतीय समाज में स्थापित करना चाहते थे। जो भी प्रथा, परम्परा, विचारधारा, कानून या धार्मिक मान्यता इन मूल्यों आदर्शों को प्राप्त करने में बाधा रही है, वे उनके प्रबल आलोचक रहे। उन्होंने जातिप्रथा-छूआछूत और पूंजीवादी-सामन्ती विचारधारा की तमाम शोषणपरक प्रणालियों की इसी आधार पर आलोचना करके बहुआयामी व वस्तुपरक विश्लेषण किया।

उनका विश्वास था कि अगर वे अपने संघर्ष में कामयाब हो जाते हैं तो यह किसी विशेष समुदाय के हित में नहीं होगा। बल्कि सभी भारतीयों के लिए एक वरदान बनेगा। वे चाहते थे कि बहुजन परम्परागत सामाजिक स्थिति पर अपनी मजबूत स्थिति बनाये। उनके आदर्श स्वतन्त्रता, समानता और भाईचारा थे।

“आज उदारीकरण, भूमंडलीकरण व निजीकरण की नीतियों से समाज में असमानता की खाई गहरी हुई है जबकि उनके सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, आर्थिक व धार्मिक चिन्तन का केन्द्रिय तत्व समानता है जिसकी बुनियाद पर ही कोई वास्तविक लोकतंत्र बन सकता है। लोकतान्त्रिक पद्धतियों की जगह तानाशाही व राजशाही की प्रवृत्तियां बढ़ रही हैं। राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति को बड़े पूंजी शाहों को भेंट किया जा रहा है। राज्य अपनी कल्याणकारी भूमिका से पल्ला झाड़ रहा है। श्रमिकों, महिलाओं, वंचितों, पिछड़ों, अल्पसंख्यकों, दलितों पर उत्पीड़न बढ़ रहा है और उनके अधिकार छीने जा रहे हैं। अधिकांश राजनीतिक नेता व पार्टियां मुनाफाखोर पूंजीपतियों व शोषकों के एजेन्ट की तरह काम कर रही हैं। ऐसे में समाज परिवर्तन के इच्छुकों के लिए डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के प्रेरणादायी संघर्षशील जीवन व क्रान्तिकारी विचारों से दोस्ती निहायत प्रासंगिक है।”³

डॉ. अम्बेडकर के विचार

1. “यह कहने से बात नहीं बनती कि हर पुरानी बात सोने के बराबर होती है। लकीर के फकीर बनके काम नहीं चलता कि जो बाप-दादा करते आये हैं, वह सब औलाद को भी करना चाहिए। सोचने का यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। परिस्थिति के बदलने के साथ-साथ विचार भी बदलने चाहिए यह जरूरी है।” (पृ. 30)⁴
2. “मराड़ सत्याग्रह के समय उनके अनुयायियों ने मारपीट करनेकी ठानी तो डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने कहा, “अपने से बाहर न होओ। अपने हाथ न उठाओ। अपने गुस्से को पीकर मन शांत रखो, हक के लिए झगड़ा नहीं करना है। हमें उनके वारों को सहना पड़ेगा और उन सनातनियों को अहिंसा की शक्ति के दर्शन करवाने होंगे।” (पृ. 40)
3. डॉ. अम्बेडकर अपने मुक्ति आन्दोलन के बारे स्पष्टीकरण देते हुए कहते हैं कि मेरा ये आन्दोलन ब्राह्मणों के खिलाफ नहीं, ब्राह्मणवाद के खिलाफ है। सारे ब्राह्मण दलितों का विरोध करते हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं है और गैर-ब्राह्मणों में भी तो ऊंच-नीच का भेद रखने वाले लोग हैं, ये न भूलो।”
4. पहली गोलमेज सभा में 31-12-1930 को बाबा साहेब ने कहा, “बरतानवी हुकूमत कायम करने में जिन अछूतों को प्रयोग किया गया है, उनकी हालत सुधारने के लिए अंग्रेजों ने बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं दिया। हिन्दू समाज द्वारा अछूतों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। फिर भी आजादी के बाद ही उनका कल्याण सम्भव हो सकेगा।” (पृ. 69)
5. जब उन्हें एक बार सम्मान दिया गया तो अपनी सफलता का सेहरा जनता को देते हुए उन्होंने कहा, “हिन्दू समाज की आने वाली पीढ़ी यह फैसला देगी कि मैंने अपने देश के लिए सही और नेक काम किया है, तुम लोग मुझे देवता न बनाओ।” (पृ. 82)
6. संविधान के बारे में वे कहते हैं, “शरीर के पहरावे के लिए बनाये गये सूट की तरह, संविधान भी देश के योग्य होना चाहिए। जिस तरह कमजोर शरीर वाले व्यक्ति के कपड़े मेरे लिए ठीक नहीं हैं, उसी तरह देश के लिए वह कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंच सकता। लोकतंत्र

- का अर्थ है बहुजन का राज । इसलिए इस देश में या तो हिन्दुओं का राज रहेगा या फिर इस बहुमत का जिसमें अछूत, आदिवासी और कम जनसंख्या वाले हैं, उनके प्रति क्या नीति अपनाई जायेगी, यह महत्वपूर्ण है।” (पृ. 35)
7. वे कहते हैं, “हमें किसी का आशीर्वाद नहीं चाहिए। हम अपनी हिम्मत, बुद्धि तथा कार्य योग्यता के बल पर अपने देश तथा अपने लिये पूरी लगन के साथ काम करेंगे । जो भी जागृत है, संघर्ष करता है, उसे अंत में स्थायी न्याय मिल सकता है।”
 8. डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने अपने ग्रंथ ‘वु वर दि सुदराज’ कि भूमिका में लिखा है, “ऐतिहासिक सच की खोज करने के लिए मैं पवित्र धर्म ग्रन्थों का अनुवाद करना चाहता हूँ। इससे हिन्दुओं के पता चल सकेगा कि उनके समाज, देश के पतन और विनाश का कारण बना है – इन धर्मों के सिद्धान्त। दूसरी बात यह है कि भवभूति के कथनानुसार काल अनंत है और धरती अपार है, कभी न कभी कोई ऐसा इन्सान पैदा होगा, जो मैं कुछ कह रहा हूँ, उस पर विचार करेगा । इस ग्रंथ को उन्होंने आधुनिक भारत के सबसे उत्तम पुरुष ज्योतिबा फुले को समर्पित किया है। (पृ. 181-182)
 9. बौद्ध धर्म के बारे में वे 15 मई, 1956 को अपने भाषण में कहते हैं, “मुझे बौद्ध धर्म, उसके तीन सिद्धान्त ज्ञान, दया और बराबरी के कारण ज्यादा प्यारा है। परमात्मा या आत्मा समाज को, उसके पतन से नहीं बचा सकती है। बुद्ध की शिक्षा ही बिना खून क्रांति द्वारा साम्यवाद ला सकती है।”
 10. धर्म के बारे में वे कहते हैं –
 - समाज को बंधन की जरूरत है, उसे नीति चाहिए ।
 - यदि धर्म उपयोगी है, तो वह विवेक पर आधारित और उपयोगी होना चाहिए ।
 - धर्म के नीति-नियम ऐसे होने चाहिए, जो बराबरी, स्वतन्त्रता और भाई-चारे के साथ जुड़े हों ।
 11. “ऊची इच्छा और आशावादी सोच के साथ ही ऊँची स्थिति को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। जिसने अपने दिल में उम्मीद, उमंग और इच्छा की लौ जगा ली है, वही व्यक्ति सदा जिंदादिल रहता है। चरित्रवान् होना, उसकी वृद्धि करना, जिन्दगी का पहला फर्ज है उसका पूरी तरह विकास करो । उसे निर्मल बनाओ, पुरानी रूढ़ियों और रिवाजों को दफना दो। नई कलम से नया सबक लिखो, हमेशा आशावान रहो । मेहनत और कुर्बानी से कर्तव्य पूरा होता है। इन्सान की अच्छी प्रथाओं से राष्ट्र और समाज बलवान तथा भाग्यशाली होते हैं।” (पृ. 105)
 12. “जिन लोगों की जन-आन्दोलनों में रूचि है, उन्हें केवल धार्मिक दृष्टिकोण अपनाना छोड़ देना चाहिए । उन्हें भारत के लोगों के प्रति सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण ही अपनाना होगा।”
 डॉ. अम्बेडकर के अनुसार एक देश के लिए इन चार मूल्यों स्वतन्त्रता, एकता, बंधुता और न्याय बहुत आवश्यक हैं।⁶ उनके अनुसार, जिस समाज में कुछ वर्गों के लोग जो कुछ चाहे वह सब कर सकें और बाकि वह सब भी न कर सकें । जो उन्हें करना चाहिए, उस समाज के अपने गुण होंगे, लेकिन उसमें स्वतन्त्रता शामिल नहीं होगी । अगर इंसानों के अनुरूप जीने की सुविधा कुछ लोगों तक ही सीमित है, तब जिस सुविधा को आमतौर पर स्वतन्त्रता कहा जाता है, उसे विशेषाधिकार कहना उचित होगा ।¹⁵

