CHAPTER - 1

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In societies like India, the measure for a performing welfare state is its overall concern and commitment to its vulnerable sections particularly the handicapped or the 'disabled'. For the physically challenged is a category that has been hit by the nature and therefore deserve sustained attention. It is only the human species that can correct the deficiencies that the nature causes, be it of an individual or a group. The state that is said to be the product of a general will has special obligation towards that section of the society which cannot look after itself. The Welfare state is indispensable to vulnerable sections like the handicapped. It is in this backdrop a study of the public policy particularly policy for the disabled and its nuances assumes considerable importance.

Welfare State and Public Policy:

The concept of Welfare State was first used by the ruling labor party in Britain in 1945. In England Welfarism was born in early 19th Century out of efforts to correct the abuse of factory system and improve penal institutions and outdoor relief. Humanizing the factory system was one form of meeting the grievances. At that time a new age of humanitarianism was dawning, which made the enfranchised and well-organized workers to clamor for substantive reforms. This led to comprehensive programme for social insurance in Britain followed by the programme of
unemployment and health insurance with the act of 1891. The famous Beveridge report of 1942 and the national insurance Acts of 1946 were mile-stones in the constitutional history of Great Britain which adopted a basic programme of social security, following Great Britain, Australia, Newzeland, Germany, Scandinavian countries, and finally France and Italy also had to incorporate a basic programme of security. But only in U.S.A. till 1930's there was no comprehensive programme of social security in spite of industrial revolution. But the great depression caused major insecurity in the country which resulted into a programme akin to social security in the form of adequate income for those who work, provision of welfare to those disabled resulting from accident, sickness, old age, so on. Thus welfare state in the west as well as in America was a continuation of liberal democratic revolutions started since 17th Century with a new framework of welfarism. This was a result of the conditions that arose out of industrial revolution. Thus the welfare state is basically an institutional mechanism, for security or well-being of the people. However, these concepts are subjected to various interpretations and hence the concept is still ambiguous. Jhones defines the welfare state as a form of society characterized by a system of Democratic Government which places welfare on a new footing and offer a guarantee of collective social care to its citizens concurrently with the maintenance of a capitalist system of production.

2 Ibid, pp.512-514
According to Marshall "Welfare state is a part of complex society allied to a capitalist market economy and a democratic political structure".\(^4\)

The Welfare State is a state which benefits its citizens in accordance with a certain set of principles. Hall writes "The distinguishing characteristic of the welfare state is the assumption by the community, acting through the state and taking upon the responsibility for providing the means whereby all its members can reach minimum standards of health, economic security and civilized living, and can share according to their capacity in its social and cultural heritage".\(^5\)

According to Briggs, Welfare State not only establishes minimum standards of welfare but makes impact on social relationships in three ways: first by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income irrespective of the market value of their work or their property: second by narrowing the extent of insecurity by enabling individuals and families to meet certain social contingencies for example sickness, old age and unemployment which lead otherwise to individual or family crisis, and third by ensuring that all citizens without distinction of status or class are offered the best


\(^5\) Hall, Quoted in Forder A. Concept of Welfare in Social Administration, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p.2
According to William Robson, the Welfare State is devoted to the well-being in whole society. It is as much concerned with maintaining or improving conditions for those who enjoy a good life style with raising of the standard of living of those who fall below an acceptable national minimum. The environment also becomes an essential aspect of welfare in welfare state. It is committed to a continuous improvement of social services in regard to their scope, adequacy and quality. The existence of a sense of fellowship and public spirit throughout the society is basic need of welfare state. Welfare State cannot be a genuine welfare state without having a welfare society as its counterpart, that each is complementary to the other.⁷

Given the ambiguity and plurality in "the concept of welfare state", Reishiratory in his article "the future of welfare state" has categorized various concepts of welfare state that prevail in the academic world today. First category includes the argument which stresses welfare state as a particular stage in the development of society in the process of social development, a particular type of society that emerges from industrial revolution with material abundance resulting from the great expansion of production together with freedom and tolerance which


are caused by political development. Then here welfare state is so defined that it has an inevitable connection between the affluence and civil liberty, that it assumes its possibility only in a developed capitalist society. The welfare principles invariably could go with the essence of socialistic societies. However, it would be incomplete unless civil liberty is combined with the concept of welfare.

Second category views the welfare state as a way of life. According to this interpretation, the concept of welfare state has more to do with individual behavior. In the welfare state people pursue their individual way of life assuming that their fundamental living conditions are protected and promoted by the society. In spite of the state's broad coverage, they wish to limit its power. They appreciate the value of freedom, equality and fraternity. They are tolerant in almost all aspects of life— in religion, in belief, in sex and in behaviour.

Third, the policy side of the welfare state is emphasized. They consider the welfare state as a set of socio-economic policies securing the welfare of the citizens such as old age pension, unemployment benefits and a national health service so on. All the policies controlled by the public power are considered to be pursuing the policy network of welfare state. Bureaucratic system expresses the fundamental characteristics of welfare state. ⁸

The basic objective of any equity should be examining and analyzing the concept of social welfare and its application through the specific policy based programmes undertaken by the state. There are many studies in India which have focused on social welfare administration regarding socially under-privileged groups and otherwise known as backward classes consisting of scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and backward communities. But there are very few studies which focus and analyze the Welfare programmes for the welfare of physically handicapped or physically challenged persons including the blind, deaf, mute, Orthopedically handicapped so on. Hence, there is a need to study the programmes and policies undertaken by the Government for this specific category of persons. Given the vastness of the area, there is a need to delimit the nature of inquiry by focussing on a specific categories of blind RVH, deaf, dumb and O'm persons.

