CHAPTER-V
SOCIAL JUSTICE, SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social justice, Social Policy and social development are dynamic concepts and interrelated to each other. These concepts are easy to understand but difficult to define as the nature and scope of these concepts are broad and different from situation to situation, place to place and time to time. However, attempt has been made here to define these concepts before switching over to discussions.

Social justice in very general sense is to provide all members of society the equality, liberty and fraternity that is (I) socially, economically and politically all are to be made equal; (II) freedom of thought, expression, speech, association, movement, profession privacy etc. are granted to all; (III) the institutions and social structures are made in such a way that everybody feel themselves the spirit of unity and brotherhoodness and compassion for mankind; (IV) unequal treatment among its members if any, are made only for noble cause, that is to bring everybody in equal foot in all spheres of life, through special protections privileges, concessions, and opportunities.

Social Policy is the principles through which the action plans, programmes, schemes and policies of the state are formulated and implemented within the given time frame for welfare and development of its people and society that is, therefore, usually directed to enforce social justice and social development.

Social Development is the process of development in which not only injustice is meted out of society but also other privileges, facilities and opportunities, food, cloth, housing, water, health, education, employment, social and economic security, sports, recreation, conducive environment and other ingredients of higher quality of life are provided and made available to all the members of society for their fullest development of human personality; and besides, other
institutional and social structures are built in such a way that all of them would not merely see and feel equality, liberty and fraternity and higher quality of life and socio-economic security but also all they would sense and realise that they truly belong to one society, one nation whereby the development of society becomes development of nation and vice-versa.

The present chapter is broadly divided into four sections. The section A would deal with ‘social justice and other related areas’, whereas in section B, ‘socially policy’ and in section C, ‘social development’ would be discussed. In the final section D, ‘social justice and development in India’ would be discussed. In fact, all the actions are interrelated to each other, as each of these concepts can not be studied satisfactorily without considering the other concepts into mind; hence naturally there is high degree of overlapping. But for systematic understanding and conceptual clarity such demarcation into section is felt necessary. The emphasis will be on discussing rather than merely describing these concepts.

A : SOCIAL JUSTICE

The term, ‘Justice’ has been used since the time immemorial in different languages, in different religions, varying from region to region. In epic and Puran the ‘Justice’ was interpreted differently from what today’s social scientists mean by it (Hantal 1996:77).

Justice is the evolution of the basic social and political institutions, particularly with respect to the consequent distributions of benefits and burdens, are standardly expressed in terms of justice or injustice. On it’s most general sense the concept of justice requires that each individuals have what is due to him or her (Outhwaite and Bottomore 1993: 304).

In the Raman-Greek tradition, it was Cicero, who elaborated the concept of social justice, when he declared, “we are born for justice, and that right is based, not upon man’s opinion, but upon nature. This fact will immediately be plain if
you once get a clear conception of man's fellowship and union with his fellow men, for no single thing is so like another, so exactly, it's counterpart, as all of us are to one another" (Sabine 1973: 162). For Cicero, a state can not exist on crippled conditions; in fact, "It depends upon, and acknowledges and gives effect to the consciousness of mutual obligations and the mutual recognition of rights that bind its citizen together. The state is a moral community, a group of persons who in common possess the state and it's law" (ibid: 163). That is why he called the state, "the affair of the people". In essence, for Cicero "Justice is an intrinsic goods," which holds the people together by normal ties and rights.

The most ancient social organization through which the idea of social justice was sought to be implemented is the theory of Chaturvamya (Varna Vyavastha), that is, the Vedic concept of society in which the people were classified into four Varnas: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Though it's original existence is nowhere now, and if it is, it exists in it's most degenerated form i.e. caste system; yet is was envisaged as an organization based on human nature, i.e., Guna – Karma theory, and it was meant for social harmony and justice (Jatava 1998: 36), which also leads man to the path of Moksha (ibid-41).

Plato sought social justice through a social order based on human nature consisting of three main faculty: the rational, spiritual and appetititive. The rational faculty is wise and its main function is to rule and command; the function of spiritual faculty is to maintain law and order in society; the appetitive faculty of human nature drives itself to the satisfaction of bodily appetites. The special qualities of a person having rational faculty are wisdom, respect, tolerance, reasoning, discipline. By virtue of such qualities, such person is able to guide and rule. The distinctive qualities of a person with spiritual faculty are ambition, love for power, demonstration of courage or strength, fighting spirits etc. Therefore, they are suitable for maintain peace and order in society, and are able to defend the state. A person having the qualities of appetitive faculty is opt to
undertake various physical labours. Such persons are full of bodily desires and always hanker after their satisfaction (Lindsay 1954; Barker 1957)

All the faculties however, are interrelated, and dominance of one in a person makes him having the same nature. Thus Plato envisaged the order of individual and social justice in the division of citizens into three classes according to their nature.

Plato inter-linked individual and social justice together. The individual form of justice manifest itself, when man succeeds in establishing harmony and unity among all the three qualities of wisdom, courage and appetite as inherent in his conscience. In case, the balance is upset or disturbed, individual rushes towards lust and injustice. In similar way, the well ordered balanced of three classes of citizen in society, is the basic idea of social justice. In other words, integration and balance of society through duties and responsibilities of kings (Rulers), warriers and labours, as per their respective qualities, qualities, is social justice. "Social Justice", according to Plato is defined as "the principle of a society, consisting of different types of men ... who have combined under the impulse of their need of one another, and by their combination in one society, and their concentration on their separate functions, have made a whole which is perfect because it is the product and the image of the whole of the human mind" (Sabine 1973: 64)

In Plato’s view, social justice apparently stands for the performance of the class -based duties according to the nature of men. So far the position of womenfolk is concerned, Plato placed them under the system of “communism of wives” in order that they could give society the best of progeny and no one would indulge in disputes relating to the possession of his children, whether mine or of others. The bringing of all children, their education and training, all such tasks were entrusted to the state (Jatava 1998: 44-45). There is, some resemblance between Varna Vyavastha and Plato’s view on justice as both assigns duties to its
citizen on the basis of class. In both of these social orders the state is a part and parcel of society. The idea of social justice in Varna Vyvastha leads one towards the goal of 'Moksha' and in Plato's social order towards 'Supreme Happiness'. In each scheme, a just man is entitled to achieve the highest goal of human life. That is moksha or supreme happiness (ibid).

Aristotle, who is the main author of this conception (Justice), says, "Injustice arises when equal are treated unequally, and also when unequal are treated equally." Justice is an equality of proportion between "persons" and things" assigned to them. The "thing" here may be office, honor, rank, money or any of the objects of human desire. These should be distributed, not equally, but in proportion to some quality, character or achievement of the persons concerned. What is this quality? Aristotle points out that the basis of distribution adopted differs in different social systems. It may be birth, rank, office or wealth. It may be simply a status of a free man. (as in a Greek democracy) and then the rule of proportion fails, and absolute or 'arithmetic equality' is substituted. Lastly it may ought to be merit. The equality of distributive justice, then is for Aristotle an equality in the proportion of merit to rights. Aristotle is right in pointing out that actual social systems have their own characteristics (Hobhouse 1922: 97).

Unlike Plato, for Aristotle, justice is inherent in morality, scientific insight and constitutional rule. He the put it into "general justice", and "particular justice". The former is the whole good of society; it is moral conduct, it is public good; it is virtue. This justice asks man to think not of himself but of other people. The later is a part of the whole justice. It expresses itself into a limited area though the contents of both type of justice do not differ. He further sub-divided particular justice into "distributive justice" and "connective justice". As already stated in above para, distributive justice is related to the distribution of posts, rewards, honours and other advantages by the state to individuals on the basis of their capacities and abilities on the basis of "proportionate equality". For
Aristotle, the best state is that which is founded on proportionate justice based on the merits of the individual, and not on birth, wealth, liberty and equality. A complete equality among the citizens is not possible in any respect of human life (Jatava 1998: 45-46). Even if justice has been tolerably secured within a particular community, various circumstance like accidents, robberies, group rivalries and breach of contract may arise to disturb it, and therefore there is need of connective justice which is not revenge but some sort of compensation. He discarded the principle of “an eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth” for it is not a true compensation, it is a revenge, which can not be an act of justice. All that the state can do is to try to prevent such action by some sort of protection (i.e. the police), by deterrence through the prospects of various forms of punishments, by special restrictions and by moral education. (Ibid:46).

“In view of the general conception of justice, it may rightly be explained that to Aristotle, the spirit of social justice lies in a just arrangement of society which would mean a model in which each one does efficiently the work for which one is fitted by nature of ones capacities and abilities and receives accordingly what is necessary to enable him to continue his work. Though the state regulations can only be accepted as general, not as applying to every individual instance, yet the laws of a state as Aristotle argued, can only provide for what is best in general. The most important element added to the concept of social justice by Aristotle was the ‘rule of law’ which has received a special attention in modern societies “ (Jatava:46-47).

Hobhouse, in his monumental work ‘Elements of social justice’ has outlined following points as elements of social justice: (1) Institutions are ends but means. Politics are subordinate to ethics; (2) One of the Principle of harmony is that common goods can not be opposed to individual goods nor individual set up against the common goods; A right improves duties and is one term of a moral
depend on culturally specific lifestyles. In place of this variability, need based conception of social justice are of two broad patterns. The more radical founded in COMMUNISM, allows each person to define his or her needs and assumes that sufficient resources can be created to meet all needs so defined. The more cautious, found in SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, assumes that a public authority must define needs according to the standards prevailing at particular time and place. The later view may allow for a compromise between the claims of needs and those of deserts. In other words, some social resources being allocated on the basis of need through the welfare state, others being allocated according to desert through bureaucratic processes. This is the most popular interpretation of social justice in the west today. (ibid: 262)

For Outhwaite and Bottomore, “Justice is the evolution of the basic social and political institutions, particularly with respect to the consequent distributions of benefits and burdens, are standardly expressed in terms of justice or injustice. In its most general sense the concept of justice requires that each individuals have what is due to him or her” {Outhwaite and Bottomore 1993: 304).

Within this formula, they have made distinction between the formal and material justice. Formal justice requires distribution which are in accordance with existing or agreed criteria or rules. It is often identified with legal or individual justice. With this involves standards of procedural justice (‘due process’ and ‘natural justice’) which are directed towards fairness and accuracy in the application of rules. It entails formal equality if it assumed that every person in a society or group ought to be treated in accordance with the same rules. On the other hand, material or substantive justice concerns the identification of the appropriate distributive criteria (such as right, desert, need or choice) that constitute competing of justice. Material justice many justify substantive inequalities of outcome or re-distribution between different social groups. It is often identified with social justice (ibid).
Jatava defines social justice as "that sort of justice which prescribes certain ideals closely related to human society; it sustains the existence and continuity of the individual, family, society and the nation; its implementation safeguards the interests of the weaker sections of society; and this removes all the serious unjust imbalances formed between man and man so that the lives of all citizens become improved and emancipated. As a result, every man, according to his own potentiality and merit may participate in the power and wealth of the nation and thus may avail of the opportunities for acquiring social status of his own liking and outlook" (Jatava 1998: 12-13). He further writes "social justice is so wide concept that it includes all other kinds of justice in its sphere. It gives a vivid depiction of the whole of human society. It is like a looking-glass where in one can find the picture of a country or of a society. It's subject matter is a sort of study, which is related more to practice than theory. That is why social justice is different from the well established social sciences and other studies of human life" (ibid: 15-16).

In context of constitution of India, P.B. Gajendragadkar, former chief justice of India, said: "The concept of social justice is (thus) a revolutionary concept which gives meaning and significance to the democratic way of life and makes the rule of law dynamic. It is this concept of social justice which creates in the minds of the masses of this country a sense of participation in the glory of India's political freedom" (Gajendragadkar 1965: 79). He further adds, "Social justice must be achieved by adopting necessary and reasonable measures with courage, wisdom, foresight, sense of balance and fairplay to all the interests concerned. That shortly stated, is the concept of social justice and its implications. If eternal vigilance is the price for national liberty, it is equally the price for sustaining individual freedom and liberty in welfare state." (ibid: 81) Now let’s discuss various theories of social justice.
THEORIES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

There are number of theories of social justice. But some of the important one's are briefly discussed here.