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का दर्शन समाज को समस्त अशुभ एवं अभिशाप से मुक्त कर स्वाधीनता, समानता और भ्रातृत्व पर आधारित समाज रचना के लिए प्रेरित करता है। विचार और व्यवहार दोनों ही स्तरों पर अम्बेडकर असमानता, अस्पृश्यता, अशिक्षा, अंधविश्वास, अन्याय, अनैतिकता जैसे सामाजिक अशुभों एवं अभिशापों से लोहा लेते हैं एवं एक मानवीय, नैतिक एवं न्यायप्रिय समाज के निर्माण का आह्वान करते हैं। अम्बेडकर एक ऐसे समाज के स्वप्न दृष्टा थे, जिसमें मनुष्य अपने विवेक से अंधविश्वासों का खण्डन करता है, समाज और प्रकृति के प्रति वैज्ञानिक एवं विवेकसम्मत दृष्टिकोण अपनाता है और धर्मशास्त्रों में क्या लिखा है, इसकी चिन्ता न करके मानवीय नैतिकता एवं न्याय के आदर्शों के अनुरूप व्यवहार करता है।⁶ जो शिक्षा अंधविश्वास, भाग्यवाद, संकीर्णवाद, प्रतिक्रियावाद जैसी कुरीतियों को ध्वस्त करती है, वह ग्रहण करने योग्य है। प्रतियोगी, व्यवसायिक, तकनीकी और उपयोगी शिक्षा आज हमारे समाज की महत्वपूर्ण आवश्यकता है।

सन्दर्भ

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डॉ. कमल कृष्ण

सहायक प्रोफेसर

हिन्दी विभाग, सनातकोत्तर

सनातकोत्तर

महाविद्यालय से० 11 चण्डीगढ़

भारत निर्माता डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने स्वयं कहा था कि अधिकारों की सुरक्षा कानून से नहीं बल्कि समाज की सामाजिक एवं नैतिक भावनाओं द्वारा हुआ करती है। सामाजिक भावना यदि कानून द्वारा प्रदान किए जाने वाले अधिकारों को मान्यता देने के लिए तैयार है तो अधिकार सुरक्षित रह सकते हैं। किन्तु यदि समुदाय मूल अधिकारों का विरोधी है तो कोई भी कानून संसद या न्यायपालिका उन्हें प्रदान करने का यथार्थ आश्वासन नहीं दे सकती।

डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर का जन्म 14 अप्रैल 1891 को महू छावनी जिला इन्दौर मध्य प्रदेश में हुआ। इनके पिता का नाम सूबेदार 'रामजी' तथा माता का नाम भीमाबाई था। वर्ष 1906 में उनका विवाह 'रमाबाई' के साथ सम्पन्न हुआ। वर्ष 1917 में महाराजा बड़ौदा द्वारा उन्हें मिलिट्री सैक्रेट्री के पद पर नियुक्त किया गया। अपमानित होने के कारण उन्होंने यह नौकरी छोड़ दी। और अपनी बात को दलित, शोषित एवं उपेक्षित, लोगों तक पहुंचाने के लिए वर्ष 1920 में 'मूक नायक' मराठी पत्र का प्रकाशन शुरू किया था। डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर मूलतः आंदोलनकारी थे। वे आंदोलनों की शुरूआत किया करते थे उनका स्वभाव ही कुछ ऐसा था कि वे सामाजिक चिन्तन किए बिना रह ही नहीं सकते थे। वे अपने ऐसे ग्रंथ लिखकर धरोहर के रूप में छोड़कर गए हैं कि उनके आंदोलन इस देश में तभी समाप्त होंगे जब अस्पृश्यता के बीज का नाश हो जाएगा और दलितों को समानता का अधिकार मिल जाएगा।

डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर के जीवन संघर्ष और उनके साहित्य तथा दर्शन को देखने से पता चलता है कि दलितों का उनसे बढ़कर कोई हमदर्द नहीं जिस वर्ग को न्याय दिलाने की लड़ाई अपने

हाथ में ली थी वह पिछले वर्षों से अधिक समय से सोया हुआ था। ऐसे मूक और गूंगे दलित समाज का सशक्त नेतृत्व बहुत ही कठिन काम था। यहां तक कि अम्बेडकर को नेतृत्व हेतु समाज का योगदान नहीं मिल पा रहा था फिर भी वह इन्हे शक्ति और दिशा दोनों दे रहे थे। डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने दलितों के आंदोलन को हर क्षेत्र में अति उच्च स्तर पर लाकर खड़ा कर दिया। यहां तक कि 'प्रेमचन्द' प्रसिद्ध हिन्दी लेखक और डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर समकालीन थे। एक ओर डॉ० भीमराव महाड़' व कालाराम' मंदिर प्रवेश आंदोलन चलाकर मानवीय गरिमा प्राप्त करने की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे। तो प्रेमचन्द पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में लेख संपादकीय तथा कहानियों व उपन्यासों के जरिये जनसंघर्षों को व्यक्त करके उन्हें तीव्रता देने में भूमिका अदा कर पिछड़ेपन पर उन्होंने तीखे प्रहार किए तथा समाज की बेहतरी का सपना साकार होने का विश्वास जनता में जगाया। डॉ० अम्बेडकर के बाद दलित आंदोलन ने राजनीतिक सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त की। पिछले कुछ वर्षों में जिससे करोड़ों दलित-शोषित जनता आशाएं-अपेक्षाएं जगी। अम्बेडकर के महान् अध्ययन और विश्लेषण के बाद उन्होंने बौद्ध धर्म को ग्रहण किया। वर्ष 1956 में 'हू वर शूद्राज' ? "हाऊ दे कम टु बी द फोर्थ वर्णा इन-इन्डो-आर्यन सोसायटी" और वर्ष 1948 में अनटचेबलस-हू वर-दे एण्ड व्हाई दे बिकेम अनटचेबलस? नामक खोजपूर्ण पुस्तकें रची थी। महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने उनकी अप्रकाशित पुस्तकों के जो भाग प्रकाशित किए गए हैं, उनका पांचवा भाग पुनः अछूतों पर है। और एक अन्य अप्रकाशित पुस्तक "अनटचेबलस और द चिल्ड्रन ऑफ इण्डियाज घेट्टो" संकलित है। जो उनके सामाजिक चिन्तन का हिस्सा है। डॉ० अम्बेडकर का अटूट विश्वास था कि शिक्षा के द्वारा ही उपेक्षित एवं शोषित वर्ग प्रगति एवं उन्नति में सहभागी हो सकता है। जन जागृति की दिशा में, सामाजिक क्रांति के लिए डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने अपने चिन्तन और साहित्य के माध्यम से कालजयी प्रभाव अंकित किया जिसे जानना और उस पर अमल करना हम सब भारतीयों के लिए हितकर है।