The study focuses on the programmes and policies undertaken by the Central Government in general and Government of Andhra Pradesh, in particular. There is more specific focus on the decade of 80s and 90s. The decade of 80s happens to be the International year of disabled persons and the declaration of UN decade 1983-1992 as the decade of physically challenged is significant. The study attempts to analyze not only policies but institutions involved in carrying out the administrative policies for the welfare of the handicapped.
Of all these categorizations the policy side of the welfare state seem to be an important categorization because it is the policy of the state that determines whether the state can be characterized as a welfare state or not - "Policy is an important lay type of State" - According to Dror. "It is the policy which decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by Government Organization. These guidelines (Policies) formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means."  

The state through a number of public policies seeks to intervene positively in the developmental process by stimulating production and ensuring distributive justice. The policies are broadly of two types: one, comprehensive policies that lead to structural transformation, and two, incremental policies which are of a reformative type. The structural policies are those which touch the ownership of the means of production and the incremental policies are intended to provide some relief to the poorer sections without affecting the basic socio-economic structure of the society.

This study also attempts to analyze the plight of the disabled, the historical aspect of their existence, the performance of the state towards them in the past, and the present.


The individual is a part and product of his social environment. His social relationships and his status and role performance are the vital areas of his social functioning. He lives in society, community, neighborhood, and family, not only as an individual but as a responsible person with multiple roles and statuses in a complex network of social relationships. The concept of a full and happy life is linked with the individual's healthy social adjustment and its zestful social functioning. An unhappy social life tells severely upon other areas of one's being. In the case of the physically handicapped it is a known fact that many of them, if not all, lead an imbalanced and frustrating social life. Their relationships, their attitudes and their behavioral patterns are vitally affected by the nature and extent of the harmony or disharmony of their relationship with family members, relatives, friends, community members, workplace colleagues and employers etc., Tragically enough, they are "less handicapped by their own physical disability than by the social attitude"\textsuperscript{11} meted out to them in every walk of life.\textsuperscript{12}

The problems of the physically handicapped are not only those caused by their disability per se, but also those of adjustment in a world whose apathetic or hostile attitude towards them magnifies their troubles and threatens their very existence as


\textsuperscript{12} S.P. Shrivastava, IBID.
human beings. A disabled man, like every other man, is a "social being" and is, therefore, no different from his able-bodies brethren. It is an irony, however, that he is not accepted by society as he is, for it invariably focuses its attention on his disabilities rather than on his abilities.

Society has always treated its physically handicapped members as a strange species altogether. Often they are regarded as inferior not only with respect to their specific physical limitations, but also as "total beings". The question and issues of the physically handicapped are, therefore, most difficult to deal with. Victims of disease, deformity or accident, they have been further victimized by the peculiar and irrational prejudice that society has always displayed towards its physically inferior.

**Historical Origins:**

From a historical point, there are four distinct stages of social attitudes towards the physically handicapped;

1. Exposure and Destruction.
2. Care and Protection,
3. Training and Education.
4. Social inclusion.
Exposure and Destruction:

In the prehistoric days, the elimination of the handicapped was achieved by Nature herself, through the operation of the law of 'survival of the fittest! Most of the primitive tribes would discard their disabled fellow beings on the grounds of physical unfitness to fight the foes and the wild animals. Deformed children were killed out right without any objection from the tribal chiefs. The Eskimos and the Dine tribes of North America are accustomed to kill their old and disabled fellow-beings because they are unfit to struggle hard for existence. The Masai, Dieri, the Carib and many tribes of Australia and Hawaii and quite a few of the Negro tribes of Africa, have also been following the same inhuman practice of abandoning the maimed and the crippled. Other tribes like the Navajo and Macri treated them jocularly and nicknamed them in funny forms. But then there are some primitive tribes which have shown clemency and softness of heart to their physically handicapped members. "Among Blackfoot Indians, infanticide, even in the case of marked deformity, is unknown and the ill or otherwise afflicted are always cared for by their family, even if sacrifice of the best interests of the rest of the family is necessary.\textsuperscript{13}

"The Andamanese and the Bushman of Africa also exhibited a marked consideration for the disabled. Among the Andamanese, members of the group who

are disabled in any way are generally provided better conditions than the normal members of the group.\textsuperscript{14}

Even the Mongol's who were said to be cruel made some provision for the disabled. Marco Polo in the account of his travels through the Mongol Empire of Kublai Khan mentions that in the city of Kin-sai there were watchmen patrolling the streets who, if "they notice say person who from lameness or other infirmity is unable to work, they place him in one of the hospitals, of which there are several in every part of the city, founded by the ancient kings, and liberally endowed. When cured he is obliged to work on some trade".\textsuperscript{15}

"The unwritten law of primitive society was that the disabled were to be sacrificed to the good of the group, this was carried over into the written law of the ancients and determined the course of the treatment of the disabled persons for many centuries".\textsuperscript{16}

"According to Deneil, the Babylonians did not admit any person with physical blemishes to the Court".\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Hugo Obermair, "Der Mensch aller Zeiten," Regensberg, 1924, 1,185, as quoted by Henry H.Kessler in The Crippled and the Disabled, p:15.