(I) **Utilitarianism:**

The protagonists of utilitarianism, J. Benthem (1748–1832), James mill (1773–1836), John Austin (1790-1859) J.S. Mill (1806-1873) considered practicability and utility to be the measure of virtue and justice. The value of justice is inherent in how many individuals derive pleasure from it, that is how far it is useful or full of utility in favour of common interest. That which is not useful, or does not contain any utility, can not be just and ethically justifiable. Thus "The maximum good of the greatest number of individuals" was regarded as the basis of justice. For them, utility ought to be the measure of good, right, morality, progress and justice. Bentham stressed that "justice must be demonstrated, and the welfare of the needy and the oppressed be protected". Thus, according to these thinkers, whatever is useless, painful, evil and unjust, must be reformed or changed in the interest of the greatest number of individuals (Jatava 1998:28). In other words, according to this school of social justice, all questions of distributions are to be resolved by reference to over consequences; A Sociality just allocation is ultimate allocation that produces the greatest sum of happiness. J. Stuart Mill’s utilitarianism (1801) contains perhaps the must persuasion presentation of this position (Mill 1969)

II. **Self Perfectionism:**

F.H. Bradley (1846–1924) the most subtle and leading thinker of the theory of "self-protectionism", stressed the idea that if each individual does the duties of his station the place assigned to him as a teacher, worker, lawyer etc, the establishment of a just and good society would be
easier. He considered his theory of “My station and it’s duties” to be the main foundation of justice. Since all individuals differ in their abilities and capacities their duties too, would immensely differ. Each individual must do all his duties, honestly, and efficiently in accordance with the place he has been assigned in society. However, in Bradley’s social scheme every person has right to choose his own place of duties. Hence, he can pursue any course of his liking, but once he selects his place, he must do his work devotedly so that the possibilities of social progress and the areas of justice are expanded in the interest of all. In Bradley’s view, this is the right way to achieve individual and social good and there is no contradiction between the two. Thus grounded in justice, the moral ideal of Bradley adheres to the idea that a man’s life, along with his moral duties mainly completes itself in ordering those professions which has been designated as state and that partly by means of it’s laws and institutions, even more than this by it’s own consciousness provides to man such a life that he likes and must live (Bradley 1935: 174)

III. Marxism:

The Marxist’s view of social justice believes that the idea of justice has developed through the age. It changes from one age to the other on the basis of economic relations. The economic structure plays decisive role in establishing and maintaining the social justice. There has been continuos struggle between the ‘have’ and ‘have not’ throughout the ages in the pretext of social justice as in every stages of human society the have not were exploited by the have class, but could not attain such justice as the problem of exploitation is rooted in the economic structure itself. Hence, the Marxist ethics first associate the concept of justice with the idea of liberating society from exploiting class, and social justice attains
it's summit in communist society, in which all traces of social and economic distinction disappear (Rosenthal and Yudin 1967:228).

In other words, in existing social system based on dominance of private property in which one is owner and other is labour, the true justice is not possible and it is nevertheless, not possible to stop the exploitation. Hence, the proletariat revolution followed by the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism or communism, thereby abolishing private property, abolishing classes and all form of inequalities, only would help attain social justice. In various works, Marx and Engels have outlined the theory of exploitation and its remedies i.e Communism (Marx and Engels 1952; 1844 etc.) In later stages, Lenin, Stalin and Mao have contributed significantly in their respective works about theory of communism.

Prof Laski eulogized the socialism of Karl Marx, for it was essentially a humanist approach but he added an idea of freedom to economic equality. “Equality involves up to the margin of sufficiency and identity of responsibility to primary needs and this is what is meant by justice: (Laski 1925 :275). The significance of freedom is that it encourages people to do what equality requires from them. Laski held that socialism and fellowship are the same thing, and to him, the socialists look to be happy in an egalitarian socialist world (Idid)

Recent communitarian theories hold that criteria of justice depend on the “sphere” in which distributions are being considered, so that, for instance, economic and political justice are distinct and that standards of justice are always relative to the understandings and expectation of current specific societies. (Walzer 1983: 23 –25). Hence, the Marxian notion of communism or justice has been modified from time, to time place to place and situation to situation though the crux has been the same- human welfare.
iv) **Existentialism:**

The existentialists did not accept justice as "natural virtue" like that of German philosopher Nietzsche or an ancient Indian law-giver Manu, and said that man is fundamentally free. Man makes his own ideals with a view to bringing about a particular social system in future. The existentialists hold that man's life is a continuous struggle in the midst of the unity of the process of choice. In Jeanpal Sartre's view man can not escape the exercise of freedom as freedom is inherent in the existence of mankind. Freedom would remain in life perennially so long as the existence of man continues. Man's freedom is unlimited, that is, freedom can never be destroyed by any law or moral rule; neither can it be rooted out by the coercion of an ideal or any system of obligations. This fact, however, does not exonerate man from responsibility, which is the sole basis of the existential idea of justice. Man is responsible for all his ideals, which he chooses as a free being, whether these ideals are related to justice, morality, democracy or economic welfare. Man's just ideals, or unjust systems inspire him accordingly for pursuing his own course of action. In brief, Sartre said: "I am responsible for myself and also for others. In the spirit of my choice, I am creating a certain image (concept) of man." (Frechtman 1947:21)

v) **Rawls' theory:**

According to Rawls, the most distinctive elements of which the principle that inequalities in the allocation of goods are permissible if and only if they work to the benefit of the least well-off members of society. According to him:

(a) Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.
(b) Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:

I. The greatest benefits to the least-advantaged and
II. Attached to the offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equalities of opportunities (Rawls 1972:250)

VI. Libertarianism:

A more far reaching challenge has been posed by critics such as Hayek and Nozick who reject the notion of social justice altogether, and argue instead for a return to the traditional understanding of justice as respect for law and established rights. Their argument begins from different philosophical starting points but contain three central claims (Hayek 1976; Nozick 1974).

First, the notion of social justice assume that there is some agency responsible for the distribution of benefits in society, whereas in fact, this distribution arises through uncoordinated activity of many agents, non-aiming at overall results.

Seconds, the quest for social justice involves replacing the market economy with a stultifying bureaucracy which tries to exercise complete control over the flow of resources to individuals.

Third, this quest also involves fundamental interference with personal freedom, in so far as people must be prevented from doing as they please with the resources they are allocated if the preferred distributive pattern is to be maintained.

Justice, the new-liberals argue, is a property of processes rather than of outcomes. If the convert procedures for acquiring and transferring benefits have been followed, it makes no sense to describe the resulting distribution of resources as either just or unjust.

VII. Ambedkarism:
Ambedkar agreed with Prof. Bergbon's idea of justice which states, "Justice has always evoked ideas of equality, of proportion of 'compensation'. Equity signifies equality. Rules and regulations, right and righteousness are concerned with equality in value. If all men are equal, all men are of the same essence and the common essence entitles them to the same fundamental rights and to equal liberty" (quoted in Ambedkar 1987:25). Ambedkar had also a very liberal concept of justice in the sense of its being grounded in human values. "Justice", for Ambedkar "is simply another name for liberty, equality and fraternity" (ibid).

According to Ambedkar Political democracy can not last unless there lies at the base of it the social democracy which recognises equality, liberty and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity but form a unity of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy (Ambedkar 1994:1216). Hence, for Ambedkar democracy is essential ingredient for attaining social justice.

To Ambedkar, liberty had a significant robe to play in shaping human personality. It is grounded in expression of thought, belief, faith and worship; and a man with it becomes and grows rich when he expresses himself in various ways. It gives opportunities for art and literature. The hidden talents are expressed through liberty and a man can choose the best way to shape his destiny. To restrain absolute liberty, equality comes in picture. It knits men to men, groups to groups, and brings them in mutual ties, cooperation and social sympathy. Citizens can not
live in crippled condition. Equality depends upon, acknowledges and gives effect to the consciousness of mutual obligations and mutual recognition of rights that bind the members of society together. Equality is the binding affair of the people. Fraternity is the indepth feeling to provide an atmosphere wherein people could enjoy the values of liberty and equality. For Ambedkar, "fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians, all Indians being one people; It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life" (Ambedkar 1994:1216-17). This meaning of fraternity, Ambedkar gave in context of Indian society. Thus, Ambedkar elucidated that these principles of trinity can not be divorced from each other as one supplements and complements the other in the process of social justice.

Ambedkar concept of social justice means a mode of life to give every man his right place in society. Its precepts may be: to live honourably, to give respect to all, to injure no one, and to give every man his due without any artificial discrimination in mind and unnatural classification in society. The other precepts of social justice are: supremacy of constitutional rules, equality before law, grant of fundamental rights, performance of duties, adherence to legal and social obligations, and finally a staunch faith in the value of justice, liberty equality, fraternity and dignity of human personality. The concept of justice, in Ambedkar’s view, is a problem not merely of distributing the material abundance among the people but basically a mode of life based on mutual respect and regard, a feeling of fellow-ship as equal members of society. Hence, the measure of social justice is not material progress, but
the abundance and proliferation of human values among the people (Jatava 1998:79).

Apart from the above theories, there are number of scholars who conceptualise or theorise the social justice. Hence, a brief description of their contribution is justifiable.

According to Brunetto Latini “Just as justice is an equal thing, so injustice is unequal; and thus he who wants to establish justice tries to make equal the things that are unequal” (as quoted in Sartori 1965:330). Thus, he means justice by ‘sameness’.

Prof. Hart conceptualised justice with relating to law and morality. In his own words: “justice constitute not with individual conduct but with the ways in which classes of individuals are treated. It is this which gives justice it’s special relevance in the criticism of law and other public or social institutions. It is the most public and the most legal of the virtues. But the principle of justice do not exhaust the idea of morality; and not all criticism of law made on moral grounds is made in the name of justice. Law may be condemned as morally bad simply because they require men to do particular actions which morally forbids individual to do, or because they require men to abstain from doing those which are morally obligatory”(Hart 1970:163). About justice, he further explained “that individuals are entitled in respect of each other to a certain relative positions of equality or inequality. This is something to be respected in the vicissitudes of social life when burdens or benefits fall to be distributed. It is also something to be restored when it is disturbed. Hence justice is traditionally thought of as maintaining or restoring a balance or proportion, and it’s leading precepts is often formulated as ‘Treat like cases alike’,
though we need to add, ‘Treat different cases differently’ (ibid:155).

Prof. Brecht talks of universality of human needs and so the universal term justice. He says: “the universal term justice responds to a universal human need of expression, not only in acquiescence with exiting laws but also in criticizing them for lack of justice, and that this universal need relates to the feeling that has at least some elements in common. We have good cause for supposing, further, that these elements must be very important for human nature, since they are tied up with such passionate feeling”(Brecht 1970:389).

For Messner, justice goes beyond the virtue of individual, as social order can exist only when there are rules of law and justice with objective and universal validity and independent of the subjective individual will...Justice, then, is a virtue whereby to fulfill the judicial obligations (Messner 1973:213).

To David Hume, justice is not a “natural virtue” but an “artifice” for it arises from circumstances and necessities of mankind. Though the rules of justice may be artificial, yet they cannot be arbitrary, because the idea of justice is related to sympathy and public interest; it is morally approved and is based on human convention developed out of “self – interest”. According to Hume, “Justice establishes itself by a kind of convention or agreements; that is, by a sense of interest, supposed to be common to all, and where every single act is performed in expectation that others are to perform the like. Without such a convention, no one would have ever dreamed, that there was a virtue as justice, or would have been induced to conform his action to it “(Hume...
“Self interest”, as Hume observed, is the original notice to the establishment of justice; but sympathy with public interest is the source of moral approbation, which attends to that virtue (ibid:449-500).

All the above theories contributed something small, or big, positive or negative, this aspect or that aspect of social justice. However, some of the theories stated above seems to be outdated today for their inherent deficiencies. For instance, theory of ‘Hindu Social Order’ believed in an official doctrine of ‘social inequality’ (Hantal 1999). It opposed to all that which constituted the essence of social justice (Ambedkar 1987: 25-92). In Ambedkar’s view, the Chaturvarna failed for the reason for which Plato’s scheme proved wrong and superficial (Ambedkar 1944: 43-44). Similarly, the divine law of Hindusim which states, “justice is an attribute of God…. Every act, every thought is weighed in the invisible but universal balance-scales of justice. The day of judgment is not in some remote future but here and now, and none can escape it. Divine laws can not be evaded. They are not so much imposed from without as wrought into our nature” (Radhakrishnan 1949:73), is not acceptable in the modern world.

Aristotle, though one of the founding fathers of the rule of law justified social inequality and slavery, as he said: “The soil is too be till by slaves, and artisans are to be excluded from citizenship on the ground that virtue is impossible for men whose time is consumed in manual labor” (Sabine 1973: 103). Hence, his theory can not be accepted too.

Similarly, no justice can be seen in Thrasymachusean who “upheld the interest of the strong and also justified inequality and violence-if they could
protect the interest of the strong “(Jatava 1998 : 81). As regards Nietzsche, Ambedkar observed that the social philosophy of Nietzsche “ had become identified with will to power, violence, denial of spiritual values, superman and the sacrifice, servility and debasement of the common man”(Ambedkar 1987 : 74). According to Jatava, “ Nietzsche, like Manu, was an embodiment of social inequality and both of them upheld the interests of one class only, which was quite contradictory to the spirit of social justice.” (Jatava 1998: 81).

However, the Marxism stands for the spirit of humanism. The method as well as objective outlined by it does not seem practicable and attainable in Modern world-hence, at best remained as Utopia. It’s ‘praxis’ in modified form in former USSR, china and other nations did not yield true justice. It’s ‘economic determinism’ and alleging caste or religion as determinant of economic structure, and its call for violent proletarian revolution are more of a theory than a practical reality- neither can be possible nor desirable (Weber-x; Ambedkar-x;). Despite such criticism, Marxism has been source of inspiration for scholars of social justice for its stand on humanism and social equity.