शोषितों दलितों-वंचितों-पीड़ितों के मुक्ति नायक व आधुनिक भारत के महान-दार्शनिक-चिंतक, अर्थशास्त्री- विधिवेता डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर समानतापूर्ण लोकतांत्रिक समाज का निर्माण करना चाहते थे। डॉ० अम्बेडकर के चिंतन व कार्य मूलतः उनकी लोकतंत्र में विश्वास की ही अभिव्यक्ति है। इस विश्वास में लगातार विकास ही हुआ है। ज्यों-ज्यों वे समाज के बदलाव के संघर्ष में जुड़ते गए त्यों-त्यों उनका लोकतंत्र में विश्वास बढ़ता गया। राजनीति समाज अर्थ व धर्म संबंधी उनके चिंतन का यही केंद्रीय तत्व माना जाता है।

सामाजिक सुधार और धार्मिक आंदोलनों के रूप में डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने वर्ष 1927 में "महाद के चोबदार नामक तालाब से पानी पिया था" वर्ष 1930 में नासिक के 'कालाराम' मंदिर' में दलित प्रवेश का बिगुल बजाया। इस मुदिर में प्रवेश का सत्याग्रह वर्ष 1935 तक चलता रहा। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने 'प्यूपिल एजुकेशन सोसायटी' बनाकर स्कूल और कॉलेजों की भरमार कर दी। वर्ष 1953 में अम्बेडकर ने महाराष्ट्र के औरंगाबाद में मिलिन्द महाविद्यालय की नींव रखी और इसी वर्ष बम्बई में सिद्धार्थ कॉलेज ऑफ कॉमर्स एण्ड इकोनोमिक्स की स्थापना की और जून 1956 में यह कॉलेज बनकर तैयार हो गया था। और इन सबमें महत्वपूर्ण बात यह थी कि दलितों की समस्याओं का राजनीतिकरण। इसके अतिरिक्त डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने अप्रैल 1942 में "शैडयूलड कॉस्ट फेडरेशन और "1956 में रिपब्लिकन पार्टी को जन्म दिया। इस प्रकार अम्बेडकर का संसार के सामाजिक जीवन में मावनीय स्तर पर जबरदस्त योगदान था, उनके गहन चिंतन की इतनी बड़ी

छलांग थी जो दुनिया की उठती हुई दूसरी गरीब कौमों के लिए एक अनूठी मिसाल थी। डॉ० अम्बेडकर लोकतंत्र को व्यापक अर्थों में ग्रहण करते थे। उनका कहना था कि “प्रजातंत्र संसार का एक स्वरूप मात्र नहीं है। यह वस्तुतः साहचर्य की स्थिति में रहने का एक तरीका है जिसमें सार्वजनिक अनुभव का समान रूप से सम्प्रेषण होता है। अपने सभी वर्गों के प्रति आदर और सम्मान की भावना।” वर्ण व्यवस्था व जाति व्यवस्था में साहचर्य व भाईचारे की भावना के विपरीत असमानता होने के कारण ही वे इसके प्रखर आलोचक थे।

इसी प्रकार अम्बेडकर राजनीतिक और सामाजिक लोकतंत्र को अलग-अलग करके नहीं देखते थे, बार-बार उन्होंने इस बात को रेखांकित किया है। “18 जनवरी 1943 को महादेव गोविंद रानाडे की 101 वीं जयंती पर दिए गए भाषण में जो रानाडे, गांधी और जिन्ना” नामक पुस्तक के रूप में प्रकाशित है उसमें अम्बेडकर ने कहा है कि “लोकतंत्रात्मक शासन के लिए लोकतंत्रात्मक समाज का होना जरूरी होता है। प्रजातंत्र के औपचारिक ढांचे का कोई महत्व नहीं होगा। राजनीतिक लोगों ने यह कभी भी महसूस नहीं किया होगा कि लोकतंत्र शासनतंत्र नहीं है यह वास्तव में समाजतंत्र है। इसलिए अम्बेडकर का मानना था कि जब तक समाज में आर्थिक और सामाजिक लोकतंत्र न हो तो राजनीतिक लोकतंत्र सफल नहीं हो सकता। वास्तव में अम्बेडकर लोकतंत्र यानी सामाजिक लोकतंत्र के हिमायती थे वे ऐसी स्थितियां चाहते थे जो लोकतंत्र के अनुकूल हों। डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने आजीवन संघर्ष कर दलित शोषित और उपेक्षित लोगों के उद्धार के लिए 26 जनवरी वर्ष 1950 को देश में लोकतंत्रात्मक शासन प्रणाली बनाकर तथा व्यसक मताधिकार का प्रावधान बनाया। डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने भारतीय संविधान बनाते समय अन्य पिछड़ा वर्ग के हितों का भी पूरा-पूरा ध्यान रखा और अनुच्छेद 340 के तहत उनके पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने की व्यवस्था दी। आज मण्डल कमीशन के तहत पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों को जो भी आरक्षण एवं अन्य सुविधायें मिल रही हैं। यह संविधान के अनुच्छेद 340 की देन है। और वर्ष 1951 में (हिन्दु कोड बिल) पास न होने के कारण अम्बेडकर ने मंत्रिमंडल से इस्तीफा दे दिया था।

डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने दलित जीवन के विविध पक्षों- हिन्दू समाज में दलितों की स्थिति उनके शोषण-उत्पीड़न की प्रतिक्रियाओं व उनके खिलाफ संघर्ष के तरीकों पर अपनी रचनाओं में विस्तार से विवेचन किया है। और साथ ही हिन्दी के प्रसिद्ध लेखक प्रेमचंद के साहित्य में भी प्रसंगवश दलित जीवन के विविध पक्ष व्यक्त हुए हैं। डॉ० अम्बेडकर और प्रेमचंद के विचारों में मौजूद समानता केवल सुखद संयोग नहीं है, बल्कि दोनों चिंतकों की आधारभूमि एक ही है। इन्होंने समाज के सभी अन्यायपूर्ण और दमनकारी स्वरूपों के विरुद्ध विद्रोह के प्रतीक मात्र नहीं अपितु भारतीय समाज में उभर रही नवचेतना तथा बहुजन जागृति के एक मसीहा के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हैं बहुमुखी प्रतिभा के धनी, शोषित, दलित, पिछड़ों के सामाजिक उद्धार हेतु जीवनभर संघर्षरत रहे। अनेक अवरोधक तत्वों का डटकर सामना किया, तथा सामाजिक आर्थिक अन्याय एवं अत्याचार से पीड़ित मानवता के हिमायती और उद्धारक सजीव मार्गदर्शक के रूप में डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर को व्यापक मान्यता प्राप्त हुई।”