\textsuperscript{15} Manual Komroff, (Ed.,) The Travels of Macro Polo, pp. 242-243.


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid P.86.
"The Hebrews did not permit a crippled or deformed Levite or priest to officiate in the Temple (because of the fear and dread of the inexplicable.) But the attitude towards the crippled as a member of society was one of the important considerations. This is shown in the Laws of Moses which note that a cripple was not to be destroyed. Crippled priest were given their share of the Holy things".18

Early Greeks destroyed crippled members because of their ideal of bodily perfection. The Athenians allowed their crippled children to die of cold and neglect, while the Spartans took theirs to the hill tops and killed them, 19 In Thebes, such offences were punished by death.20

Among the early Romans, the father had the right to destroy a deformed child if he first exhibited it to five neighbors and obtained their consent. The attitude of Romans Society toward the crippled found expression even in the form of Law, for, the Twelve Tables, which were promulgated in 541 - 540 B.C. extended the authority of the father so that he, individually, could destroy a crippled child immediately after its birth.21 "Trade in slave dwarfs and maimed beggars became extensive among

21 Will Durant, Caesar and Christ, p:56.
Romans during 541-540BC. It was very profitable and the merchants even took entirely normal children and deformed them by binding them in artificial bandages to stunt their growth, or mutilated them so that they might collect money as beggars for their masters".22

Strangely enough, although the Spartans destroyed deformed children, they gave all possible protection to their war-disabled. From Aristotle's account of the State of the Athenians, it is evident that during the golden age of Percales, i.e., in the 5th Century B.C. financial support and work were given to the war-disabled as well as the handicapped civilians by the governing board of Athens. Even thinkers like Plato and Aristotle consented in principle to the gruesome practice of disposal of the disabled. In Plato's ideal state there was no room for the physically unfit. For, Plato says in his Republic, "Surely then, to him, who has an eye to see, there can be no fairer spectacle then that of a man who combines the possession of moral beauty in his soul with outward beauty of form. . . . .No, not if there be any defect in the soul, but if it is only bodily blemish, he may so bear with it as to be willing to regard it with complacency".23

This means that according to him the body and the soul are considered to be two aspects of a single whole, so that defect in the one indicates or involves a defect


in the other. Likewise, Aristotle declared; "Nothing imperfect or maimed shall be brought up". 24

Care and Protection:

With the spread of Christian ideals in the West and Buddhist doctrines in the East, these outrageous practices were gradually abandoned. But still the physically handicapped were boycotted socially. The twelve defects given in the Bible that disqualify a priest from officiating include: "a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or anything superfluous, or a man that is broken-handed, or crookbacked, or a dwarf, or hath a blemish in his eye or be scurvy, or scabbed or hath his bones broken". The destruction of human life was considered sinful according to the fundamental principle of non-violence. Both these religions emphasized the need for protecting all types and classes of under privileged groups, including the physically handicapped. One of the most unequivocal teaching of Jesus Christ was that one should have compassion and mercy towards the deprived, the needy and the poor. The Christian community, in general, and the Church officials in particular, became interested in the custody and care of the mentally, visually and the physically handicapped.

24 Will Durant, The Life of Greece, p.87.
There was emphasis on the brotherhood of man and on the responsibility of the strong to protect the weak. St. Jerome urged; "One should be eye to the blind, arms to the weak and feet to the lame". Many hospital fraternities were set up to give shelter, food and clothing to the physically handicapped. The most prominent of these brotherhood institutions was founded by St. Basil in 369 AD at Caesaria, Cappadocea, with the decline in the power of the Church, the care and protection of the poor and infirm were transferred to the State and local authorities. This marks the early beginning of the state intervention.

During the middle ages, a cripple was mocked at in the streets, treated harshly and driven to jugglery, begging or crime. Crippledom was linked in men's mind with malignity, divine punishments and superstitious fears. Parents often refused treatment of a crippled child on the ground that it is contrary to the will of God. The Christian culture prevented the killing of the crippled; but it failed to save them from social boycott. The disabled court jester and the beggar capitalized on their disability and were the focus of private and public attention in medieval society. "Among the beggars, jugglers, dancers, the leaders of the trained animals, the players of the flute and bagpipes, the thieves, quacks and mount banks, who thronged the roads and big ways of many ages, who filled the fair grounds and roamed the country, many were hunchbacked, lame, twisted of limb and horrible to look at. We remember the dwarfs and monsters who belonged to the regular retinue of princes and noblemen, immortalized by regular retinue of princes and noblemen, immortalized by the
paintings of Velasquez and Riberra which enable us today to identify infantile spastic paresis, cerinism and achondroplasia underneath the lace, the features and the finery and at the other end of the scale, we think of Breughl's terribly dramatic painting in which a row of miserable, blind beggars are tied together by their common fate and crawl through an unfeeling world.25

Even reformers and thinkers, like Martin Luther, held the physically handicapped in contempt and justified their removal from society by death as "an act well-pleasing to God". "Between the time of promulgation of Twelve Tables in Rome and the eleventh century, only one instance of public provision for the crippled has been traced. This was in 590 AD when Pope Gregory included the crippled in his classification of the infirm and the destitute, to be supported from public funds".26

The first attempts to alleviate the misfortunes of the physically handicapped came from charitable societies of a religious nature. It was not until the sixteenth century that any legislative provision was made for the disabled. The 22nd Statute of Henry VIII, which dealt with the punishment of beggars and vagabonds in England, allowed the impotent to beg in the place of their birth. There was, however, no provision for maintaining them until the passing of Statute 27th in year 1535 - 36,


26 H.E. Abt, The Care, Cure and Education of the Crippled Child, p:89.
which made it incumbent upon the authorities concerned to give succor and relief by way of voluntary charitable alms so that they might not be compelled to beg in the stress. In 1569, by another Statute, the aged, important, sick, lame or blind were to be taken to St. Bartholomew’s or St. Thomas’ Hospitals. In England, specific poor Relief Acts were passed in 1573 and 1601 authorizing the imposition of a rate for the purpose of supporting those who were incapacitated for work.