The Gandhian principle of social justice inherent in the idea of Sarvodaya Samaj is rejected by Ambedkar for three main reasons: (i) That is based on the division of labour which forms the corner-store of Varnashram Dharma; (ii) That it regards the role of Daridra Narayan (God’s grace to weaker sections) as an important one for maintaining of justice; (iii) That the theory of “trusteeship” has been highlighted to redress the economic ills of society, which is just like making the cat to look after the milk or to give a lamb under the guardianship of a wolf (Jatava 1998 : 86-87).

More or less some weakness are seen in various theories of justice; some theories as discussed above are sectarian, anti-poor, whereas some other theories such as Mills, Rawls, etc. are for human happiness and welfare of society but Ambedkar’s view seems to be more comprehensive for it goes beyond equality.
and liberty by adding fraternity which signifies spirit of brotherhoodness of mankind. Besides, he outlined methods to attain such which were practicable, as drafted in ‘Constitution of India’ (Gore 1997).

The crux of Ambedkar’s concept of social justice are: the unity and equality of all human beings, the equal worth of men and women, the respect for the weak and the lowly, the regard for human rights, benevolence, mutual love, sympathy, tolerance, and charity towards fellow being, human treatment in all cases, the dignity of all citizens, the abolition of caste-distinctions, education and property for all, goodwill and gentleness (Jatava 1998 : 87). In short, Ambedkar sought for social transformation and social development through the establishment of social democracy in which equality, fraternity and liberty would prevail in each and every spheres of life of all members of society (Gore 1997; Ram 1996; Hantal 1999).

B. SOCIAL POLICY

The establishment of the discipline of social policy emerged from the politics of collectivism and the practices of state intervention to deal with social problems in the beginning of the twentieth century. Although, there had been significant state intervention in the nineteenth century by way of for example the Poor Law, the Factory Acts, Public Health Standard, Education Provision, large scale acceptance of the arguments of the principle of collectivism did not emerge until the turn of century (Williams : 4)

According to some social scientists like Urshekar the concept of social welfare arose out of the realization of the inter-dependence of people, that the people of a country are one organic integrated unit and that it is unjust to deny opportunity for attaining a standard of living to the handicapped (i.e, weaker sections) and that it will amount to denial of socio-economic justice to him and that no community can progress unless all its sections develop uniformly (Urshekar 1973: 214)
The concept of social policy is related to social justice and social development. It is the method through which social justice is attained and social development is carried on. According to Briggs, "The concept of 'social policy' central to modern history is related to changing approvals to the efficiency and scope of government and administration" (Briggs 1972 : 10-11). According to this definition of Briggs, therefore, it is not only the formulation of social policy but its effective implementation is paramount. Secondly, the policy changes from time to time as per social aspiration and usefulness.

In Western societies, Fabian socialism was considered as more inclined towards social justice and social development as dominant values of Fabianism were equality, freedom and fellowship. Fabian's were deeply committed to equality for the sake of social harmony, social efficiency, natural justice and realization of collective potential. Along side this, they were humanitarians, and they gave priority to the alleviation of misery and put a premium on cooperation and on democracy.

Their argument against capitalism was moral one. It was unethical, unjust, undemocratic action. Central to this transformation was the welfare state which with it's commitment to the promotion of equality of opportunity, social harmony and re-distribution of wealth, could promote material change and win people's altruism and egalitarianism (Williams : 30)

Therefore, according to William, the social policy pertaining to social development gained its prominent position in turn of 20th century. The Marxian thought developed, both in among the intellectual class and political, and other apolitical class, emphasized more upon the welfare of the people mass of the state as a whole. Both Liberalist and Socialist countries gave optimal importance to the team 'social policy' which stated that the economic development should truly be utilized for the social development. Social issue was then regarded part and parcel of political and economic issue of the country. Social history would not be
separated from political and economic history in any period. For centuries it could not be separated off from religious history since charity itself was institutionalized (ibid).

As already stated, the state is the main institution to carry out social policy to attain the social objectives. “Because: (i) The state extends its control over the means of production, gradually or with evolutionary abruptness and thus becomes the main features of economic development; (ii) The political power of the state is seen as the most useful instrument for implementing social change and adapting traditional social institutions to new circumstances; (iii) Social development is primarily the result of conscious action by the state within the framework of coordinated and all illusive state plan” (Fusic 1972: 13).

Therefore, as pointed out by various scholars state should direct it’s action plans for attaining social justice and making it welfare state lest in unequal and unjust social order disturbance and disintegration are likely to occur.

Drawing on the wealth of empirical research in the area of industrial relations, Goldthorpe seeks to show that marked social inequality in modern societies must serve to undermine social integration, and that without sharply reducing inequality, anomie patterns can not be reduced in such societies. He seeks to show that “disorderly” industrial relations and the “wage juggles” are consequences of pattern of inequality that can not be legitimatised. The “unprincipled” nature of unequal distribution of rewards serves as a constant destabilizing influence, encouraging each group of workers “to their”. Goldthorpe believes that in the analysis of particular applied problems, as incumbent on applied sociologists, not to take existing pattern of inequality as given, because no solution to social problems exists within the unequal system. Instead, applied sociologists should face up to the often unpleasant need to explain that conflict and lack of integration are routinely generated consequences of a highly unequal distribution of resources (Goldthorpe 1974: 32-40).
Hence, social welfare should be key issue of social policy. Some scholars, as stated in chapter three, believes that the growth of national economy would take care of social welfare and bring social equity and justice. However several empirical evidences reported so far do not support this argument.

One of the first fairly comprehensive studies of income distribution and growth was that of Kuznets's. For comparing income distribution cross-nationally, Kuznets was able to generate usable data on sixteen countries, nine of them developing. His observations are: (i) The income share of highest income groups in developing countries are significantly larger than the shares of the same groups in the developed countries; (ii) The income share of the lowest quintiles is about the same in developed and developing countries; (iii) There is greater equality among middle income groups in LDCs than in such groups in DCs, as he says 'if there is greater inequality in LDCs at the top of the income structure, and the same degree of inequality at the bottom, there must be greater equality in the middle groups' (Kuznets 1963)

As per finding of Adelman and Morris, at the lowest levels of development, growth tends to increase inequality. Broadly speaking, in the poorest countries, growth works against the poorer segment of population (Adelman and Morris 1974). According to Robinson, due to presence of other factors i.e., rapid population growth and rural-urban migration, income distribution will become more unequal overall during the early stages of development and then more equal later on (Robinson 1976).

However, Oshima's study of inequality in Asian countries reveals that the growth of economy would not reduce inequality, thereby refutes the view of Robinson. His main conclusion was that undue policy emphasis on industrialization can lead to unemployment, excessive urbanisation, regional imbalance, and widening inequality (Oshima 1970: 34).
Weisskoff examined the shift from agriculture to non-agricultural economic activities and found a resulting overall increase in inequality (Weisskoff 1970). Similarly, in a study of inequality in India, Swamy concludes that inequality increases in industrial sector much more (85 percent) than in agricultural sector (15 percent). In other words, there is more inter-sectoral inequality than in intra-sectoral inequality (Swamy 1967). Berry’s study of Colombia indicates continually increasing inequality between the agricultural sector and the rest of the Colombian economy since 1930s, despite growth in overall product per capital (Berry 1974). Because of extreme inequality, the absolute benefits of specific public policies received by the upper income groups are far in excess of those accruing to the poor (De Wulf 1974:23). Field’s study of Kenya’s higher education indicates that there is a “systematic process operating against the poor,” tending to perpetuate inequalities existing there (Fields 1975).

Employment programmes have captured the attention of many social scientists and proposals for attacking the problems of unemployment and inequitable income distribution decorate almost any development plan. However, the policy of state again goes against employment and equitable distribution. For example it’s Labour displacing technologies for enhancing economic growth hampers not only employment but also equity distribution of income. Webb, as per his observation in Peru points out that non-labour income responsible for more inequality of distribution of income than labour income (Webb 1972). Jarvis, therefore, advocates not only for correct employment policy but a more direct government role in income distribution (Jarvis 1974).

It has been also reported by scholars that government’s economic policy i.e. Stabilisation policy leads to increase of inequality. It has been reported from Indonesia (Arndt 1975) and Brazil (Wells 1974). Various other studies pertaining to growth and inequality has been reviewed by Loehr (Loehr 1982:1-29). Loehr
has summarized several factors responsible for such gross inequality and poverty. These are (i) The uneven distribution of human resources causes wide disparities in productivity and thus in income; (ii) Barriers to economic mobility are greater in developing countries than in development ones. These barriers may take the form of open racism, restrictive legislation, unrealistic job qualifications, ignorance, or tradition; (iii) The economic structure of a country may tend to concentrate income in a few hands. This structure may determine the ownership of property and location of specific resources such as minerals; (iv) The social and political organization of a country may not be conducive to a widespread sharing of income; (v) Dualism, an element of economic structure may create a situation in which there is an ‘automatic’ tendency for income to become concentrated despite rapid economic growth (ibid : 12).

Poverty is another area where Social policy is concerned. Despite the increase in national income, defect social policy could not make the world free from poverty and hunger. The fruits of national income have not reached the poor to any significant degree in most developing countries, despite growth; for example according to McNamara in spite of historically unprecedented average rate of growth through out the 1960s the poor did not get benefit of such (McNamara : 103). He also distinguished three broad categories of poverty in the developing world as follows (ibid. 104-105).

First, there is great poverty in those generally rather small countries that have very few resources – natural, financial or skilled – with which to promote growth. There is so little wealth in these nations that even if it were more equitably distributed, virtually every one would still be very poor. There are twenty-five such countries, with population totaling 140 mill. The UNO has designated these as LDCs and special measures of assistance for them have been approved.

Second, there is poverty found in certain impoverished regions in most of the larger developing countries – for example, the southern republics of Yugoslavia, northeastern Brazil, and northeastern Thailand. The integration of these regions
into the more rapidly growing parts of the economy often poses difficult cultural as well as economic problems. These areas are, however, readily identifiable geographically, and it is possible to devise and implement programmes for increasing the productive capacities and incomes of their populations, based on the geographical features of the regions.

The third category of poverty is the most extensive, the most pervasive, and most persistent of all. It is the poverty of the low-income strata roughly the poorest 40 percent of the total population in all developing countries. It is they who, despite their country’s economic growth, remain trapped in conditions of deprivation that fall below any rational deficiency of human decency.

McNamara criticised the social policies of various states unable to meet out the poverty by following words:

"This is not simply the poverty of a highly disadvantaged country, or of a particularly backward geographical region in an otherwise rapidly advancing country. Rather, it is the poverty of these people widely dispersed throughout every developing country that, for whatever reason, lies beyond the reach of market forces and existing public services. It is the poverty of those masses of the population that current government policies do not adequately encompass and that external assistance can not directly reach" (McNamara: 105).

Idris Cox, in his monumental work ‘The hungry half’ has described in more elaborate way the various social maladies faced by the poor mass of the developing and under-developed world. He, through examples of various surveys, observations, studies etc; skillfully highlighted the problem of hunger, thirst, literacy and education, shelter, cloth, diseases health, starvation etc. of these poor mass. According to him Asia and Africa are the worst but in Latin
America conditions are hardly any better (Cox 1970). About the general conditions of these poor and exploited mass he notes:

“The conditions in which the majority of the people in the developing countries live are far worse than those terrible day in Britain in the early days of the Industrial Revolution two countries ago. Few of them have decent houses. In the village they live in mud huts, most of them without a piped water supply, drainage, gas or electricity. They simply eke out a bare existence. In the towns they live in tin shanties, with open sewers running through what pretends to be a street but is nothing more than a rough cart track. They seldom have a piped water supply or any sanitation and are grossly over crowded” (Cox 1970: 1).

In sum, we can say that the policies by the states were rather inimical for the equity and justice causing huge numbers of poor or hunger in the developing world. Myrdal, calls these policies as soft policies. The state does not take radical stand for attaining social equity and justice as it fears to the other vested interest classes. As a result it brings out soft policy which rather cumulates the poverty and other crises (Myrdal 1971 : 211). In addition of soft stand or policy, the other defects in policies and excessive corruption, according to him, are the challenges of world poverty (ibid: 211-251). He also criticized agricultural policy, population policy, education policy etc. of the developing world which are inadequate and poor, and therefore adding fuel to the fire (ibid :63-270). Myrdal saw inequality of the system was the cruelest factor to it. In his own words:

"that inequality and the trends towards rising inequality stand as a complex of inhibitions and obstacles to development and that, consequently, there is an urgent need for reversing the trend and creating greater equality as conditions for speeding up development” (ibid: 63-64).
Moreover, the growth policies adopted by developing world is, in fact, inimical to social justice thereby widening the social inequality. This is exemplified by the following quotation:

“A conflict exists.... between the aims of growth and equality.... The inequalities in income contribute to the growth of the economy which makes possible a real improvement for the lower-income groups”. (Papanek 1968 :178, 242). Hence, scholars like Paul Streeten called for Basic Human Approach as the right policy in place of Income Approach for meeting basic needs and attaining social equity” (Streeten and etal 1982).