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4. श्यामशरण दुबे, भारतीय समाज, पृ0 42, 43
5. सुभाष चंद्र, दलित मुक्ति आंदोलन, पृ0 28, 32
6. एन. सिंह, दलित साहित्य परम्परा और विन्यास, पृ0 36, 37
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9. प्रेम कुमार मणि, दलित साहित्य एक परिचय, पृ0 48,
10. मधु लिमये, डॉ0 अम्बेडकर एक चिंतन, पृ0 3,
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12. एन के सिंह, मेरा दलित चिंतन, पृ0 12,
13. ब्रज कुमार पाण्डेय, प्रेमचंद और हरिजन समस्या, पृ0 46,
14. माता प्रसाद, सामाजिक परिवर्तन में दलित साहित्य भूमिका, पृ0 115,
15. केवल भारती, डॉ0 अम्बेडकर को नकारे जाने की साजिश, पृ0 8,
16. रघुवीर सिंह, 21 सवीं सदी में अम्बेडकरवाद, पृ0 300,

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प्रवक्ता, हिन्दी विभाग,

पी. जी. जी. सी. जी -11 चण्डीगढ़।

आज राजनैतिक और सामाजिक गलियारे में जिस शब्द की अनुगूँज सबसे अधिक सुनाई देती है वह है नारी सशक्तिकरण। सरकारी, गैर सरकारी परियोजनाओं, सेमिनारों, कार्यशालाओं या बुद्धिजीवियों की परिचर्चा में हर तरफ नारी सशक्तिकरण का मुद्दा ही ज्वलंत मुद्दा है। बात क्या समाज में आज यत्र तत्र सर्वत्र 'नारी सशक्तिकरण' का आग्रह ही जोर पकड़ चुका है। 21वीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभिक वर्ष 2001 को स्त्री-सशक्तिकरण के वर्ष के रूप में मनाया गया।

नवरात्रों समस्त भारत का प्रमुख त्योहार है। इसमें आदि शक्ति की पूजा में गाए जाने वाले श्लोक में नारी को शक्ति रूपा बताया गया है-

या देवि सर्वभूतेषु, शक्तिरूपेण संस्थिता,
नमस्तस्यै, नमस्तस्यै, नमस्तस्यै, नमो नमः।

लेकिन यही नारी शक्ति रूपा देवी से कब सबला और सबला से अबला बन गयी पता ही न चला। आधुनिक सभ्यता के प्रचार प्रसार से पूर्व समस्त भारतीय समाज नारी के लिए केवल मात्र कारावास ही था। प्रजनन विशिष्टता, के कारण नारी की शक्ति क्षीण होती रही। यही तत्व उसकी प्रगति में कहीं न कहीं बाधक भी बना। वह कालांतर में पुरुष सत्ता के अधीन होकर अपना अस्तित्व खत्म करती चली गई। यूरोप की स्त्रियाँ जब पुरुष के साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर आगे बढ़ रही थीं और प्रगति में सक्रिय भूमिका निभा रही थीं तब भारत में यह स्थिति बहुत ही नगण्य थी। गिनी-चुनी सम्पन्न परिवार से संबंधित या पूंजीपतियों की पत्नियों की गणना ही इसमें की जा सकती है।

स्वतन्त्रता आंदोलन में नारी के योगदान को तत्कालिक राजनेता व बुद्धिजीवी विस्मृत नहीं कर सके। उन्होंने नारी दशा में सुधार लाने के लिए आंदोलनों का सहारा लिया। नारी मुक्ति की संघर्ष

श्रृंखला में महात्मा ज्योतिबा फूले और अम्बेडकर का नाम अग्रगण्य है। अम्बेडकर चाहे फ्रांसीसी क्रांति के समतावाद, स्वतंत्रता और बंधुत्व की भावना से प्रेरित और संचालित थे फिर भी उन्होंने अछूतोद्धार के साथ-साथ स्त्री दशा को सुधराने के लिए भरसक प्रयास किए। आओ देखें कि उन्होंने नारी मुक्ति के लिए क्या-क्या प्रयास किए- भारतीय नारी की दशा वेद, शास्त्रों, धार्मिक ग्रंथों व मनुस्मृति द्वारा संचालित थी। इन्होंने नारी को पाशविक जीवन जीने के लिए बाध्य कर रखा था। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने इसलिए सर्वप्रथम वेदों, शास्त्रों, उपनिषदों व धार्मिक ग्रंथों में वर्णित नारी-दशा का ही अनुशीलन कर महत्वपूर्ण तथ्यों को रेखांकित किया। बौद्ध धर्म में मिलने वाली नारी स्वतन्त्रता का उन्होंने अध्ययन करते हुए लिखा- “बुद्ध ने नारियों को परिव्राजक या भिक्षुणी होने के लिए जो सहमति दी उससे स्त्रियों को विद्या प्राप्ति की स्वतन्त्रता मिली।”¹ गौतम बुद्ध की संघ व्यवस्था तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से बेहतर अवश्य कही जा सकती है पर सम्पूर्ण नारी समुदाय का भिक्षुणी रूप में निर्वाह सामान्य गृहस्थी के दायित्व निर्वाह से पलायन होना है। प्रतीत होता है कि यहां डॉ. अम्बेडकर का स्त्री चिंतन धर्मपरायण-साथ है। धर्म शास्त्रों के अध्ययनोपरान्त अम्बेडकर ने देखा कि नारी वेद मंत्रों का उच्चारण करती थी। पाणिनी की अष्टाध्यायी में इसका संकेत दिया हुआ है। पंतजलि के महाभाष्य की नारियाँ आध्यात्मिक रही। उन्होंने धर्म दर्शन मैटाफिजिक्स जैसे अत्यन्त गूढ़ विषयों पर पुरुषों से सार्वजनिक शास्त्रार्थ किए थे। “जनक-सुलभा-याज्ञवल्क्य, गार्गी-याज्ञवल्क्य-मैत्रेयी, शंकराचार्य और विद्याधरी के बीच सार्वजनिक शास्त्रार्थ की कहानियाँ बताती हैं कि ‘मनु’ से पूर्व की स्त्री शिक्षा और ज्ञान के उच्चतम शिखरों तक पहुँच सकती थी।”²

कौटिल्यकालीन गुप्तकाल में प्राप्त भारतीय नारी, के तलाक के अधिकार को भी अम्बेडकर ने प्रमाणित किया। ‘मनु स्मृति’ में नारी की दयनीय स्थिति को दर्शाते बिन्दुओं जैसे “पिता रक्षित कौमारो, भर्ता रक्षित यौवने, रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा, न स्त्री स्वातंख्यमर्हति, एक विक्रय की गयी पत्नी जिसे त्याग दिया गया हो, कभी भी किसी की वैध पत्नी बनने का अधिकार नहीं रखती, संपत्ति के मामले में स्त्री को एक दास का दर्जा दिया गया था।”³ ये समाज की नारी के प्रति जंगली विधन नहीं था तो और क्या था? अम्बेडकर के स्त्री पक्ष में विकसित विचार भी स्थापित मूल्यों के विद्रोह से पैदा हुए। नारी के प्रति पुरुष की पाशविकता किसी भी न्यायप्रिय व्यक्ति को विद्रोह के लिए प्रेरित कर सकती है।