Some attempts were also made in the ancient and mediaeval times to cure various disabilities, but the methods of treatment were quite primitive and unscientific. Mere care and protection, however, were not enough. The stages of 'cutting off' and 'casting out' came to an end in Western civilization with the Era of Renaissance, which brought in its wake a great intellectual, social and spiritual awakening. Besides, the organization of society itself rendered it impossible to have large number of its handicapped members loitering about. As a result, institutions for the poor and the destitute were founded to include the physically, mentally visually, handicapped. The exploitation of crippled children as mendicants, moved St. Vincent de Paul to establish, in 1634, the first haven of refuge for them.²⁷

Training and Education:

A third phase in the history of social attitudes characterized as "Training and Education" of the physically handicapped. With the advent of the eighteenth century, the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity gained currency and the rights of the individual superceded the collective interest of the State or Society. The individualism could not but change for the better the conditions of the physically handicapped. Some of the eminent thinkers and educators turned their attention to the miserable lot of the handicapped and pleaded for a better deal for them. Consequently, a number of institutions for the blind, the deaf and mute, for the severely crippled, and for mental defectives sprang up. Crusaders of this mission of mercy were found amongst the priests, the physicians and the psychologists.

The first institution for crippled children was founded by Jean Andre Verrel at Orbe, Switzerland, in 1780. In 1832 the first home which combined care and education was founded in Munich, Germany for the exclusive benefit of crippled children. In 1851, the first institution for them was established in England, followed by one in France in 1853, the United States of America in 1863, Italy in 1874, Denmark in 1877, Sweden in 1879, Finland in 1880 and Norway in 1893. But throughout, the physically disabled were still regarded as objects of pity, as can be seen from contemporary literature.
Simultaneously, medical science also made great strides in the treatment of crippling diseases. It was realized that prevention and early care would relieve society of the burden of supporting the physically handicapped person throughout his life. In 1780, an English orthopedic surgeon wrote; "With the heritage of the ages, it is wise to begin with their treatment, it is wise to begin to build before the mind becomes warped. They have been shunned and restricted in their imprisonment and isolation. Their faults can only be removed by moral and intellectual training".  

In 1900, Dame Agnes Hunt, herself a crippled since the age of ten, started the first convalescent home for crippled at Bas-church in England, later to become the Robert Jones and Agenes Hunt Orthopedic Hospital. She also established the first 'After Care Clinic' in 1907. Similar developments took place in other countries of the West. With the gradual progress of orthopedic science, the social attitudes towards the physically handicapped softened.

**Social Inclusion:**

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, vocational problems of the handicapped started attracting the attention of the public. In limited measures, some efforts were made to solve them. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of Acts were promulgated in some of the progressive countries of the world,

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28 Quoted in "Vocational Rehabilitation of the physically Handicapped", Vocational Rehabilitation Series No.25. U.S.A., 1936, p:90
safeguarding the interests of the disabled workers. Several other factors, operating side by side, crystallized public opinion to the basic needs of the disabled. They were; growth in the size of the problem, development of an industrial society, spread of universal compulsory education, and rise of the democratic institutions.

Pioneering efforts to find a constructive solution to the problem of the physically handicapped were made by individuals with profound zeal and foresight. In 1917, a young industrialist of U.S.A Jeremiah Milbank, started the Red Cross Institution for Disabled Men, which induce course, came to be known as the New York Institute for the Crippled and Disabled. He thus paved the way for the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled. In England Robert Jones, in Germany Dr. C. Biasalski and in Vienna H.S.Spitzy - all of them doctors working with the physically handicapped were the pioneers of rehabilitation in their countries in the nineteen twenties.

Finally, World Wars gave a new meaning to the term 'rehabilitation'. Prior to these wars the activities for the welfare of the physically handicapped were concerned only with their day-to-day requirements of food, clothing and shelter. Thereafter, a distinctive trend evolved in modern society endeavoring to integrate the handicapped in its fold. Rehabilitation gained currency in many countries of the West as well as of the East. The war production records of the disabled and the intensive publicity drive to enlighten people in general and employers in particular, on their abilities and
disabilities have done much to soften public attitude towards the handicapped. Their inclusion in the United Nations social welfare programme has undoubtedly conferred recognition and desirable position in society.