**Failure of social Policy:**

Despite the government adopting a number of measures to reduce inequality, the social development is not taken place i.e. equity and justice is not attained, because of the number of reasons, some of which have been discussed above.

Some scholars like Rossi is of the view that target population are going to be difficult to define or affect, proposed programmes are going to be difficult to access, and alternative programmes can not be easily ordered in terms of their superiority or inferiority. He opined that the cost-benefit analysis approach way of making decision would be more explicitly rational. This approach, for him, is designed to answer the questions of how to choose among alternative approaches in achieving a particular set of social goals (Rossi 1972 : 23). However, not cost-benefit, but to make earnest effort and sacrifice with effective policy in raising quality of life and bringing equality and justice, seems to be better one. Because quality of life, equity and justice can not be tested through cost-benefit analysis.
A number of theories were developed to explain the failures in the social policy process; they differ in their views of the central causes of the breakdown. These theories can be grouped into three schools of thoughts: (i) Failure in policy design; (ii) Failure in the management of inter and inter-organizational linkages; and (iii) The growth of administrative desecration among frontline workers (Gummer 1990 : 93).

In the opinion of Gummer, these perspectives roughly correspond to what Rein and Robin Ovitz called the three ‘imperatives’ what actors in the policy processes must take into account: The legal imperative to do what is legally required; the rational bureaucratic imperative to do what can establish agreement among contending influential parties who have a stake in the outcome.

Each imperative seeks accomplish a different purpose, thus creating a system of potentially conflicting demands on policy makers, programme administrators and service providers. When the goals and interests of these and other actors (service users and representatives of the general public) conflicts, the implementation process becomes politicized as different parties seek to advance their separate interests (ibid). In other words, according to Gummer the internal rivalries among the elite classes responsible to formulate and implement social policies are the cause of failure of social policy in achieving its objectives of social justice, equity and development.

Various other factors are also rooted in such failures of policies. “racial, gender, caste, regional etc. factors play pivotal role in discrimination of certain categories (sections, groups) in whose name social policies and programmes are formulated but truly those are not practically utilized (implemented) for their upliftment and development. Hence, role of ‘value’ is very crucial in determining social justice and social development”(Hantal 1996 :90). Thus if one method is employed to eradicate a social problem, before properly eradication of such, another problem does takes place, which Schaffer called ‘Irony of equality’ (Schaffer 1981 :3).
As per observation of Schaffer, public action may be intended to convert an ‘in equality’ arriving from the operation of institutions and rules (i.e. markets, agencies, laws, household structure). It does so characteristically and unavoidably, however, by setting up fresh institutions and outcomes of exclusion and inequality, and the process can continue indefinitely. In Britain, for example, measures to correct the outcome of labour market- by regional policies and welfare payment system – led to a complex array of conditions about employment eligibility, unemployment, and supplementary benefits and in due course to still further sets of rules about appeals and exclusions.

In Sri Lanka, to take a third world example, attempts to deal with the class, ethnics, regional basis of supposedly equalizing policies in education, health, and nutrition have not had the consequence of new appellate structure. Instead, exclusionary rules have tended to develop in other sectors –i.e. changes in employment qualifications and in eligibility for food coupons, to say nothing, to say nothing constitutional and political changes affecting the Tamil minority, the effect of which is to produce new types of ‘inequitable’ outcome in public programme (Schaffer 1981: 3).

Another illuminating example would be India’s reservation policy that was extended to other Backward classes (OBCs) thereby making total reservation of government and semi-government jobs to fifty percent. Hence, it satisfied the weaker sections, as they would now avail the opportunity of representative democracy. However, in sharp move, government started vigorous privatization and reduction of government and semi-government posts, thereby excluding the weaker sections who might have hoped that through reservation they would get more jobs. Hence the continuity of more reservation became only eyewash.
Therefore, Schaffer is, perhaps, right in saying that the equality as a concept and practice is above all a political fact. "It's" according to him, "an ideological construct about distribution, about the appointment of resources in society and therefore, political in the sense of an intervention in the struggle of political ideas. And it is political in its procedural/substantive manifestations, as the realization through state action of an important aspect of political – economic inter-relations" (Schaffer 1981 :2).

Finally, it would be stated that whatever noble meanings the terms-‘equity, justice’ and‘ development’ might contain in, these could not by themselves were sufficient, unless and until the social policies of such to give these concepts meaningful shape were not honestly formulated and practically implemented with letter and spirit.

C. DEVELOPMENT

In 1950, UNO had defined an under-developed country as the one in which per capita real income was low when compared with per capita real income of the USA, Canada, Australia and Western Europe (United Nations 1951:3). In similar fashion, Bauer and Jamey had defined it as "countries or regions with levels of real income or capital per head of population which are low by the standards of North America, Western Europe and Australia. In under developed countries there is no large scale application of the fruits of scientific and technological advance to agriculture and industry; subsistence of production is generally important and markets comparatively narrow; and manufacturing industry is usually comparatively unimportant. As generally used the term covers the whole of Asia (with the probable exception of Japan) Africa, Latin America (with Argentina sometimes omitted) and part of Eastern and Southern Europe. Defined in this way, the under developed areas contain about three-quarter of the population of the world (Bauer and Yamey 1957:3).
The above definitions seem to be one-sided, and without the knowledge of ground realities, and therefore incomplete and inadequate to understand the true nature of complex reality. Because, we have already seen in last sections through review of works of various scholars like that of Kuznets, Loehr etc. that the growth of income by itself not sufficient for calling it as development due to its lack of eradication poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, diseases, inequality etc. Robinson rightly asserts, for several of the Arab states, G.N.P per capita suddenly jumped to levels which exceed that of the richest western states, yet in these countries are found some of the poorest and least developed communities in the world (Robinson 1980:5). Similar things could be seen in other countries like Brazil and Italy.

Staley has defined under development by taking into account the state of people. In his own words, Under-developed country is "a country characterized by mass poverty which is chronic and not the result of some temporary misfortune and obsolete methods of production and social organization, which means that the poverty is not entirely due to poor natural resources and hence, could presumably be lessened by methods already proved in other countries (Staley 1954:13).

Danis Goulet provides a forceful portrayal of underdevelopment in terms of poverty. He states: "Underdevelopment is shocking: the squalor, disease, unnecessary deaths and hopeless of it all! No man understands if underdevelopment remains for him a mere statistics reflecting low income, poor housing, premature morality or under-employment. The most emphatic observer can speak objectively about underdevelopment only after undergoing, personally or vicariously, the shock of underdevelopment: this unique culture shock comes to one as he is initiated to the emotions which prevail in the "culture of Poverty". The reverse shock is felt by those living in destitution when a new self understanding reveals to them that their life is neither human nor inevitable... The prevalent emotion of underdevelopment is a sense of personal and societal impotence in the face of disease and death, of confusion and ignorance as one gropes to understand change of servility toward men whose decisions govern the course of events of hopeless before hunger and natural catastrophe. Chronic
poverty is cruel of hell; and one can not understand how cruel that hell is merely by gazing upon poverty as an object" (Goulet 1971: 23).

Thus, Goulet gave humanistic interpretation to under-development. Nurkse was highly pessimistic about the future of under developed and poverty ridden countries. For, Nurkse, the third world countries believed to be trapped in the 'vicious circle of poverty' and therefore, can never come out of such crises, as 'circular constellation of forces' tending to act and react upon one another in such a way as to keep a poor country in a state of poverty. (Nurkse 1973: 4) His argument is, however not acceptable to today's social scientists for one of the tasks of the intellectuals is to provide solution, not leave such crises unresolved through pessimistic approach. Moreover, it has been observed through empirical evidences that some of countries and groups could have come out of such vicious circle of poverty.

Bauer criticising Nurkse's thesis has forcefully asserted: "If the thesis were valid, for instance innumerable individuals, groups and communities would not have risen from poverty to riches as they have throughout the world, in both rich and poor countries. This is itself should be sufficient to disprove the thesis as a general proposition. But the thesis is also refuted by the very existence of developed countries, all of which started poor, with low incomes per head and low levels of accumulated capital, that is with the economic features which now define under-developed countries" (Bauer 1979: 34).

Frank's recent work 'Reorient: Global economy in the Asian age', highlight's that the so-called poor Asian countries of today's world were leading economics during period between 1400 to 1800, and the so-called today's advance economies i.e. western developed nations were lagging behind to former during that period (Frank 1998). Hence, nothing could ever be granted as static. In other words, Frank's work lends solid support to Bauer's assertion of refuting
Nurkse’s thesis, though in different way. There are number of causes responsible for underdevelopment of countries. One of the founding fathers of sociology accused religion as obstacles to economic development in Asian regions (Weber X; Weber 1958). Myrdal attacked the rampant corruption of third world was one of the reasons of backwardness. Besides, he gave two other reasons. In the first place, there was diplomacy in economic research. Secondly, the use of western models which did not represent the concrete reality in developing countries (Myrdal 1971: 63-270). According to Woddis the political feature especially the international political situation was not conducive for rapid growth in backward countries (Woddis 1973: 61-177).

The Scholars like Frank are of the view that the continuous exploitation by developed nations to the backward nations are the cause of the misery and poverty. He has marshalled unquestionable evidence in support of his contention that the under-development of Brazil and Chile can not be explained in any other way except in terms of U.S. exploitation of these countries (Frank 1969). Several Nationalist scholars of India had made similar explanations with regard to British exploitation of India and they called it as ‘Drain of wealth’ (Naoroji 1901; Dutt 1970).

In the above paragraphs, main concern of us was on "Under-development" and its causes. But now, the important term ‘development’s to be discussed. Because the concern of research is to see as how far various policies affected social justice and development in third world nations especially in India.

Earlier, economists believed that economic growth was the economic development and its trickle-down would work as social developments as for them under developments was synonymous with low growth. However, these contentions proved to be incorrect and the world faced tragedies i.e. mass poverty, illiteracy, diseases, crises and tensions. Hence contemporary social scientist
started redefining development. The social importance started becoming the cornerstone of development.

Viner has contended that economic growth be associated with equitable distribution of wealth. He insisted the reduction of mass poverty be made the crucial test of economic growth (Viner 1953: 125). A leading Pakistani economist has remarked: “The problem of development must be defined as a selective attack on the worst forms of poverty. Development goals must be defined in terms of progressive reduction and eventual elimination of malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, squalor, unemployment, and inequalities. We were taught to take care of our GNP because it would take care of poverty. Let us reverse this and take care of poverty because it will care of GNP. In other words, let us worry about the content of GNP even more than its rate of increase” (Haq 1971:6).

In similar way Seers posed the basic questions about the meaning of development in the right perspective when he asserted: “The Question to ask about country’s development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result ‘development’ even if per capita income doubled (Seers 1969:3).

Today, in globalising world, developing countries have started attracting foreign investors i.e. T.N.C to boost their economic growth and export. They consider the growth would take care of human face. But would such growth make development possible? In a well-acclaimed book on Liberia, Robert Clower has observed that though the various concessions to foreign firms induced exports in a big way and resulted in a considerable increase in G.N.P, yet there were
virtually no complementary development in other sectors of the economy. The institutional set-up of the country essentially remained unaltered in this phase of growth. Further, the benefits of this growth went almost exclusively to a privileged few, while the vast majority of the country’s people remained completely unabated. Clower thus calls it’s growth without development (Glower et al 1966).

The more detail discussion about the global economy and social development would follow in next chapter. Here therefore, we restrict our discussion to understanding of ‘development’ concept.

As debate between growth vis. welfare is a very sensible topic and attracted wide attentions of scholars from all over the world; it is therefore, required to state theoretical contributions of some other scholars too. Streeten’s approach to understanding of development is useful one. He gives ‘basic needs approach’ to development as alternative to ‘income approach’. According to him: A basic needs approach to development attempts to provide the opportunities for the full physical, mental and social development of human objectives” (Streeten and et al 1982: 33). However, Streeten did not take extreme approach. According to him this approach is “not a development strategy but an adjust to and a modification of existing development strategies” (ibid).

S. C. Dube defines development with social perspective. He rejected the growth approach to development and asserted for meaningful and qualitative human development as the base of development. In other words, for him the other name of development should be ‘Social development’ (Dube 1992). According to Fusic “Development is now understood as a process, through people aim at satisfying their aspirations and realising their interests. These interest and aspirations are by no means only economic. It is rather the reverse. The goals of development are primarily human in the broader sense of word i.e. improvement
in the quality of human life. An increase in economic resources as means towards this end" (Fusic 1972:13). By way of this definition Fusic also stated that the UN nations' theoretical thing was also moving on that direction.

International community has now realised that social development should be the main flanks of development. In world summit for social Development held in March 1995 at Copenhagen (Denmark), summit made it in explicit terms that social development be a major priority for the international community by means of global cooperation to eradicate poverty, generate employment and promote social integration. (Copenhagen summit 1995).