महाड सत्याग्रह के दौरान दलित-स्त्री वर्ग व सवर्ण स्त्रीवर्ग अम्बेडकर का साथ देने के लिए आगे बढ़ा। उन्होंने सवर्ण नारियों के इस कदम की भरपूर श्लाघा करते हुए इसे कमलबद्ध किया। इस आंदोलन के तहत ब्राह्मणों ने शूद्र स्त्रियों व बच्चों पर पाशविक और निर्मम अत्याचार किए। वैश्विक स्तर पर ब्राह्मणों की इस कारवाई की घोर निंदा हुई। अम्बेडकर ने स्वयं संचालित पत्रिका ‘बहिष्कृत भारत’ में बयान किया, “देवताओं के उपरान्त यदि कोई पूजनीय है तो वे महिलाएं हैं परन्तु फिर भी महाड सत्याग्रह के समय अस्पृश्य स्त्रियों को स्वर्णों ने बेइज्जत करने के असीम कुप्रयास किए।”⁴

हिन्दू धर्म में नारी मात्र भोग-विलास और गृहसज्जा की वस्तु रही। अम्बेडकर ने हिन्दूओं की इस कुत्सित मानसिकता को भी रेखांकित किया, “हिन्दू लोग सोचते हैं कि स्त्री उनके चैन की वस्तु है और इसी वजह से स्त्रियों को पुरुषों की इच्छानुसार रहना चाहिए। ऐसा सर्वमान्य लोग मानते हैं स्त्री आनंद चैन की वस्तु है, इसलिए उसे वस्त्राभूषणों से शृंगारित किया जाता है। स्त्री को इन्सान होने का कोई भी अधिकार हिन्दू धर्म ने नहीं दिया। उसको सम्पत्ति, शिक्षा कुछ भी नहीं। ‘गाय की

तो आत्मा है, लेकिन स्त्री की भी आत्मा है ऐसा नहीं सोचते। स्त्री को केवल गृहलक्ष्मी होना है इससे आगे नहीं जाना। यह व्यवहार स्त्री के प्रति अनुदारता का द्योतक नहीं तो और क्या है?’⁵

स्त्रियों में जागृति लाने के लिए अम्बेडकर ने संगोष्ठियों, सभाओं, सम्मेलनों का आश्रय भी लिया। 8-9 अगस्त 1930 में होने वाली दलितों की परिषद के साथ ही गुणाबाई की अध्यक्षता में महिला परिषद भी हुई। अम्बेडकर इसमें मुख्य अतिथि रहे। उन्होंने स्त्री खासकर दलित स्त्री को अपने पहनावे, सफाई आदि में दक्षता लाने की अपील की। 6 अप्रैल 1934 में वर्ध में होने वाली अछूत परिषद अधिवेशन में स्त्री-शिक्षा और वैवाहिक जीवन में सुधार पर बल दिया गया। 28 मार्च 1934 को कमलाबाई रेमे की अध्यक्षता में हुई एक परिषद में कुछ गौरतलब मुद्दों को उठाया गया जैसे-

- सरकारी रिपोर्ट के अनुसार अछूत लड़कियों की शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाए।
 - शारदा बिल ;बाल विवाह विरोधी बिलद्ध पर अमल किया जाए।
 - अछूत लड़के-लड़कियों के लिए नार्मल स्कूल में भर्ती के लिए अधिक सुविधाएं दी जाएं।⁶
- अम्बेडकर के संघर्षों, आंदोलनों व विचारधारा ने दबी-कुचली, दमित नारी को जुबान दी, हिम्मत, दी उठने की ताकत दी। 1932 में नागपुर में डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने India Depressed Class women Conference की स्थापना की। इसकी अध्यक्ष रही सलोचनाबाई डोंगरे। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने विशेष अतिथि की भूमिका निभाते हुए इस सम्मेलन में कहा, “आपको इस अवसर पर संबोधित करते हुए मुझे हार्दिक प्रसन्नता हो रही है। आप 20-25 हजार की विशाल संख्या में उपस्थित हुई हैं। यह देखकर किसी को भी प्रसन्नता हो सकती है। इस साल से पहले महिला संगठन की यह मजबूती कल्पनातीत थी। मैं महिला संगठन में अटूट विश्वास करता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ यदि महिलाएँ आश्वस्त हो जाएं तो वे भारतीय समाज की दशा को सुधार सकती हैं। सामाजिक बुराइयों के उन्मूलन की दिशा में महिलाओं ने महान सेवाएं की हैं। मैं इसका साक्ष्य (Testing) स्वयं अपने अनुभव से दूंगा। इसी आशय से मैं महिलाओं के प्रश्न पुरुषों के बीच उठाने का कार्य कर रहा हूँ। यह यहाँ मिश्रित कान्फ्रेंस में भी देख सकते हैं। मैं इस (महिला) समुदाय को व्यापक प्रगति का दर्जा दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिसे महिलाएं प्राप्त कर सकती हैं। और जब मैं यह असेंबली में देखूंगा तो मैं अनुभव करूंगा कि दोनों (स्त्री-पुरुष) आश्वस्त और प्रसन्न हैं वह हमारी सच्ची प्रगति होगी। मैंने उससे कुछ बातें कही, मैं सोचता हूँ, आप इन्हें अपने मस्तिष्क में रखेंगी।”

डॉ. अम्बेडकर के अधिकतर भाषण नारी मुक्ति के संदर्भ में थे। लेकिन अभी भी नारी स्वातन्त्र्य के लिए ठोस कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता थी और अम्बेडकर की विचारधारा तत्कालिक समय से बहुत आगे थी। उन्हें अपने भावी संसार की रचना के लिए कदम-कदम पर समाज के ठेकेदारों से लोहा लेना पड़ा। राजनीति, धर्म, अर्थ-सभी पर अमीर वर्ग का अधिपत्य कायम था। उन्होंने बाबा को पछाड़ने के लिए अनेक सचेतन प्रयास किए। मगर अनेक कठिनाईयों और विपत्तियों के बावजूद भी अम्बेडकर की स्त्री-मुक्ति भावना डगमगाई नहीं। उन्होंने स्त्री विकास में आने वाली बाधाओं को मिटाने के लिए निरन्तर प्रयास किए। 1938 में ‘परिवार नियोजन’ की विचारधारा ने नारी को बच्चे पैदा करने वाले यंत्र से मुक्ति दिलाने का प्रयास किया। 10 नवंबर 1938 में पी. जी रोहली के माध्यम से मुंबई विधान सभा में एक प्रस्ताव डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने पेश किया। इसमें उन्होंने लिखा “संतति नियमन और परिवार नियोजन के लिए सरकार को ज़ोरदार प्रचार करना चाहिए। और इसके साधन सुलभता से प्राप्त हो सकने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।”⁸ आधुनिक युगचेता के रूप में अम्बेडकर की ऐसी

योजनाओं का तत्कालिक समाज में बहुत विरोध हुआ था। किन्तु आज हम देख रहे हैं कि परिवार नियोजन एक देश, एक परिवार का मुद्दा नहीं बल्कि समस्त विश्व का अहम् मुद्दा बन चुका है।