The above account testifies that the attitude of society has been changing in course of time. The greatest change has been from marked fear and hatred to general sympathy and tolerance. Even the unchanging East started gradually changing its attitude towards the disabled. It is observed that in the Orient, lack of scientific knowledge and traditional revulsion for physical deviants is giving place to western science and modern attitude towards the physically deformed. In Japan, where this traditional revulsion had reached heights unknown in the western world, there are now societies of and for the handicapped. With a large number of students in western universities, and through the establishment of proper facilities, scientific rehabilitation is becoming an actuality. India, the home of uncounted millions of sick and disabled, now has her rehabilitation centers and physical therapist. Israel, which accepts immigrants regardless of their physical condition, is organizing an excellent programme of medical and rehabilitative care for its expanding populace. Siam has a programme for educating its blind; Iran has formed one of its own. These developments not only mean more and better care for millions of handicapped persons, but taken together reflect the international ideal of service, which is the hope of a peace-seeking world.29

29 Henry H. Kessler, Rehabilitation of the Physically Handicapped, P.92.
History of Social Attitudes towards the Handicapped in India:

It has been a part of India's cultural heritage and legacy to help the poor and the needy even at a great personal sacrifice. In keeping with this tradition, every possible protection to the physically handicapped was debated by the society. In India we do not find any tangible instances of the inhuman practices of exposure and destruction, which characterized the primitive attitude towards the disabled. A foreign writer has stated that 'In ancient India the physically deformed children were cast into the Ganges'.\(^{30}\) Nowhere in the recorded history of India do we find any evidence to prove that this was a general practice. On the contrary, a reference to Mahabharata shows that the handicapped were treated with sympathy. In the scriptures it is stated that Narada interrogates Yuddhisthira. "Do you treat as father, your subjects who are afflicted with blindness, dumbness, lameness, deformity, friendliness and those who have renounced the world?" \(^{3}\)

The kings were expected to provide for the war-disabled and their dependents, for, Narada again puts a question to the eldest of the five Pandavas. "Do you maintain the women of those who died for you or who have come to a sad plight


\(^{31}\) Mahabharata, II, p.93.
while fighting for you on the battlefield? And do you also maintain those who are wounded on the battlefield while fighting for you?” 32 The answer to this question was affirmative.

Likewise, laws of Baudhayana enjoined. "Granting food, clothing and shelter, they (kings) shall support those who are incapable of transacting legal business, viz., the blind, idiots, those immersed in vice, the incurably diseased, those who neglect their duties and occupations, and so on".33

The eminence of Ashtavakra (literally meaning a man with eight physical deformities) who was first jeered at by the pandits at the court of king Janaka, because of the crookedness of his body, but whose learning ultimately drew their plaudits. The status of Manthara as the favorite maid servant of the royal queen, though hunch backed, and the acclamation of Vamana, a dwarf, as an incarnation of God Vishnu, unmistakably show that even in early times the Hindu society gave some place to the individual merits of handicapped people. In India, the attitude towards the crippled never reached that height of cruelty that demanded their ruthless destruction.

32 Mahabharata, II, 5,54

Religion stressed the values of charity, philanthropy, and mutual help. The giving of alms, and the feeding and care of the destitute and the disabled were considered acts of religious merit as well as of spiritual redemption. The Hindu society, as it existed in those days, was virtually based on a joint family system, which among other things, ensured the provision of food and shelter to the helpless and the homeless.

One of the daily duties of the householder that Manu lays down is. "Let him gently place on the ground (some food) for dogs, out-castes, chandalas (svapak), those afflicted with diseases that are punishments of former sins, crows and insects". "Without hesitation he may give food, even before his guests, to the following persons, viz., to newly married women to infants to the sick and to pregnant women". 34

These rules show certain consideration that is shown to the afflicted by way of protection and care. While laying down the duties of the King, Manu says: "The king should always give gifts and do other kinds of charities to a learned Brahmin, to one who is affected by disease or affliction, to one who is young (an orphan) to him who is very old and also to him who is born in a noble family". 35

34 Manu, III, 92-116, Cf. Apastamba, II, 9, 5-61; Yajnavalkya, 1, 103, 105; Vishnu LXVII 26, 39, p 94.
35 Manu, VIII, 395, Ibid.
Manu further observes: "A blind man, an idiot, (a cripple) who moves with the help of a board, a man fully seventy years old, and he who confers benefits on Shortriyas; shall not be compelled by any (kind) to pay a tax". Although, Manu does not show any inclination to give the physically handicapped status in society, as is evidenced from the following excerpts:

"Let him (house holder) wed a female free from bodily defects, who has an agreeable name, the (graceful) gait of a hamsa (swan) or an elephant, a moderate (quantity of) hair on the body and on the head, small teeth and soft limbs". 

"Let him (house holder) not entertain at a Shraddha (anniversary of the dead) he who does not follow the rule of conduct, a men destitute of energy like (a) eunuch, one who constantly asks for favors, he who lives by agriculture, a club-footed man, and he who is censured by virtuous men"..."If a lame man, a one-eyed man, one deficient in a limb, or one with a redundant limb, be ever the servant of the performer (of the Shraddha,) he also must be removed from that place (where the Shrada is held,)" 

36 Manu, VIII, 394, Ibid. 
37 Manu, III, 10, Ibid. 
38 Manu, III, 165-242, p.95
To the king, Manu prescribes: "At the time of consultation, let him (the king) cause to be removed idiots, the dumb, the blind and the deaf, animals, very aged men, women, barbarians, the sick and those deficient in limbs. Such despicable persons likewise animals, particularly women betray secret council". 39

In his Civil and Criminal Codes, Manu lays down: "that the king should not be a witness to the following:" not one wholly dependent, not one of bad fame, nor a Dasya (slave,) nor one who follows forbidden occupations, nor an aged (man,) nor an infant, nor one (man alone,) nor a man of the lowest castes, nor one deficient in organs of sense". 40 He added "with whatever limb a man of low caste does hurt a man of the three highest castes even that limb shall be cut off. "He who raises his hands or a stick, shall have his hands cut off; he who in an anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off. 41 "With whatever limb a thief in any way commits an offence against men, even of that the king shall deprive him in order to prevent a repetition of the crime." 42

About inheritance Manu says: "Eunuchs and outcastes, person born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots and the dumb, as well as those deficient in any organ (of

39 Manu, VII, 149-150, Ibid.
40 Manu, VIII, 66, Ibid.
41 Manu, VIII, 279-280, 70, Ibid.
42 Manu, VII, 334, Ibid.
action or sensation) receive no share”. 43 The handicapped, the aged, women and persons of low caste or low occupation are put on par by Mann for socio-legal and socio-religious rights.