UNDP report in the form of human development report underlines the need to avoid jobless, ruthless, voiceless, rootless and futureless growth (UNDP 1996). It states: “human development is the end- economic growth is the means. So the purpose of growth should be to enrich people’s lives” (ibid:1) It makes very categorical assertion: “The traditional view that economic growth in early stages is inevitably associated with deteriorating income distribution has been proved false. The new insight is that an equitable distribution of public and private resources can enhance the prospects for future growth “ (ibid:6). It therefore, contradicts some of traditional scholar’s argument that in initial stages of development to occur, some inequality was inevitable. Some scholars have also highlighted through empirical evidences that the contribution of investment in man was instrumental of both growth of economy as well as development of human being; hence human resources development should be essential ingredient of development and justice (Solow 1957: 312-320; Schultz 1961; Sen 1966; Sen 1964: 386:87).

In its various reports, UNDP since 1990, has been contributing for cause of human development such as ‘Concept and measurement of human development’ (}

In its report of 2000 it shows how human lights are critical to achievement of human development and how political freedoms are crucial to the enjoyment of economic freedoms. The report also says there are new threats to human freedoms in the 21st century- conflicts within national boarders, economic and political transitions, global inequalities and marginalisation of poor countries and poor people etc., and calls for bold approaches to tackle the threats (UNDP 2000).

In its ‘poverty Report 2000’ UNDP lamented over the conditions of large number of poors in the third world and criticised about two third of worlds poorer nations for not setting target for its eradication. It was also critical to rich nations for cutting down development assistance’s during the decade (Poverty Report 2002 - UNDP 2000b).

United Nations’s report on malnutrition in third world entitled “Ending Malnutrition by 2020,” says thirty million children each year born are with low birth weights while 200 million children are undernourished. Eighty percent of pregnant women India are anemic. And up to 250 million pre-school children have a vitamin-A deficiency that can cause blindness. Malnutrition is most acute in North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia. Over half the children in Bangladesh and South India are growing inadequately because of malnutrition. It lamented that world community had not taken redial approach to prevent such
‘immoral’ thing which is also cause of impaired physical and development and chromic disease (Ending Malnutrition by 2020- UN Report 2000).

In World Health Organisation (WHO)’s report on performance of health care systems, released in June 2002, it has expressed concern about prevailing health status in various countries and health inequalities or disparities within the population of each country (WHO 2000). As stated already in chapter three world Bank also in its world development report has given the statistics of growth poor and disparities of socio-economic development (World Development Report 2000). It can therefore, be said that the world community of today gives prominent place for human development as the basis of development. The UNO whose definition of development was on the basis of per capita income in 1950s, now talks of human development as indispensable though it still gives equal weigh to growth as according to it, absent of any of them would be serious crises for development as both are supplementary and complementary to each other. According to its own words: “The record of economic growth and human development over the past 30 years shows that no country can follow a course of lopsided development for such a long time – where economic growth is not matched by advances in human development, or vice-versa (UNDP 1996:4).

For a particular nation, the national development or nation building is give prominence, over any other things. However, some scholars like Dixon and Hyung are of opinion that the true social development and establishment of welfare state should be given priorities. Because, it is not mistaken to believe that the development of latter would take care of former. In their own words:

“The desire to build the welfare state however, must go beyond the task of nation building, in this sense of promoting nationalism and must reflect the determination of a nation to guarantee greater human dignity, to enhance creativity and to provide greater personal freedoms, social justice and a higher
standard of living. When this affirmed and shared by those who are concerned with the well being of the people, we may perhaps look with greater confidence to achieving social development in coming years" (Dixon and Hyung 1985: 18-19).

With above discussions, though there are other prominent scholars whom regrettably could not have been covered, the definition of social development should be as follows (as already stated in the beginning of this chapter):

"Social Development is the process of development in which not only injustice is meted out of society but also other privileges, facilities and opportunities i.e. food, cloth, housing, water, health, education, employment, social and economic security, sport recreation, conducive environment and other ingredients of higher quality of life are provided and made available to all the members of society for their fullest development of human personality and besides, other institutional and social structures are built in such a way that all of them would not merely see and feel equality, liberty and fraternity and higher quality of life and socio-economic security but also all they would sense and realise that they truly belong to one society, one nation - thereby the development of society becomes development of nation and vice versa."

In above sections A, B, and C, the concepts ‘Social justice’ ‘Social Policy’ and ‘Social Development’ have been discussed. In the following section D- ‘Social justice and Social development in India’, the implication of social justice and development in India would be critically evaluated.

**D. SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA**

When India got freedom, it saw 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 merely economic one.

Myrdal regards the complexities and dissimilarities as a drama "sense a clear cut set of conflicts and tension. The action in this drama is speeding towards a climax. Tension is mounting: economically, socially and politically" (Myrdal 1968: 34),
Myrdal accused people of South Asia for the vast inequality and conflict, besides the backward economy, which he saw as a common theme in drama. His narration of social inequalities and destitute conditions of South Asian people are quoted as:

"To some degree all of us are participants in drama. It is as if the stage set for South Asia were enlarged and due onto itself the entire world, so that no one could merely a spectator. The growing western literature on the problems of the under-developed countries in South Asia since the second world war to which this book is another contribution is due to a heightened awareness of our stake in the dramatic happenings in these countries... Despite the increased interest in South Asian Problems in other parts of the world, the leading figures in this drama are the people of South Asia themselves, above all their educated class...

This drama has its unity in a set of inner conflicts operating on peoples mind: between their high pitched aspirations and bitter experience of a harsh reality, between the desire for change and improvement and mental reservations and inhibitions about accepting the consequences and paying the price. Such conflicts are part of human life in all times and place; but in the countries under study, they have an exceptional, mounting intensity and assume a unique form.

Urged on by aspiration and curbed by material conditions and their own inhibitions, articulate individuals and groups in all these countries continually take decisions with the objective of resolving or accommodating the conflicts. The drama gains its past pace from the terrific strength of the forces creating the conflicts" (Myrdal 1968:34)

The post independent India had expected some sort of egalitarian society as one of the important flanks of national struggle for independence was to make India not only political freedom, but also social and economic freedom as well. Hence, for formation of socialistic pattern of society based on equality, liberty and fraternity, it laid down certain provisions in constitution of India for the cause of the downtrodden India, as part of nations commitment to the social justice and social development. Some of such provisions relating to social justice and development are stated below (Basu 1994; Kashyap 1994 etc):

Article 14: Equality before the law and equal protection of law.
Article 15: Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. This article also permits the state in making special provisions for women, children, socially and educationally backward classes and SCs and STs.
Article 16: Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. It has stated that the state shall take special care for SCs and STs in the matter of appointment to services and posts.
Article 17: Abolition of untouchability.
Article 19: Grants six freedom: freedom of speech and expression; freedom of assembly; freedom of association; freedom of movement; freedom of residence and freedom of profession/occupation are granted with some exceptions.

Article 23: Traffic in human beings, beggar and similar forms of forced labour are prohibited.

Article 24: No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.


Article 29: The state shall not impose upon it any culture other than the community's own future.

Article 30: All minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

Article 31A: Land acquisition for Agrarian reform.

31B: 9th Schedule- immune from judicial review.

31C: as inserted by the 25th amendment act, 1971, states that any law which seeks to implement the directives of Art. 39 (b) or 39(c) i.e. the plan of socialistic distribution of wealth and means of production shall not be void for inconsistency with Art 14,19 or 31.

Article 32: Constitutional Remedies for enforcement of fundamental rights.

Article 38. 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.

Article 39 A: The state to provide free legal aid to the poor and to take other suitable steps to ensure equal justice to all which is offered by the preamble.

Article 39B: The state should secure that the ownership and control of natural resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good.

Article 39C:

Article 38 (2): The state shall in particular strive to minimize the income inequalities in income and endeavor to eliminate inequalities in states, facilities and opportunities not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vacations.

Article 40/41: Village panchayat and right to work.

Article 43/42: Provide for endeavoring to secure for workers, a living wage, humane conditions of work, maternity relief, a descent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities.

Article 45: Free and compulsory education to children up to age of 14.

Article 46: Promotion of educational and economic interest of schedule castes schedule tribes and other weaker sections.

Article 335: The claims of members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration, in the making of appointments to services and post in connection with the affairs of the union or the state.

Article 339 (2): The executive power of the union shall extend to the giving of directions of any such state as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the scheduled tribes in the state.

Article 275 (1): Union to give grants in aid to the states for the costs of schemes of welfare of the scheduled tribes and for raising the level of administration of the scheduled Areas in a state to that of the administration of the areas of that state.

Following the guidelines of the constitution several measures mere formulated and implemented. For equitable distribution of assets in rural India, land reform was enacted. As per article 40, village panchayats were structured
through 73rd and 74th amendment acts. Legislation for compulsory primary education (Art. 45) has been enacted in most of the states and in three union territories. For educational development of weaker sections various special schools and hostels were constructed especially for SCs and STs. Besides other facilities i.e. scholarship, book bank, reservation in other general educational institutions were provided for them. For making them included in national mainstreams reservation in employment institutions were provided as per articles: 16 and 335. For raising the standard of living (Art. 47), particularly of the rural population, the Govt. of India launched its Community Development Project in 1952. Later on Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) National Rural employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP) and more others schemes were launched later especially in 1990s. In these programmes special provisions were made for weaker sections and people falling under the below poverty line (BPL) and SCs, STs and women.

However, when we evaluate these programmes of social justice and equity, the empirical evidences provided by many studies do not support the implementation of social justice programmes in letter and spirit by the government. It has been observed that in spite of the land reforms, the land concentration in the hands of few influentials has not been changed. For example Chattopadhyay has shown that in 1954-55, about 47 percent of the households in the size class of 0.00 to 0.99 acres owned 1.38 percent of land. Even in 1971-72, this size class consisting about 45 percent of household owned only 2.07 percent of land. But in 1954-55 about 1.5 percent of households in the size class of 40 acres and above owned about 20 percent of land. Further in 1971-72, about 2 percent of households in the size class of 25 acres and above owned about 23 percent of land (Chattopadhyay 1989: 123-24).
The vast inequality of assets distribution in rural India as per Government report is stated in Table 1.

**Table 1**

*Distribution of Assets in Rural Areas (In Percentage)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowest 10</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower 30</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 30</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>89.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 10</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The land inequalities existed in rural India even after so-called land reform policy by the Government have been reported by various studies by eminent scholars (Oommen; Gough; Desai; Thorner; etc)

The benefits of green revolution have also largely gone to rich landowners. Marginal and small cultivators are unable to obtain higher output because of their small land holding. In addition to this, the gap between the progressive and non-progressive cultivators has also got widened (Bhalla 1974: 109). The vast inequalities of landowning leading to the deterioration of the small and marginal cultivators is manifested in the findings of several sociologists (Desai 1987; Beteille 1987; Johar and Khanna 1983; Pattanaik 1987; etc)

There is close relationship exists between social inequality and economic inequality since social inequality stands as a main cause of economic inequality, while at the same time, economic inequality supports social inequality. Similarly, there is strong relationship exists between poverty and inequality, as social and
economic inequality stand as a main cause of the poverty of nation. From a planning point of view this means that greater equality is a precondition for lifting a society out of poverty (Myrdal 1971:70).

Myrdal also pointed out other two type of relationship. First “is that the poorer a nation is in aggregate or average terms, the more severe hardship will economic inequality wreak on those who are the poorest”(ibid: 70 – 71; Myrdal 1968: 567). He further adds that even if the degree of inequality of poor nation is comparable with developed comprise in terms of ‘Lorenz curve’, though there is lesser possibility, the people in the lower income state in underdeveloped countries are more adversely affected than that of their counterparts of developed nations (Myrdal 1971:71).

The second “is that economic and social inequality may itself be not only a cause of the prevailing poverty and of the difficulty for a country in rising out of poverty, but also, at the same time, its consequence. Observing the broad correlation between degree of inequality and poverty in South Asia, it is legitimate to ask whether or not poverty breeds inequality”(ibid: 71; Myrdal 1968: 1806).

Various socio-economic programmes enunciated for social development and social transformation have not yielded the desired result. Neither it could eliminate social inequality nor economic inequality. According to one recent study of rural transformation in South India spread of education and enforcement of social legislation helped in weakening of caste barriers and discriminatory inter-caste behavior. However, coffee shop (particularly of Wangala village as studied) still offers separate glasses for the so-called untouchables. Factors like introduction of modern technology in farming, urban impact, commercial and financial opportunities etc., let to further strengthening of economy (Wangala villages). However, this led to reconstitution of social hierarchy as more
progressive and enterprising peasants exploited the benefits offered by the new economic opportunities. (Epstein and et al 1998)

Most of the developmental works are formulated for alleviation of poverty or generation of employment or to aid poor but the equality issue has been bypassed. Though these programmes along with others such as land reform, cooperatives, community development, local self government etc., were formulated through strong egalitarian ideology, "but by the logic of the existing inegalitarian social economic and political stratification in these countries (South Asian) and not least in their villages they have almost regularly had the opposite effect. Ordinarily only the higher strata could avail themselves of the advantages offered by the cooperative institutions and profit from the subsides given for their development. The net effect has been to create more, not less, inequality" (Myrdal 1971: 116). The one most important explanation for the failure of rural upliftment programme i.e. community development, therefore according to Myrdal is "that it has been operated is has essentially been an attempt to bypass the equality issue, while all the time it was argued in terms of aiding the poor" (Myrdal 1968:883,1334).