इतना ही नहीं अम्बेडकर ने तो नारी के लिए अन्तर्जातीय विवाह का भी प्रस्ताव रखा। नारी को पुरुष के समान अधिकार देते हुए कहा, 'अगर पुरुष गलती कर रहा हो तो महिला को उसके प्रति विद्रोह करना चाहिए।' अम्बेडकर विचारधारा से प्रभावित होकर अधिकतर नारी वर्ग ने उस समय उनके सत्याग्रह में अपनी सक्रिय भूमिका निभाई। नारी मुक्ति के आह्वान का उल्लेख शब्दशः 'वहिष्कृत भारत' में प्रकाशित किया, "आप सभी साफ-सुथरी रहें। सुशिक्षित उच्चवर्गीय महिलाओं की भांति पर्याप्त परिधान धारण करें, पति या पुत्र को शराब की लत है तो पीकर आने पर उन्हें घर के अंदर प्रवेश न करने दें, बेटों और बेटियों दोनों को उचित शिक्षा दिलाएं।"¹⁰

All India Schedule Cast Student Federation अम्बेडकर के समय काफी सक्रिय रही। 1942 में दलित महिला कानफ्रेंस में व्यक्त अम्बेडकर विचारधारा यद्यपि रिपोर्ट में भी दर्ज मिलती है किन्तु कौशल्या नन्देश्वर द्वारा प्रकाशित संस्मरणों में अम्बेडकर का नारी मुक्ति संबंधी दर्शन का खुलासा खुलकर होता है। उन्होंने लिखा है, "बाबा साहब ने अपने भाषण में कहा था कि ब्राह्मण महिलाओं में जितना शील, पवित्रता और मनोबल है, वह आप में भी है। धैर्य, शील, पवित्रता की आपमें कोई कमी नहीं है। तब ब्राह्मण स्त्री के पेट से जन्मा बच्चा ऊँचा और तुम्हारे पेट से जन्मा बच्चा नीचा क्यों? क्या आपने कभी सोचा है? यदि नहीं सोचा तो प्रतिज्ञा करो कि, इस कलंकित स्थिति में हम और नहीं रहेंगी-- अपने पतियों की मित्रवत सहयोगी बनो, स्वयं अपने पैरों पर खड़ी होने पर ही बेटे-बेटियों की शादी करो, अधिक बच्चे पैदा मत करो।"¹¹ अम्बेडकर जी ने नारी में सम्मान की भावना को जगाया, उन्हें समता का धरातल प्रदान करने का प्रयास किया।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर की स्त्री पक्षधरता की वैचारिक कल्पना 'हिन्दू कोड' में मुखरित हुई है। इसके माध्यम से अम्बेडकर जी ने न केवल दलित महिलाओं अपितु समस्त नारी वर्ग के अधिकारों के लिए आवाज उठाई। यह विधेयक उनके स्त्री-विषयक विचारों का ज्वलंत दस्तावेज है। इस विधेयक से उच्च वर्ग में बड़ा हाहाकार मचा था क्योंकि अम्बेडकर ने इसमें हिन्दू विवाह अधिनियम, विशेष विवाह अधिनियम, गोद लेना या दत्तम ग्रहण एवं अल्पायु संरक्षण अधिनियम, हिन्दू उत्तराधिकार अधिनियम, निर्बल तथा साधनहीन परिवार के सदस्यों का भरण-पोषण अधिनियम, अप्राप्तव्य संरक्षण संबंधी अधिनियम, उत्तराधिकारी अधिनियम और हिन्दू विधवा पुनर्विवाह अधिकार अधिनियम के विधन का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया था। यहाँ तक तत्कालिक सर्वोपरि नेताओं राजेन्द्र प्रसाद और जवाहर लाल नेहरू आदि ने भी अम्बेडकर का साथ नहीं दिया था। ये विचार कोई अचानक तो सामने नहीं आए थे बल्कि कई दशकों से वे स्त्री-दशा सुधरने के लिए पूरी सचेतनता से प्रयासरत थे। महात्मा ज्योतिबा फूले जैसे समाज सुधारक के स्त्री-शिक्षा, दलितोंद्वारा आदि कार्यों ने अम्बेडकर को बहुत प्रोत्साहित किया।

1928 को महिलाओं की सुविधा को ध्यान में रखते हुए लाए गए प्रसूति लाभ विधेयक पर बहस करते हुए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने उसका जोरदार शब्दों में समर्थन किया। बाबा साहब द्वारा दिया गया भाषण महिलाओं के सशक्तिकरण में मील का पत्थर साबित हुआ। आज जब तथाकथित उदारिकरण की प्रणाली से महिलाओं की सामाजिक सुरक्षा छिन रही है बाबा साहब ने मुंबई राज्य असेंबली में प्रस्व कालीन अवकाश के संबंध में बिल पेश किया था। इस बिल पर बोलते हुए उन्होंने कहा, "देश

की इन माताओं को मातृत्वकाल की निश्चित अवधि में विश्राम मिलना ही चाहिए-शासन अथवा मालिकों को इनका व्यय वहन करना चाहिए।”¹²

अम्बेडकर नारी को सम्माननीय स्थान दिलाने, स्वाभिमान से भरपूर जिन्दगी जीने का अधिकार दिलाने के लिए तत्पर थे। इसका एको एक उपाय उन्हें शिक्षा महसूस होता था। इसलिए उन्होंने नारी शिक्षा को भरपूर समर्थन देते हुए कहा, “लड़कियों को शिक्षा देने से ही उनमें स्वाभिमान की ज्योति प्रज्वलित होती है।”¹³ और पुरुष को भी नारी का सम्मान करने का परामर्श देते हैं, “उन्नति की गाड़ी का दूसरा पहिया स्त्री समाज है। उसको अपनी बराबरी की व्यवस्था में रखकर उसे भी शिक्षण का लाभ देना चाहिए। इस बेला में हमें खामोश नहीं बैठना चाहिए। भावी पीढ़ी को शिक्षामृत दिलाकर उन्नति के शिखर पर पहुँचने का मार्ग प्रशस्त करें।”¹⁴

उपर्युक्त विवरण के आधार पर कहना होगा कि अंबेडकर को केवल दलितों का मसीहा कहकर सीमित परकोटे में कैद करने की संकुचित सोच को हमें त्यागना होगा। उनका समग्र संघर्ष समस्त मानव-जाति के कल्याण के लिए था। वो आजीवन नारी की दशा सुधारने हेतु मूलभूत परिवर्तन करने का प्रयास करते रहे। वे प्रत्येक स्त्री का समाज के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में स्थान निर्धारित करने को संकल्पित रहे। उनकी शिक्षा, समता, स्वाधीनता, प्रसव अवकाश जैसी मूल ज़रूरतों को संगोष्ठियों, सभाओं व विधेयकों में पारित करवाते रहे। यह सब इतना आसान न था। कदम-कदम पर उन्हें समाज के ठेकेदारों के विरोध को सहना पड़ा। आज आधुनिक भारत की नारी जिस खुली हवा में सांस ले रही है, पदोन्नत होकर सम्माननीय जीवन जी रही है, आत्मनिर्भर हो रही है- उसके लिए अंबेडकर ने एक लंबा संघर्ष किया है। इसलिए समस्त नारी समाज सदैव उनका ऋणि रहेगा।