*Manu holds that the causation for one being handicapped as follows: *"Some wicked men suffer a change of their (natural) appearance in consequence of crimes committed in this life, and some in consequence of those committed in a former (existence)". He adds "thus in consequence of a remnant of (the guilt of former) crimes, are born idiots, dumb, blind, deaf and deformed men, who are all despised by the virtuous."44.

That is the teaching of Manu. This trend is broadly the trend that one notices in the primitive time. However, in degree and magnitude Manu's approach is more severe, harsh and deeply anti handicapped.

Satatapa asserts that men guilty of grave sins that have not undergone Prayaschitta are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of upapataka for five births and one guilty of papa for three births.45 Even

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid
45 Satatapa, 1, 1-5, Ibid.
medical workers like Charaka Samhita held that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives.\textsuperscript{46}

In ancient India, when the state and the joint family, and to a certain extent, the caste, took care of the individual who needed shelter and protection against the rigors of life, the physically handicapped did not present a problem. In the compact rural community, the headman was entrusted with the task of looking after welfare of its distressed and disabled members.

The theory of Karma was instrumental in depriving the disabled of their inherent right to lead an independent life. It was believed that the disabled were reaping what they had sowed in lives be gone and any attempt to ameliorate their lot would, therefore, interfere with this divine justice.

During the period intervening Smritis and the Guptas the social attitude towards the handicapped became more tolerant due to Buddhist influence. Buddhism emphasized the virtues of mercy, charity, truth, purity, kindness goodness and above all, non-violence. The followers of the Great Buddha practiced the preaching of their master and showed great compassion and regard for the decrepit, the maimed and the disabled. At the same time, somewhere in the middle of the sixth century BC another faith, Jainism, was born. Jainism also followed the same fundamental doctrines of

\textsuperscript{46} Sutrasthanam, 1,116, Ibid
non-violence and selfless service to all living beings, including the physically handicapped.

Vocational rehabilitation presupposes a more humane approach to the handicapped. This foundation was already laid by Buddhism and Jainism. The Golden age of the Muryas, especially during the reign of Chandragupta stands out unique in establishing workshops for the vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped as well as other socially and economically handicapped members of the kingdom. Kautilya lays down; "The king shall provide the orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless with maintenance". 47

Regarding their employment Kautilya states: 'those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad and those who are crippled or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work (spinning out threads) in due courtesy the medium of maid-servants of the weaving establishments. He maintains that "Widows, crippled women, girls, mendicant or ascetic women, women compelled to work in default of paying fines, mothers of prostitutes, old women, servants of the king, and prostitutes who have ceased to attend temples on service, shall be employed to cut wool, fiber, cotton, panicle, hemp and flax. 48

47 Kautilya, Arthashastra Book II, Chapter - 1 , p.97.

48 Ibid
Kauṭilya, one of the leading political strategists of his times, made it a special point to employ dwarfs, the hunchbacked and otherwise deformed people as political spies as well as secret agents in royal palaces.\textsuperscript{49}

After Chandragupta, during the reign of his grandson, Ashoka, philanthrophic work on behalf of the decrepit and the downtrodden expanded greatly. A staunch believer in Buddhism, he initiated special measures to provide medical relief. "Everywhere the King Priyadarsī, beloved of the Gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful for either men or for animals were needed, they were imported and planted".\textsuperscript{50}

Ashoka built hospitals on all the highways throughout his empire, stationed physicians and provided food, water and medicines. During the reign of Ashoka, charitable institutions for the care of the handicapped were established. Gopas, the village officials kept records of castes, gotra, births, deaths and marriages and looked after people in health and illness. The coins of the days of Samudra Gupta have a figure of a dwarf near the king. He seems to have occupied an exalted position in the kingdom.

\textsuperscript{49} Vide Kauṭilya, Book, Chapter - II, Ibid.

\textsuperscript{50} Rock Adict II of Ashoka, Ibid, p.98.
We get another insight into the social history of ancient India through the writings of Fa Hien, who came to India from China in 400AD. He writes: "the nobles and householders of his country have founded hospitals within the city (pataliputra) to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, crippled and the diseased may go. They received every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their recover. When cured, they depart at their convenience".\textsuperscript{51} Once in a year, King Harsha used to give away everything to the learned, the needy and the afflicted. He also employed deformed persons as spies in his harem.

In medieval India, the Muslim rulers followed the example of their Hindu predecessors in looking after the needs of the aged and the infirm, the destitute and the crippled. One of the Five Rukans (duties) of Islam, Zakat (charity,) was strictly adhered to by the Muslim rulers. The forms that this charity took were; alms to the poor and the in firm, construction of mosques, rest-houses, erection of ponds, hospitals and orphanages. The Mughuls had a special department with a head (sadr) to supervise charities and endowments. During the reign of Emperor Akbar, the benefits of such charitable institutions were extended to include even non-Muslims. During medieval periods, local Rajput chieftains looked after their distressed subjects.