Various studies of Indian scholars support the argument put forward by Myrdal (Bhatt 1989:1-29). A researcher of integrated tribal development project (ITDP) in Koraput district’s Nandapur block of Orissa, Ramanath Nayak said: "As part of my study I interviewed the ITDA, the result reveals that the staff are not very much aware of the problems of the tribal, because they directly do not contact the tribal people. While implementing the schemes, the staff do not consult the Gramsabha or Sarpanch or traditional chief or the voluntary organisations working in those areas, who are aware of tribal problem. No doubt, the MLAs and MPs are also members in the implementation process, but they also do not keep contact with the people except during the election period. It is
the complain of tribal that the staffs are not cooperative at all and do not treat in friendly manner" (Nayak 1995: 113 –114)

As per Nayak’s observation only 2 out of 100 samples studied have crossed the BPL with income of Rs. 11,000/ P.A. He reported that 25 of above samples had income below Rs. 5000/P.M., 57 had between Rs. 5 to 8 thousand and 16 had between Rs. 8 to Rs. 11 thousand per annum. Besides, he also reported various other kinds of problems in other aspects of social life i.e. only 14.8 percent were literate (Koraput district’s literacy rate was 18.69 percent ), very poor public health and drinking water facilities. Many villages were not connected with road or communication facilities, and no electricity facilities (ibid : 116 –124).

It has also been observed among others by Patel that the impact of Hindu culture on tribe resulted in inequality based social system. In his study of Adivasi of South Gujurat, he highlighted how hinduisation of the adivasi (tribe) people has resulted in a consolidation of inequality. He also argued that some of the organisations, by succeeding in inculcating the hindutva ideology in the minds of the adivasi people, have communalism them (Patel 1999).

Pathy has observed both economical and cultural crises faced by the Indian tribes. According to him “the resolution of crises demands a simultaneous struggle against economic and cultural domination. The principle of internal self-determination should be the guide in setting up the standards for control over their own economic, social and cultural development. This is neither autarchy nor anthropological romanticism. Rather, it provides for the removal of certain traditional customs and practices after proper evaluation; but the over all choice of adjusting with the larger society should be left to tribe themselves. Internal self-determination does not mean secession but redefining the composite multicultural fabric of society and the nature of nation building. The right to enjoy as much control as possible over their own economic organisation and sacio-cultural development would be an effort at conflict-resolution in multinational societies.
on the one hand and could from a front against cultural imperialism. Being an integral part of de-colonization and democratization, it assumes that both tribal and class identity are socially integrating principles of development”(Pathy 1999: 109 – 110)

Various problems faced by today’s tribe are illiteracy, poverty, disease, debt-burden, land alienation etc. More the development takes place more are they deprived of. The development process might have contributed to luxuries to the elite. But it has pushed the tribe into more poverty-stricken and destitute conditions. Various studies support this (Jain; Garada etc) The exploitation of tribal women in form of prostitution has been highlighted from various corners of country but the cases cited by Amarender Kishore of tribes of Rajasthan is heartening one where the poor women were sexually exploited by near by town and city’s people (Kishore 1994). The recent work of Joseph Gathia focuses some revealing trends in commercial sexual exploitation of children in the name of culture and tradition, particularly in Jaipur and Alwar districts of Rajasthan (Gathia 1999).

The extreme poverty and destitute conditions faced by the weaker sections, regional imbalances of socio-economic development and various kinds of exploitation prevailing in Kalahandi and Koraput Districts of Orissa have been reported by various scholars (Bagh 2000; Nayak 2000).

In India, urban poverty was not seen as a distinct problem in early five-year plans. It was treated as an offshoot of rural poverty. But this problem has been addressed directly with the seventh five year plan. Since then several programmes and schemes have been devised. However, the fact remain the same is that the weaker sections are largely seen in very pathetic and destitute conditions in Urban slums (Hantal 1996, Hantal 1996).
In the field of education, India perhaps, is one of the most backward state. Millions of its people are illiterate and millions of its children are out of schools. On the other hand, few well off sections are highly educated who drained themselves other countries for their betterment at cost of national development and as a result India is pushed into more and more backwardness. Like inequalities in land and wealth there is therefore, exists inequality in the field of education. According Myrdal "Monopoly of education is- together with monopoly of ownership of land- the most fundamental basis of inequality and it retains its hold more strongly in the poorer countries. It does so even when attempts are made to widen the availability of popular education" (Myrdal 1968: 1798). The benefit of education has been grabbed by the rich sections of society to maintain their position and power and the poor masses have been deprived of having even basic of such benefit for one or other reason is pointed out by various scholars i.e. P. C. Mahalanobis, J.P Naik, Education Commission 1966 etc. as quoted by Myrdal in his pioneer work (Myrdal 1971 : 200-201)

One of the reasons often cited for existence such large number of illiteracy in India is lack of train personnel's. In this context, it is worthy to mention Woytinsky. In his book on India, Woytinsky recalls experiences in Russia during his youth and reflects: "We noticed nothing similar to that crusade in India. We heard complaints about mass unemployment among young graduates of the universities, but we could get no answer to the question: Why can not a million of them be mobilized for rural teaching? Such a mobilization would be possible if Indian intellectuals felt the urgency of primary education for the villages as keenly as did the Russian intellectuals in the days of my youth" (Woytinsky 1957: 137).

Woytinsky had given generous ideas. But that is too not enough in country like India. Though lately Indian government mobilised some youths in form of
siksha karmi or Anganwadi for rural teaching. But it has been observed that some of them even did not visit their schools. They stay in nearby town and prepare for other higher examinations. However, in each month they paid bribe to the concern school inspectors for making them enable to continue in services. In other words, it is the implementation process which has been more cruel to weaker sections than anything else. The one of the biggest hurdles before such implementation is corruption, apart from, of course, vested interests. According to Myrdal:

"Corruption is part and parcel of the general condition in underdeveloped countries of their being soft states. It is a major inhibition and raises serious obstacles against all efforts to increase social discipline. Not only are politicians and administrators affected by the prevalence of corruption but also businessmen and in part, the whole population. Corruption introduces an element of irrationality in all planning and plan fulfillment by influencing the actual course of development in a way that deviates from the plan. If such influence is foreseen it limits the horizon of planning.

A common method of exploiting a position of public responsibility for private gain is the threat of obstruction and delay; hence, corruption impedes the processes of decision making and execution on all levels. It increases the need for controls to check the dishonest official at the same as it makes the honest official reluctant to take decisions on his own. In both ways it tends to make administration cumbersome and slow" (Myrdal 1971: 237).

Thus, according to Myrdal "in all attempts to strengthen and improve administration and in all other efforts to make the state less soft the suppression of corruption must play a crucial and strategic role (ibid : 245). As stated already, despite making of several programmes as per article 45 and 46 of the Indian constitution, the large number of children are deprived of educational facilities. Moreover, millions of child labour are seen in both organised and un-organised sectors including hazardous industries. About 75 million children of which 34 millions are girls are not in schools. Nearly 200 million or 25 percent of Indian people are without safe drinking water (Lakdawal 1996)

Another sorrowful fact is about the so-called untouchables. Abolition of untouchability is also myth in India as it is a regular phenomena in rural India and prevalent even in cities (Hantal 1996:100) The recent study also support this (Epstein and et al 1998) About the threory and practice of the article 17 which abolishes the untouchableility Myrdal notes:
“The Indian constitution clearly forbids the practice of untouchability and prescribes safeguards for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes, which either specifically or in general terms seek to promote their educational and economic interests and to remove the social disabilities and discrimination they suffer... Many Indian intellectuals in private conversation or when travelling abroad express the opinion that the caste system is rapidly disappearing if it has not already vanished as a results of the constitutional and legislature ban on untouchability”.

These opinions are not confirmed by the findings of sociologists or even by everyday observation. For one thing the measure taken to eradicate untouchability have been generally ineffective. The attempts of some educated to get the antitouchability laws enforced have almost invariably been vigorously opposed by caste Hindus. The real obstacle is the fact that the untouchables are financially subservient to the higher castes. Unless the lower castes achieve a measure of economic independence the rights granted to them by the constitution will mean little in practice...” (Myrdal 1968: 763-764).

Myrdal is right, but partially as several so called former untouchables could get economic mobility in term of higher posts in government services, income etc. But at the social spheres they still remain in the bottom of caste hierarchy. The severe restriction of caste system do not merrily allow them for other kind of social intercourse with so called upper castes i.e. marriage. Perhaps Ambedkar was right in saying that only the total destruction of caste system would lead to social mobility and progress of the so-called untouchables also that of whole society (Ambedkar; Hantal 1999). Though partial social mobility through occupational mobility has been examined by some scholars like Pais who also shown its impact on the individual, group and caste (Pais 1999), the true social mobility can not be expected under the existing hierarchical system of caste
rooted in Hindu religion. Leon Tolstoy’s following words are perhaps suits in context of India’s caste and untouchability.

"The abolition of slavery gone on for a long time. Rome abolished slavery. America abolished it and we did but only the words were abolished not the things” as quoted in Hantal 1996:101).

As already pointed out the constitution and legislation have provided several provisions for strengthening the economic life of the downtrodden. One of the most important of these provisions is reservation policy (Protective Discrimination Policy) meant for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, through which it was expected that both the economic and socio-political inferiority of these sections would gradually disappear. However, the fact is that the policy is not implemented effectively. In each and every departments except in few cases the policy is not taken into practices . It is pathetic to note that despite the availability of the suitable candidates of these sections, some institutions re-advertise stating that the posts are converted into the general (open) seats due to non-availability of the suitable candidates of these sections (Hantal 1996a: 101-102).

The educational institutions are the intellect brain of the society. It should fight for social justice and social development. But it has been seen that the large number of educational institutions violate this rule. The case is same even in the academic supreme universities like, J.N.U,D.U, C.U etc.

The Vice Chancellor of J.N.V. University (Jadpur) Prof. Shyam Lal who also hailed from scheduled caste community implemented reservation policy effectively while appointing the teaching faculty in 1996. He succeeded in his endeavor despite strong resistance from vested interests. In subsequent years again he attempted to fulfill the quota for which he made open advertisement about vacancies but the order was squashed from Rajbhavan on some technical ground but never again given opportunity to Prof. Shyam Lal to do the justice. In
fact, due to his generous work he was punished heavily by sending back to Rajasthan University (Jaipur) where he was a professor of sociology prior to becoming the Vice Chancellor and not given further opportunity for such post in any other university to implement social justice. Thus Politicisation of social justice itself goes against implementation of social justice in letter and spirit.

The representation of SCs and STs or the so-called reserved category is very negligible in all the sectors: government, public, autonomous or private bodies etc. As per 1-2 1985, it was seen that 1.44 percent SC and 0.89 percent ST in Grade A, and 3.02 percent SC and 1.57 ST in Grade B were represented in the public enterprises (Report of SC/ST commission 1986: 10). Similarly, only 5.72 percent SC and 1.47 percent ST were represented in the 34 nationalized bank as on 1-1-85 (ibid). This bias, despite their collective reservation of 22.5 percent (15 percent for SC and 7.5 percent for ST) indicates that the so-called non-reserved general category people are in practice availing the benefit of policy of reservation. The similar upper caste bias has been reported by various sociologists in their respective studies (Singh 1979: 136; Oommen 1978; Gandhi 1982; Sharma 1989 etc.,) In this context Myrdal’s following statement is worth to quote:

"When policy measures have been instituted specifically aimed at ameliorating conditions for the lower strata they have either not been implemented and enforced have been distorted so as to favour the not-so-poor and to discriminate against the masses ... The whole political, legal and administrative system is thus systematically and heavily weighted against the masses of poor people. Fundamentally the main explanation for the soft state is that all the power is in the hands of the upper class who can afford egalitarian laws and policy measures but are in unchallenged position to prevent their implementation" (Myrdal 1971: 222–23).

Among other recent works, Trivedi’s study on scheduled caste of Gujurat is worth to mention here; he has highlighted problems of land for cultivation and land for house sites for scheduled castes in Gujurat. Among various reasons for the failure of programmes for their upliftment, one of the important ones was the ignorance. In his own words the “crux of the problem is that the scheduled castes are blissfully ignorant of various ameliorative measures flowing out of the five-
year plans and laws and regulations enacted especially for their benefit and advancement (Trivedi 1996: 30-31). Similarly, according to Wadley’s observation in Karimpur, despite some changes seen in favour of lower classes and women, the reality of the lower classes and women accepting ‘their being so’ as ‘their destiny’ continues” (Wadley 1996).