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Annexure-I

Programme Schedule

Registration	:	9.30 am to 10.00 am
Inauguration	:	10.00 am to 11.30 am
Welcome Address	:	Dr. Indu Kalia, HOD (Pub. Administration.)
Floral Welcome of the Guests	:	Prof. Binu Dogra, Dean, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh.
Key Note Address	:	Dr. Ganga Sahay Meena, J.N.U. New Delhi.
Chairperson	:	Dr. Lallan Singh Baghel, Chairperson, Deptt. of Philosophy, Panjab University, Chandigarh.
Vote of Thanks	:	Ms. Shashi Joshi (Convener)
Teak-Break	:	11.30 am to 12.00 Noon
		<u>Session-I: 12.00 Noon to 1.30 pm</u>
Chairperson	:	Dr. Ashutosh Angiras (SD College, Ambala Cantt.)
Co-Chair	:	Dr. Anita Khosla (Deptt. of Hindi)
Paper Presentations	:	10
Lunch-Break	:	1.30 pm to 2.00 pm
		<u>Session-II: 2.00 pm to 3.30 pm</u>
Chairperson	:	Dr. Emanuel Nahar (Ambedkar Study Centre, Panjab University, Chandigarh)
Co-Chair	:	Dr. Manoj Kumar (Dept. of Sociology)
Paper Presentations	:	10
		<u>Valedictory Session: (3.30 pm to 4.00 pm)</u>
Certificate Distribution	:	Vice-Principal, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh
Vote of Thanks	:	Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal (Dept. of Philosophy)
Evening Tea	:	4.00 pm to 4.30 pm

Annexure-II

Report on One-Day Faculty Development Programme

Department of Philosophy and Post Graduate Department of Public Administration of Post Graduate Government College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh organised a RUSA Sponsored One-Day Faculty Development Programme on the theme "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constitution and Indian Society" on 20th January, 2016. The detail report is given below:

REGISTRATION

Registration for the programme started at 9.00 am to 10.30 am. Total 114 participants registered for the programme. The participants include faculty members and research scholars from Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab. 60 papers were submitted to this programme.

INAUGURAL SESSION

The inaugural session started at 10.30 with a floral welcome of dignitaries by Prof. Binu Dogra, Dean, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh. Ms. Shashi Joshi Convener of the programme and Associate Professor, P.G. Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh coordinated this session. Dr. Indu Kalia, Head, Department of Public Administration presented a brief introduction of the dignitaries. Dr. Ganga Sahay Meena, Associate Professor, Centre for Indian Languages, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi was the keynote speaker. Dr. Lallan Singh Baghel, Chairperson, Department of Philosophy, Panjab University, Chandigarh was the Chairperson for the inaugural session. Dr. Rama Arora, Vice Principal, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh was also present in the session.

Key-Note Address:

In his keynote address, Dr. Ganga Sahay Meena discussed the various aspects of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy. He said Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's ideas; writings and outlook could well be characterized as belonging to that trend of thought called Social Humanism. He developed a socio-ethical philosophy and steadfastly stood for human dignity and freedom, socio-economic justice, material prosperity and spiritual discipline.

He showed the enlightening path for Indian society via his ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity and made India a democratic country. We can see his vastness of his vision in the 'preamble' to the Constitution of India. It may be considered as the soul of Constitution. The preamble can be referred to as the preface, which highlights the essence of the entire Constitution. Dr. Meena, also criticised Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in regard to advancement of indigenous people of India in Indian constitution.

Chairperson's Address:

Dr. Lallan Singh Baghel, Chairperson, Department of Philosophy, Panjab University, Chandigarh was the Chairperson for the inaugural session. In his address entitled "Re-conceptualizing Ambedkar's ideas on Identity, Social justice and Emancipation in the age of neo-liberal globalization: Raising a few normative concerns". He said that in the recent times there has been an emergence of a dialogue amongst social scientists and political philosophers concerning questions of experience and theory, thus these social scientists and philosophers are raising question of agency, who has legitimate right to theorise the experience, is it the one who has gone through the experience of humiliation/rejection/ discrimination/deprivation/ disadvantage and other forms of discriminations based on caste, gender, class and race, or the one who is doing theory, does not necessarily need experience, and she/he can do theory without having the experience of any kind of discrimination in her/his life.

Cracked Mirror, is a seminal book by Prof. Gopal Guru and Prof. Sunder Sarukai, has generated this debate amongst Indian social scientists and Philosophers. Interestingly, the theme of seminar is on evaluating the relevance of Ambedkar's thought to contemporary Indian society, which is facing onslaught of neo-liberal globalization on the one hand and shrinking democratic spaces of secularism and social justice on the other. Therefore, in this paper an attempt would be made to understand the critical map of Ambedkar's modernity and its promise to make Indian society just and egalitarian in political outlook.

There are two broad contours of argument to be made in the paper, the first deals with question of identity discourse in the light of Ambedkar's ideas on caste annihilation and its theoretical responses to address the multilayered political aspirations of social justice within the realms of Indian substantive democracy and to delineate, how far Dalit discourse has been to capture the nuanced meanings of emancipation from Ambedkar's perspective, or Dalit discourse has only created the markers of Identity and recognition, but it has yet to address concerns of distributive justice. Another part of argument concerns with question of neo-liberal globalization and its bearing on political efficacy of caste, gender and class in making of Indian democracy from perspective of marginal citizen. The last and conclusive part of paper engages with question of theory and experience of caste and other kinds of deprivations. Its reiterating again to understand the legitimacy of experience and agency, can we really move beyond Dalit discourses on the one hand and derivative discourses on the other to develop an authentic philosophical and cognitive map to understand contemporary relevance of Ambedkar and his world of emancipation.

In the end of this session, an interaction was held by Dr. Lallan Singh Baghel with the participants and several queries and questions arise and discussed by the resource persons and participants. Vote of thanks delivered by Ms. Shashi Joshi, Convener of the programme.

SESSION-I

Socio-Political Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar

The first session on "Socio-Political Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar" chaired by Dr. Ashutosh Angiras from S.D. College, Ambala Cantt. and Dr. Anita Khosla, Head, Department of Hindi co-chaired this session. Dr. Rama Arora, Vice Principal, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh gave

a floral welcome to the Chairperson. Dr. Ashutosh Angiras spoke on the theme, "SANSKRITIST CRITIQUE OF DR. AMBEDKAR'S VISION" and enlightened participant with is innovative power-point presentation.

Total 10 papers were presented in the session:

1. Dr. Gobinda Chandra Sethi, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, P.G. Govt. College, Sector-46, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar': A Great Social Reformer
2. Ms. Jyoti Sharma, Assistant Professor, UILS, Chandigarh University, Gharuan : B.R.Ambedkar and His Philosophy on Indian Democracy: An Appraisal
3. Mr. Nazli, Special Education (Mental Retardation), Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Society
4. Mr. Praveen Chaubey, Deptt. Of History, P.G.G.C.-46, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Philosophy and Its Future Vision
5. Ms. Minakshi Rana, Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Punjab University, Chandigarh: Social Inclusion through EWS Quota under RTE Act 2009 with reference to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Vision
6. Ms. Shaweta, Research Scholar, Department of Law, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on Indian Democracy
7. Ms. Anuradha Jaidka, Reseach Scholar, Department of Sociology, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's effort for Women Empowerment
8. Mr. Bhupesh Gill, Reseach Scholar, Department of Sociology, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Thoughts on Social Reforms and Justice
9. Ms. Harmandeep Kaur, Research Scholar, Department of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Social Philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar behing Education
10. Mr. Piyush Aggarwal, Research Scholar, Department of Sanskrit, Panjab University, Chandigarh: The Ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on Freedom, Equality and Fraternity in Present Context

In the end of this session, Dr. Ashutosh Angiras presented a short summary of all paper presented in the session and gave full critical remarks regarding the content and themes of papers.