\textsuperscript{51} Fa Hien, quoted by R.C. Dutta in Civilization in Ancient India, p.59.
The inroads of Western civilization in the eighteenth century was a set back to many of the old institutions. The old order changed. The studies reveal that "the social institutions and the individuals lagged behind". And "the safeguards which were in vogue in the old order ceased to be effective as the new ways of life made heavy demands on individuals". Both these situations gave rise to a series of complicated problems. With the result "the dumb, the deaf, the blind, the physically and mentally handicapped and the mentally ill, who were formerly cared for in the family were being exposed to new dangers". The state did very little directly for children. Thus, before the state effort had become effective the family was incapacitated to take care of the problematic persons. This led to "destitution, beggary, delinquency, crime and immoral traffic to a considerable degree". It is observed that the crumbling of the old order, absence of new and appropriate substitutes, and confusion in transition made the situation extremely complicated.”

Sporadic efforts to set up hospitals and charitable homes for destitute were made in the country by individual philanthropists. A good deal of spadework in this field was done by Christian missionaries. By the end of the nineteenth century, schools for the deaf and the blind were founded, but none for the crippled. The problems of the crippled remained unsolved until after World War II, when the attention of the government and the public was drawn to the necessity of establishing centres for the rehabilitation and resettlement of the disabled veterans of war. Only

after Independence, problem of the civilian handicapped came into the limelight. As a result several government subsidized welfare and voluntary organizations sprang up during the last forty years.

In this long civilizational history there are certain encouraging and positive legacies but also distressing practices. This could be described in the two powerful traditions: one represented by inhuman approach of Manu and the other followed by Kautilya who was more considerate. This ambiguity is reflected even in the contemporary period. For these traditions together created compassion, sympathy and support at one level but indifference, casualness and deficient policy measures at another level. In contrast the Islam and Christianity have a far more positive approach towards the handicapped.

Given this backdrop much remains to be done to harmonize the attitude of the society towards its physically handicapped members. The common man of India still believes in the antiquated ideas of fatalism. The common woman still attributes the birth of a congenital cripple to some superstitious causes such as the evil influence of the lunar eclipse, or the charm of a witch or the non-observance of certain customary practices during pregnancy. Sympathy and understanding are confined only to those people who are closely associated with the welfare of the physically handicapped. Pity and avoidance are the most widely prevalent attitudes. These attitudes can well be demonstrated by the fact that people are always prepared to part with a coin to get
rid of a pestering handicapped beggar, but are never prepared to probe into the causes which forced the unfortunate man to beg in the streets. This overall approach of the state and the civil society leaves several issues unattended to and hence the magnitude of the problem.

Given the magnitude of the problem, there has not been adequate research studies to provide an insight into this very complex problems. There are a few studies published concerning with the disabled persons. When compared to other areas like social welfare the works published on disabled welfare in terms of policy aspects are very few. There are a few academic works on blind or visually handicapped or the other handicapped categories. The following are findings some of the studies on the handicapped.

53They are under the impression that by putting a few coins into the begging bowl, they not only come to the rescue of a sinner of the past life, but also unconditionally reserve a seat for themselves in the heaven above. This popular philosophy of charity is misconceived. It is not helping the needy but helping oneself. In spite of repeated appeals from social workers and government officials, people have not given up the wrong mode of alms giving.
Review of Literature:

One of the earlier studies was undertaken by Usha Bhale Rao\textsuperscript{54} "Educated Blind of Urban Madhya Pradesh - A Sociological Study" threw light on the educationists who are interested in the education of the blind. Usha Bhale Rao herself is a talented blind woman who faced many challenges in her life and was the first woman in the country to obtain Ph.D. she presented the socio-economic conditions of the educated blind prevailing in the state of Madhya Pradesh. She explained how the facilities are concentrated for the blind in urban pockets of the Madhya Pradesh.

H.J.M. Desai\textsuperscript{55} in his book "Planning Employment Services for the Blind", concentrated on providing employment training and other aspects to the blind and — for integrating them with the rest of the society through the assistance of government and other agencies. It is a source material for the organizations working for the blind welfare. In addition to this, he has contributed a few books and articles such as "U.N. concern for the Disabled" and "Human Rights of the Disabled" for promotion of the welfare of the blind community. In his book he pointed out how the


blind are getting deprived of the employment opportunities. The book suggests various kinds of posts that are suitable to the visually handicapped.

Prof. N.K. Jangira 56 studied various educational aspects of the disabled persons in and around the world. He observed carefully the Indian conditions of the disabled he brought out his vast experiences and services through his book, "special Education Scenario in Britain and India". The same Professor collaborated with Sudesh Mukhopadhyaya 57 and brought out another book "Planning and Management of Integrated Education of the disabled programme" to plan, program and implement the integrated education in the context of National Education Policy, 1986. This book also provided certain guidelines for the integration of visually handicapped children and children with partial hearing disability. According to the new education policy, these categories of school going children can be accommodated in the normal schools and separately trained teachers are to the appointed to develop these children in special skills of education like teaching Braille.