In Indian society, caste is the distinct reality. Caste and class are deeply interrelated. Upper castes are also the upper class and the lower castes (including tribes) are also lower classes. Several sociologists have confirmed this through their studies. Recently, however some changes in caste, class and power has been noticed. According to Beteille, whereas in the past, wealth and power were in conformity with the caste hierarchy, now there is dissociation between caste, class and power. Beteille argues that in the past, class and power were subsumed under caste, now they had become independent of caste, and this is more so in the case of power than of class (Beteille 1996). Srinivas has also shown that due to economic and political power in one hand, and sanskritisation on the other hand, the previous lower castes such as Okkalinga and Lingayat of Karnataka have now become dominant castes (Srinivas 1962; Srinivas 1966). However, Srinivas was criticised from various quarters, particularly for his concept ‘Sankritisation (Singh 1970; Lal 1999 etc.). Though changes have taken place to some extent, it has neither altered the position of co-called upper castes nor it made the lower castes to climb up. But in middle level, especially in polity and economy some changes are seen. But yet the hierarchy is largely maintained. In fact, though Indian government since it first five year plan, taken steps for building socialistic pattern of society, the benefit was rather garnered by the so-called upper castes and not by the lower ones, hence, Professor Ombedt called it as ‘Brahminic Socialism’ (Ombedt 1997). It is supported by amply of evidences (Hantal 1998).

Therefore, though class can not be ignored, the caste is the naked reality of Indian Society. Though failure of various programmes meant for weaker sections
are attributed to corruption and other related factors the equally important cause might be the ‘caste-ethnic prejudices’ which needs through empirical observation. In fact it one rationally and scientifically analyses the debacle of social justice in India, the caste factor would prominently figure. It is because:

"Most of the recruitment board represented and headed by the higher caste people; most of the higher caste officials are there in the grass root as the welfare officers, development officers, sub-divisional officers, district collectors; they are there as the NGO persons; they are there as political persons (even in the reserved seats, in whose hand the original remote control works); they are there as media persons; they are there as business persons (both white and black); they are there as mafia persons; and therefore, they decide the destiny of the downtrodden there. And no one will happily leave his power and position that he has been enjoying since the time immemorial" (Hantal 1996a: 103).

The above statement seems to be plausible and unscientific but it is not so. In fact, the scientific categorization and analyses would definitely prove the above statements. Often rationality is challenged as emotionality as rationality is judged often through emotionality. As a social scientists, researcher should go by rationality in both the cases, even to the issues relating to emotionality, so that truly we can build sociology as science of society.

In similar to that of India, in America, discrimination is reported on racial basis- the conditions of blacks are deteriorated. Malcolm X says that black men are mentally sick, spiritually sick, economically sick and sickest in politically (Malcolm X 1971 : 6-8). They are segregated and discriminated (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder 1971 : 72-74).

About the way to amemoliarate the conditions of black men, Malcolm X says, "the cornerstones of this country’s operation are economic and political strength and power. The black men do not have the economic strength and it will take time for him to build it. But right now the American back man has the
political strength and power to change his destiny overnight” (Malcolm X 1971:8).

Ambedkar had similar opinion in context of the Indian downtrodden as he said: ‘politics is the master key, by which you can open each and every lock’ (Hantal 1999; Iyer 1992: 41).

Another important thing to note is about the intra-gap among weaker sections. The gap is not merely between the SCs, STs, and OBCs but within the particular section itself. According to some researchers, like ‘creamy Layer’- legally recognized among OBCs, creamy layer be made legalised among SCs, and STs too; it is because socio-economic and political gap among the particular group has already been established, and the well-off sections – creamy layers, truly garner all the benefits provided for such weaker sections. For instances S.N. Dubey observes:

"in the light of the provisions, an important question arises whether the original objective to bring the backward class at par with the rest of population has been achieved. It has been pointed out by several studies (Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Schedule tribes 1969, Dhebar Commission 1960) that in spite of the advancements particularly in education and employment, the over all progress is not only commensurate with the expenditures, but also the objective of reaching parity is still far from right. Further the relatively less backward group among the backward classes have taken greater advantage of the special facilities and the backward groups have essentially remained where they were 25 years ago" (Dubey 1973: 3).

Anil Bhatt had similar argument but he further said that micro action plans were usually political in nature and developmental administration at the operational level had proved to be too weak and ineffective to reach the poor (Bhatt 1989: 17-29).

The forward among backward or creamy layer is not without any basis of evidences. In fact, it has been observed by some scholars that the gap among them is quite wide and the so-called elite of dalit had different life chances and life style (Sachidananda X).

However, some other points are to be dealt in before we go for any conclusion. Firstly, if the creamy layers were eating out all the lubricate posts
reserved for the SCs/STs, then all the lubricate reserved seats should have been filled in through the existing policy. But this is not true. As already stated above, a very negligible percentage of such seats were filled in – hence, there may be some other reasons associated for such non-fulfillment of reserved seats. Then the solution should not be to take the so-called creamy layer out of such category but making some sort of gradation system through which priority be given to least-developed weaker sections. For example in order of backwardness, sub-categorization i.e. A, B, C--- be made. If the definite number is filled in by A, the next turn be given to B and C and so on. But the arrangement should be flexible in such a way that at least all the reserved seats of main category are filled in and it is not that such are reconverted into open category by citing plausible reasons.

Secondly, though through reservation policy or other facilities, the weaker sections especially, SCs, and STs gets succeeded in economic or occupational mobility, they are yet to achieve social mobility. In other words, in term of power and position they may be at higher ladder of society, but they neither get social acceptance nor social intercourse in real sense. In fact, it has been observed that even after having such power and position, they are subjected to social discrimination. Such discrimination are both direct- face to face, as well as (mostly) indirect- in his absence; he is often criticized even by subordinates about his integrity, capability, honesty, social background etc., as he is hailed through protective policy. Hence, despite his economic or occupational mobility, his socio-cultural interaction remains healthy among his community’s fellow being.

Thus in turn, other weaker sections of his community get socio-psychological benefit because of his higher position (Sachidananda X). Moreover, these people feel accessible to his office and feel ensured about getting justice. However, some elite remain aloof from their fellow beings and prefer to establish relationship with other group-‘outer group’ and not ‘inner group’. But in reality neither they are warmly accepted to ‘outer group’ nor remain faithful/loyal to ‘
inner group'; as a result, they are pushed into 'marginal group'. In exists social hierarchy in form of caste system or so, it is therefore, premature to say that social mobility has taken place among the so-called former untouchables and tribes who have achieved economic – occupational or political mobility.

Though Beteille and Srinivas’ contention of mobility with respect to power and position is seen among low castes i.e. Okkalinga, Lingayat etc., in social sphere the 'purity-pollution' norm of hierarchy conceptualized by Dumont (Dumont 1966) seems to be remained unchallenged and still valid today. In fact, according to Dipankar Gupta no study of caste can be completed without referring to Dumont’s ‘Purity-Pollution hypothesis’ (Gupta 1999). Hence, the so-called forwards among backwards are socially more close to their fellow beings than those of so-called upper caste elite.

Thirdly, as already stated the so-called elite among weaker sections have different life-styles than their fellow being of same community (Sachidananda X), though socio-psychologically they are more close to their community (ibid). but then again some other points also to be considered. Firstly, as an officer, he is justified to travel in car not by by-cycle; so also he is justified to attend party and eat food there. Moreover, the same thing is noticed among affluent of so-called upper castes- the life styles of affluent of so-called upper caste are also different from their fellow being. Thus despite representing particular caste, they also have to exhibit their behouvior as per their class demand. For example, two officer belonging to different caste/community, behave friendly as per their class position at least in public place, though both of them may have antagonism views about each others caste/community. In other words, class demands different life styles irrespective of other social positions as despite rigidity of caste system, the concept 'class' too can not be ruled out from any society including India. Hence, the so-called forward among backward communities exhibiting different class culture do not imply that they are physically and morally detached from their
fellow-being rather their life-styles often become role model to the backward community and through observing such behaviour the fellow being of those often get socio-psychological benefits too.

Fourthly, it has been observed that though certain numbers of elite have come up from weaker sections especially due to protective discrimination policy, most of them they are not remained aloof from fellow being: They lead from front for the welfare of their people. They initiate various socio-cultural, even political organizations to safeguard and strengthen the interests of weaker sections. Despite representing different classes, they call for common struggle to protect the interests of backward community. Most of them firmly believe, though not often practice, ideology of Ambedkar and therefore, in each year on 14th April they organize various meetings to pledge to work for betterment of weaker sections. This often is seen even among political elite of weaker sections, who despite representing various national and regional political parties, reaffirms their faith on Ambedkar's ideology for emancipation of weaker sections and to establish equality in society.

Before implementation of Mandal Commission in 1992, weaker sections implied mainly the SCs and STs and therefore, the leaders were mainly the so-called elite's of SCs and STs,. But aftermath of implementation of Mandal Commission the forum of weaker sections started growing, as the OBCs (Other Backward Classes) are also included under the category of weaker sections. In this context Oommen's concept of 'racity' and 'ethnicity' can be referred (Oommen 1997).

According to Oommen, unlike 'racism' — ideology based on the assumed superiority of certain races and hence, universally condemned as negative, the 'racity' is positive one that is taking pride in one's race as an affirmation of collective self-hood without necessarily disparaging other races. According to Oommen, this term further refers to the tendency among those belonging to a
distinct physical type coming together and interacting so as to provide mutual support and succour to sustain themselves, particularly when confronted by an oppressive force; Similarly, a distinction is made between ‘ethncism’ and ethnicity’. While ‘ethncism’ refers to discrimination based on ethnic differences, ‘ethnicity’ is increasingly being viewed as positive, as an identity marker, as a search for roots.

Hence, in context of weaker sections, the positive concepts i.e., ‘racity’ or /and ‘ethnicity’ are seems to be operating as more and more SC, STs, and OBCs, are getting closer especially to implement common welfare programmes through their combined and broad based struggle led by the so-called elite’s of these sections.

Last but not least, the rigidity of Indian social structure which is already discussed above, does not allow the so-called elite’s of weaker section of elite even at their will to be detached from their fellow being and fully assimilated to the so-called upper-caste, as purity-pollution norm has been continuing as guiding principle of social hierarchy (Dumont 1996). Several sociologists have supported this (Gupta 1999).

Roland Inden, in his seminal work has pointed out that ‘caste has become essentialised and turned into substantialised agent of history.’ Essentialisation for Inden, ‘is the idea that humans and human institutions, for example, the individual and the nation-state are governed by determinate natures that inhere in the same way that they are supposed to inhere in the entities of the natural world’. In other words, essentialising caste means considering it as ‘an unchanging ideal that precedes human history and stand outside it’ (Inden 1990: Chapter 2). According to Aloysius, “caste-varna, both as an existential reality and a cognitive ideal is another name of for Brahminical social order or Brahminism in short, which as the socio-political ideology of modern India is inextricably entangled with the
other sections too including the so-called upper class too, as everybody are in some way or other way deprived, the concept has been shaped through social point of view: the social root, through which it leads to various socio-psychological consequences. Hence, socially deprived are generally included under the category of ‘dalit’ as they are also deprived of economically, educationally, and psychologically and so. In other words, social root has got prominence over other roots and it is more strongly in India. Moreover, the study of deprivation through individual cases may not be possible effectively in sociology especially in the case of structural deprivation. Thus all the SCs and STs are the natural member of ‘Dalit community’ due to their the depth of deprivation they have been facing since time immemorial. Besides, because they have been also ‘oppressed’, ‘suppressed’, ‘depressed’ and exploited’. In short they are challenged by structural deprivation.

However, some may argue that the ‘STs’ are relatively less–deprived socio-culturally than the SCs, as the latter were also the so-called ‘untouchables’. This is true. But more true is that: (a) In historical sense, if SCs were forced to resides nearer to so called upper castes to serve them with unhygienic and manial works and yet were humilated as untouchables, the STs were pushed into the jungles so as to be deprived of form the so-called civilised environment. (b) In contemporary sense too, whenever the tribes are encroached by caste-Hindus in name of development into that particular area, they are ‘deprived’ ‘oppressed’, ‘suppressed’, ‘exploited’ and ‘depressed’ there. Those tribes who were assimilated to Hindu fold were reported to be placed in lowest rung of social order at par with the scheduled castes; even they were too treated as untouchables, as reported by sociologists and anthropologists particularly from Orissa. Hence, it was only due to social isolation that the tribe could escape from major social humiliation; otherwise the case of tribe would have been same as the case of SCs. (c) Thirdly, “there is no definition of scheduled castes and tribes in the
constitution itself. But the president is empowered to draw up a list in consultation with the Governor of each state, subject to revision by parliament - Arts. 341-342" (Basu 1997 : 382). Hence, so-called former untouchables may be also included as ‘Scheduled Castes’ as per the order of President on the basis of article 342 and 341 respectively. Thus, all the SCs and STs are the natural member of ‘Dalit Community’.