SESSION-II

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment

The second session under the theme "Dr, B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment" was chaired by Dr. Emanuel Nahar, Director, Ambedkar Study Centre, Panjab University, Chandigarh and Dr. Manoj Kumar, P.G. Department of Sociology, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh co-chaired this session. Dr. Indu Kalia, P.G. Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh gave a floral welcome to the Chairperson.

Total 10 papers were presented in the session.

1. Dr. Rajesh Kumar Chander, Assistant Professor, D.C.W.S.D., Panjab University, Chandigarh. : Dr. Ambedkar's Philosophy and Its Future Vision
2. Mr. Manoj Kumar, JRF, Research Scholar, Department of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Women Empowerment in the Vision of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
3. Mr. Mayank Sharma, Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment
4. Dr. Wasim Ahmad, Assistant Professor, Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Constitutional Provision for Persons with Disability: Post Independence Perspectives

5. Ms. Reetu Sharma, Asstt. Prof. in Sociology, S.B.S.B.M. University College, Sardulgarh (Mansa): Ambedkar and Women Empowerment
6. Dr. Sarita Chauhan, Assistant Professor, MCM DAV College for Women, Chandigarh: Ambedkarite Ideology: Dalit Society
7. Dr. Manju Bala, TGT (SST), GMHS, Sector 38 (W), Chandigarh: Dr.B.R. Ambedkar and Social Justice
8. Ms. Gagandeep Kaur, Research Scholar, Department of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh: B.R. Ambedkar Views of Educational Policy for Minorities and the Present Scenario
9. Dr. Neena Sharma, Associate Professor (English), MCM DAV College fo Women, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and His Social Philosophy
10. Mr. Hukam Chand (Special Education (Mental Retardation), Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Ambedkar's Philosophy on Women Empowerment

In the end of this session, Dr. Emanuel Nahar shared his ideas about the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and also presented a short summary of all paper presented in the session and motivated the participants to explore the different aspects of philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

The programme was successful due to its vastness of content and deliberations by the resource persons and participants. All sessions witnessed a lot of back and forth questions and answers between the participants and resource persons, and these interesting engagements seamlessly spilled over into the tea and lunch breaks where the resource persons freely mingled with the participants.

In the last, Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal, Coordinator of the programme and Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy PGGCG-11, Chandigarh proposed Vote of Thanks. He thanked RUSA for sponsoring the event with well-qualified professors of Ambedkar Studies, participants from different colleges/institutions and students of Philosophy and Public Administration. Last but not least, he thanked the administration of the college, faculty members of P.G. Department of Public Administration and Department of Hindi for their full cooperation in arranging everything for the success of the programme and for their active participation and involvement in knowing the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Indian philosophy through this faculty development programme.

Annexure-III

Supplimentary Papers

1. Mr. Pankaj Kumar, Special Education (Mental Retardation), Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Society
2. Dr. Binu Dogra, Dean and Head Of Music Inst. Deptt.PGGCG-11, Chandigarh. : Dr.B.R. Ambedkar's Thoughts on Indian National Spirit
3. Ms. Tanuja Pathak, Assistant Professor, Department of English, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and Dalit literature
4. Dr. Vinita Rao, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, PGGCG -11, Chandigarh: Bhim Rao Ambedkar - A Forgotten Economist
5. Dr. Sukhwant Singh Sidhu, Assistant Professor, PG Government College for Girls, Sec-11, Chandigarh: Constitutional Amendments in Land Acquisition Act and its Impacts on the Dalits
6. Dr. Kamlesh Khosla, Associate Professor in Commerce, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Economic Vision of Ambedkar and DICCI
7. Dr. Anoop Singh, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Indian Democracy
8. Ms Shashi Joshi, Associate Professor, P.G. Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: The Relevance of Ambedkar Ideas on Remoal of Rural Poverty in Dalits
9. Dr. Poonam Arora, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, PG Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar-Renowned Philosopher as well as Economist
10. Dr. Pushpa Chauhan, Ph.D., Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Indian Constituion and Indian Society

11. Dr. Suman Gupta, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. Ambedkar: A Revolutionary of His Time
12. Ms. Charu Handa, Research Scholar, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment
13. Mr. Pankaj Kumar, Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Society
14. Ms. Mamta Rani (Special Education (Mental Retardation)), Govt. Rehabilitation Institute for Intellectual Disabilities, Sector-31-C, Chandigarh: Ambedkar's Philosophy on Women Empowerment
15. Dr. Pundrik Ojha, Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Contribution to Women Empowerment
16. Ms. Nidhi Saroop, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, GNN College, Doraha: Dr. Ambedkar on Gender Justice
17. Dr. Shalini Wadhwa, Assistant Professor, Department of English, PGGC-11, Chandigarh: Women and Empowerment: An Ambedkarian Perspective
18. Dr. Nidhi Sharma, Assistant Professor, Department of French, P.G.G.C.G-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment
19. Ms. Kanchan Chugh, M.Phil. English, Personal Development Trainer, RIE Chandigarh: Dalit Literature : A Legacy of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar
20. Dr. Nidhi Mishra, Assistant Professor, PDMCE, Bagadurgarh, Haryana: Dr. Amedkar and His Education Philosophy
21. Mr. Kanwar Deep Singh, Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh: Dr. Ambedkar's relationship with Sikh Leadership: An Evaluation
22. Dr. Seema, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Women Emancipation
23. Dr. Meena Rani, Assistant Professor, Department of Hindi, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Ambedkar and Women Empowerment
24. Dr. Ritesh Nagpal, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: B.R. Ambedkar: The Champion of Social Democracy
25. Ms. Reena Kushawaha, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in Making India Modern: An Analytical Study
26. Dr. S.K. Singh, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Administration, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his Vision for Reconstructing Indian Society
27. Dr. Desh Raj Sirswal: Assistant Professor (Philosophy), P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector-11, Chandigarh : Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar: The Man and his Ideas
28. Ms. Monika Gogna, Assistant Professor, Deptt. of Computer Applications, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vision Towards Education
29. Ms. Ritu Singh Kalsi, Assistant Professor, Deptt. of Computer Applications, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Indian Society
30. Ms. Shelly Singh, GGSDS College, Sector 32, Chandigarh: Reservation in Education: On Reaching the Unreached
31. Dr. Sumati, Assistant Professor, Department of English, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Reservation in Education: On Reaching the Unreached
32. Dr. Parkash Chandra Badwaya, Assistant Professor, Department of History, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Historical Background of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Contributions for Indian Society

33. Dr. Cheena Gambhir, Assistant Professor. Department of Public Administration, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Reservation in Education: On Reaching the Unreached
34. Prof. Pardeep Singh Walia, Professor, Department of Commerce, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Contribution of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Indian Society
35. Dr. Kamal Krishan, Associate Professor, Department of Hindi, P.G. Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and His Social Philosophy with reference to Dalits
36. Dr. Madhu Gosain, PG Govt. College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh: Ambedkar's Philosophy
37. Dr. Salil Sharma, Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh: B.R. Ambedkar & Women Empowerment
38. Ms. Shailja S. Beniwal, Assistant Professor (Guest Faculty) Department of Public Administration, PGGCG11, Chd: Ideas and Teaching of B.R. Ambedkar
39. Ms. Sunita Sharma, Assistant Professor, Department of Dance, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh : Ambedkar and His Social Philosophy
40. Dr. Guneeta Chadda, Associate Professor, Department of Fine Arts, PGGCG-11, Chandigarh Savindra Sawarkar: The First Dalit Painter of Modern Indian Art