V.S.Rawat 58 did an important study on problems of the blind in his book "Working for the Blind" and provided an insight to social scientists, educators and


58 Rawat, V.S., Working for the Blind', Creative Published, New Delhi, 1991.
volunteers, ophthalmologists about the attitudes and psychological activities of the disabled and exclusively visually handicapped. This is a unique effort for the scholars engaged in social rehabilitation in the institutes and universities for the education of the blind. He discusses extensively evolution and growth of the welfare of the blind.

T.N.Kitchlu\textsuperscript{59} discussed developmental activities in the services of the blind in his book 'A Century of Blind Welfare in India' through his collection of various articles from eminent personalities in the field of welfare of the blind from nook and corner of India. It also dealt with the causes and the consequences of blindness.

Datrange Subash and Jayasree Mokkapati\textsuperscript{60} experienced in handling welfare activities for the blind and published a book entitled 'Research Abstracts on Blindness in India' which covered sociological, psychological, educational and other aspects of the blind.

Bhushan Punani and Nandini Rawal\textsuperscript{61} published a book 'W. Stein Integrated Education'. It provides a vivid account of information about the integrated education


\textsuperscript{60} Datrange Subash and Jayasree Kokkapati, "Research Abstracts on Blindness in India", Published by NAB, Lois Braille Memorial Research Center, Mumbai, 1993.

\textsuperscript{61} Bhushan Punani and Nandini Rawal, 'Western Integrated Education', Published by Blind Men's association, Ahmedabad, 1995.
of the blind that is the need of the hour. It explains not only planning the implementation and historical aspects of education of the blind but also the National Education Policy of 1986.

As far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned there are not many academic works relating to the handicapped persons in terms of their welfare and policy orientation. And also there are no works relating to the education, training and employment and the aspirations of various categories of physically handicapped. Therefore a modest attempt is made in this study to fill in the serious gap.

**Scope and Methodology:**

The present study is intended to understand the public policy for the welfare of handicapped in general and a study of the handicapped in Andhra Pradesh in particular. The study is confined to only the physically handicapped, viz, the visually handicapped, the hearing handicapped and the Orthopedical handicapped. Whenever we use the term handicapped or disabled it is to be understood in terms of the handicap or disability particularly with reference to the specific aspect i.e. to say visually handicapped or visually disabled. This is to be understood that a person is disabled only in terms of vision or sight - and in all the other respects he is like any
other person. Therefore the usage of disabled or handicapped must be seen in the light of the particular aspects of the disability.

In the study, an attempt has been made to enquire into the existing facilities and problems of the inmates of the government Homes and Hostels for the handicapped in Andhra Pradesh. All the effort has been made to secure as much of secondary information as possible from the government organizations and the agencies for the handicapped. We also collected the primary data. The questionnaires were prepared to elicit the data pertaining to personal bio-data, family background, medical treatment, existing facilities in the Homes and the Hostels, education, training and employment facilities. It was also attempted to know the type of problems and issues that the inmates of the government Homes and Hostels have been encountering. After conducting pre-test with ten sample questionnaires, the questionnaire for the study was finalized with more than 100 questions to elicit the necessary information from the respondents.

For this purpose the random sample survey techniques is used. We have covered 20% sample from the inmates of selected government Homes and Hostels from Hyderabad and Vishakhapatnam. The total samples came to 150. From Malakpet government Hostel for handicapped girls, 50% of the sample is collected as the total strength of the broader is 30. In the case of other hostels, 20% sample has been drawn. This 20% inmate of the four homes and six hostels were personally
interviewed. Although the coverage of the universe would have been desirable, the constraints of time and resources account for the sampling.

**Objectives of the Study:**

This specific objective of the study is to explain how the public policies are made in tune with the nature of the welfare state concept.

- To explore and identify whether the programmes of the government are really helpful to the disabled persons.

- To study various problems and perceptions of the disabled persons and share the concerns of those staying in the homes and hostels.

- To enquire into the aspirations of the handicapped persons.

- To examine various struggles by the handicapped and their impact in formulation and implementation of the public policy in Andhra Pradesh.
**Hypothesis of the Study:**

a) There is a wide gap between the promise and performance of public policies relating to the handicapped due to casualness of the delivery system.

b) The overall quality and effectiveness of public policies and their enforcement could be improved through the agitations and struggles of the handicapped.

**Chapterisation:**

The following is the chapterisation scheme of this study.

The first chapter is an attempt to trace the historical origins of the response of the state and civil society to the problems of handicapped. This chapter also includes a brief review of literature and scope and methodology of the present study.

The second chapter deals with the government organizations programmes for the welfare of the handicapped.

The third chapter covers the perceptions of *visually handicapped* staying in the homes and hostels.
The fourth chapter covers perception of the *hearing handicapped* in the homes and hostels.

The fifth chapter covers the perceptions of *Orthopedically handicapped*.

The sixth chapter is an analysis of the agitations and strikes of the handicapped and their implications and impact on public policy.

The seventh chapter presents the conclusions.

**Limitations of the Study**

The open-ended and the close-ended questions were used in the questionnaire. The researcher faced difficulties while interviewing the respondents. The respondents in certain cases were reluctant in answering some of the questions relating to Government policies. They questioned the purpose of the study asking what benefit they would derive because of such studies. The interviewer tried to persuade them that the facts should be brought into light so as to enable the public and the government to comprehend the problems better. The respondents, on the whole, answered most of the questions.
The nature of enquiry is limited mainly to the government homes and hostels for the physically handicapped because of constraints of time and resources. It is therefore more descriptive and narrative. The researcher himself being a visually challenged, his own subjective experience partly constitute a part of the analysis.