However, the concept ‘Dalit’ can not be restricted to SCs and STs alone by virtue of their natural membership, because when the term ‘racity’ and ‘ethnicity’ devised by Oommen are taken into account (Oommen 1997) then most of the other backward classes are too included under the term ‘Dalit’. In fact, the ‘women’ are too not excluded – for historical and contemporary reality allow them to be included under category of Dalit. However, because the women of upper – caste can not be dissociated from their male counterpart to wage socio-political struggle – as it sounds to be illusion and utopia, from the practical (Praxis) point of view, ‘Dalit’ comprises ‘SCs, STs and mostly, most backward classes of OBCs (Hantal 1996).

Thus so-called creamy layer of SCs STs and OBCs (mostly MBCs) are regarded as the ‘base class’ of Dalit Community. They perform some or all the six functions stated above. It has been observed by social scientists that sankritisation has not enabled the Dalit community particularly to SCs and STs for social mobility. Hence, Dalit community has adopted the method of ‘socio-political revolution’ rather than ‘Sankritisation’ (Lynch.; Pattawardhan.; Ram; Hantal 1996; etc.) and all of these movements are mostly organised and led by the ‘base Class’ (Hantal 2001). The ‘base class’ is primarily responsible for some of the dalit political parties like ‘B.S.P. growing stronger (Hantal 1996). Several social scientists have observed the deep relationship seen between caste and polities in Indian society (Kothari 1970; Lobo 1995; Bhargava 1995; Vaddiraju 1999; Srinivas 1962; Beteille 1996; etc.).
According to Lobo what has made a difference to the power base and change in the position of the Thakors is their participation in electoral politics, the emergence of Thakors leadership and the increase in their numbers in political institutions, from the gram panchayat level to the state level. Inter-caste rivalry has thus increased and horizontal ties have strengthened, with the formation of wider caste associations (Lobo 1995). Bhargava’s observation in Rajasthan is distinguished on the ground that the political organisation of the state is deeply rooted in society’s feudal structure (Bhargava 1995).

Thus, the ‘base class’ of dalit also have not left caste symbol for political mobilisation. It is not ruled out the contentions by some scholars that the social justice devised for Dalits have in reality did not yield the desired result rather created elite-mass gap among themselves (Singh 1998). But it is can not be undone as the gap between elite and mass among so-called upper caste is too true. However, despite gap due to usurp of class within caste, the role of the so-called elite, rather ‘base class’ can not be ignored.

However, despite quite significant role-played by the ‘base class’, the ‘sub-categorisation’ with references to various criteria’s i.e. sub-caste, economic, occupation, etc., should be made for benefiting the whole dalit community. However, such sub-categorisation should be based on ‘priority’ –that is the least benefited be given priority up to minimum percentages; but sufficient flexibility be made so that the reserved seats or other benefits devised for these community are not taken away from them for other ‘general category’ as has been seen in India. Secondly, the socio-political struggle of Dalit should no be made as ‘sectarian’ or ‘social struggle’ but for total progress of whole people of country and strengthening the nation and greater social bond.

As it has been discussed already, the ‘social justice’ in reality did not succeed in India. Though few of the weaker sections benefited, the grim reality is that large number of people particularly dalits are still under the clutch of poverty,
illiteracy, unemployed, ill health, and in unhygienic conditions. The 'social justice' meant for equity can not be expected within the anti-equity hierarchical social order based on caste-system, and the vested interests of hierarchical order based on caste-system, and the vested interests of other form of stratified order would not happily allow the people of lower rungs of structure to move into even higher secularistic spheres of life, what to talk about ritualistic sphere of life.

Therefore, according to Dalit intellectuals or intellectual wings of the 'base class' the term 'social justice' seems to be myth, not reality. "It has been the constitutional claptrap since Jan. 26, and whenever the downtrodden have sought justice on the basis of equality in the context of terrible deprivation in the past, this chameleon chant 'social justice' has played hide and seek with the victim sectors of Indian humanity known popularly as Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes..." (Iyer 1992: 35). The statement given by Iyer is not void and invalid, but accurate, scientific and rational as fact speaks more than words.

Therefore, 'social transformation' be given prominence (Hantal 1996: 107; Han tal 2001). The base class of Dalit has perhaps realized such. When we analyze the socio-historical trends, the progress of social transformation seems to be like following diagram.

Diagram of Social transformation

If we look back to India, after Independence the social structure was based on inequality- socially, economically, politically etc. But as per its principle of socialistic pattern of society (as outline in Indian constitution and various five years plans), the state provided packages of social justice to 'Dalit' community. But truly, if we assess the social justice in India, it has not benefited to large numbers of Dalit; moreover, it became only 'political package' to garner votes. However, in the process few sections of Dalit have been benefited and therefore,
could able to change their social disabilities. These benefited or progressive dalits are the constituents of ‘base class’.

All the benefitants, however, are not contained in the ‘base class’, especially in its initial stage of formation. Some of them have either been successfully absorbed, though least in number, in so-called elite class, or unsuccessfully pushed into ‘marginal group’. But most of the others are united as ‘base class’, despite the diversities seen among them too, as, the unity was required not only for ‘racity’ and ‘ethnicity’ (Oommen 1997) but for their own survival – to protect and strengthen their own interests, and to face the challenges/threat posed by other vested interests.

In its early phase ‘base class’ performed functions like ‘socio-cultural’, ‘intellectual’, ‘pressure groups’ through various types of organizations they formed. Gradually social movement started functioning at broader level; in fact even at national level. In this juncture the social movements of dalit started spreading into horizontal growth- apart from its natural members i.e. SCs and STs, OBCs and others were too brought into its fold. Hence, within the dalit community, the erstwhile hierarchy of social order became loose, especially with regard to socio-ideological and political level. A degree of weakening of the hierarchical ideology was perhaps necessary for a strong ethnic ideology to evolve from within a multi-caste society. This is because one could not visualise ‘a deep horizontal comradeship of the type typically associated with ‘ethno-nationalism’ where hierarchy remained intact (Anderson 1983 ). Because ‘ethnicity’ creates unity and common sentiment among diverse people (Beteille 1997; Oommen 1997) and ‘ethno-nationalism’ gives rise to a deep horizontal comradeship among people ‘imagined’ to be one kind (Anderson 1983), ethnicity may come in conflict with the hierarchical idiom of caste.
“Further, since ethnicity evolves as a higher order social differentiation whereas caste has primarily to do with who is superior to whom at the community or at most the sub-regional level, rise of ethnic sentiments and politicization of ethnicity at the higher level is bound to undermine some of these aspect of caste which highlight internal differences and status distinction within an ethnic group” (Silva 1999: 201-202). In his well research article, Prof. Silva has shown that in Sri Lanka the ethnicity and ethno-nationalism has got primacy over caste (ibid: 213).

Hence, in Indian context too, the dalit community started its horizontal growth by including others- those with similar type of sentiments and interests. However, though Silva’s article poses challenge to Dumont’s homo hierachus, the social structure of caste system is not yet broken especially in India. It is only among the so-called lower castes or dalit, owing to their common sentiments and interest, the ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethno-nationalism’ have somehow superseded over caste system, especially at political and ideological level. In ritualistic spheres of social life the differences are still observed.

The dalit social movement rejects the so-called braminical ideology ‘criticizes government policies’ spreads political awareness among its member, 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 Pantar Party etc. Despite such 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 been established and thus according to him social justice is in dilemmas (Kothari 1998: 129-137). Some of the reasons
social reconstruction (Hantal 1996a: 107, 168, 70; Hantal 2001). If the hypothesis stated above is succeeded and materialized, the ‘social justice’ would become non-functional and unnecessary and no need of the further social justice would be felt. In new type of social system, the state should give emphasis on building strong national development and enhancement of creativity and development of human personality. The hypothetical prediction about just society should not be considered as illusion and utopia; rather the intellectuals should optimistically strive to promote such system to occur.

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into the poor locals the price of basic essential items has been increased much more. Thirdly, because of the crises of availability of money the rural poor either sell themselves partly or fully to their respective dominant persons or sell their livelihood to them to migrate to other parts especially into urban belts for sake of employment as labours. Fourthly, the relative prices of the basic goods have been increased more than proportionately. For instance, the conditions of housing and transport in urban areas have been deteriorated to the extend of forcing people to live away from their places of work and to spend on transport; similarly the rural labour force has to migrate away from their village in order to get work.

In India, poverty is measured only in term of the calories intake for survival. It does not include other “essential expenditures” of human being i.e. cloth, shelter, health and medicine. It doesn’t go to see other “necessary expenditure” of human being i.e. education, housing, healthy food etc. It does not include expenditures on “necessary of efficiency of life” i.e. recreational, sports, and other miscellaneous expenditure for growing children.

Marx was perhaps right when he said that in capitalist world the human being would be equated with machine (marx epm) He would be provided with wages for survival as if the fuel was provided to machine for its survival.

Marx contention may not be fully true in democratic – industrial nation where the quality of opportunity is granted to all its members in letter and spirit, but in India where there is mass poverty and inequality, Max viewpoint cannot be ignored. Here in India a man is not even provided with “basic necessities of life” for his survival. He can not think of “necessary expenditures” as his capability is limited to the extent of filling up “essential expenditures” for survival. It is pathetic to note that even though the “essential expenditures” of the existence is not fully covered while measuring the poverty line by the government, millions of people in India are under the clutches of poverty line.
According to planning commission, people under the BPL were reduced from 25.49 percentage in 1987 to 18.96 percent in 1993-94 (Economic Survey 1995-96:169). However, as per modified expert group methodology, the planning commission in its Ninth five year plan states the figure of BPL as 38.9 percent for 1987-88 and 36 percent for 1993-94 (Ninth Five Year Plan : 29), Hence in contrary to its previous claim of reduction poverty to 19 percent in 1993-94, planning commission agreed that the figure was in fact double the previous that is 36 percent in 1993-94.

The data indicates that despite non-inclusion of the all “essential”, “necessary” and “efficiency” expenditures more than 36 crores Indian are under the BPL. Therefore, if such expenditures were included, perhaps more than 75 crores Indian would have been trapped under the poverty line. This is primarily due to the growing inequalities of wealth and income and concentration of such in the hand of few elites. For example, top10 percent of rural Indian owned 51 percent of assets while bottom 10 percent population of it owned only 0.1 percent in 1971 (Sixth Five Year Plan : 8). The figures of such inequality are still persistent in country.

Thus, most of the wealth is being owned by a few sections of society making the rest empty stomach. The worst of the worse sufferers in India are the SCs, STs and MBCs of OBCs. They not only constitute in the lower ladder in term of caste system but also in terms of class. In other words the position of caste also in most cases signify the position of class. Hence, the wide gap between these lower ranked people in comparison with others is evident form the following table. 1

Table 1.

Comparative study showing the BPL in Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>SCs</th>
<th>STs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

250
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>SCs</th>
<th>STs</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Eighth Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Government of India, PP: 419-420.

The poverty line of total population also includes the SCs and STs and therefore, when the SCs and STs are excluded from such, the poverty line becomes significantly low in comparison with those of SCs and STs. Thus the poverty line ratio minus the SCs and STs comprises mostly the MBCs of OBCs. Hence, it can be stated that the BPL comprises only SC, ST and MBCs at social level but some cases existing at individual levels among other sections of society can not be ruled out. This has been verified through mathematical calculation (Hantal 1996: 115-116). The new economic policy has adversely affected the poorer has been reported from various studies (Tendulkar and Jain 1995; Gupta 1994; Sen and Chandrashekhar 1996 etc.)

As per the compilation of data by S.P., Gupta and Abhijit Sen and C.P. Chandrashekhar from 1987-88 to 1990-91 the year before the reform, the poverty ratio declined from 39.3 percent to 35.5 percent. But in Post-reform era, the poverty estimate rose considerably to 40.69 percent in 1992 (Gupta 1994; Sen and Chandrashekhar 1996;). By analysing two alternative poverty ratio given by Tendulkar and Jain (1995), Dev called the "lower end of poverty ratio as the ratio for ultra poor or ultra poverty. According to Dev the ultra poverty to total poverty was declining at faster pace till the new economic reform but the ratio increased again during the 18 months of the reform period (Dev 1995).

It is known that the total consumption of a person or household consists of both private consumption and social consumption. Tendulkar and Jain's concern in their paper was mainly on private consumption (Tendulkar and Jain 1995). It is difficult to get information of social consumption at the household level. However, many studies have shown that social sector expenditure declined.
considerably during the first few years of reform period (Gupta 1995; Guhan 1995; Prabhu 1994; Tulsidhar 1993). These studies have shown that expenditure on health and education and other sectors have declined and it would affect the human development indicators. Decline in expenditure on important sectors such as preventive health care was also noticed.

According to Sen, the structural adjustment acts adversely on the poor because of the policy induced rise in the relative price of food and contractionary stabilisation policies to reduce inflation will lead to contracting non-agricultural employment and falling wages in the organised sector (Sen 1996; Sen 1997). Unni has also described the impact of structural adjustment on poor through review of literatures in his article (Unni 1998). Martin Ravallion concludes “that policy reforms which entail a sustained increase in food prices are a threat to India’s poor in the longer term”(Ravallion 1998 : 34). In another article Ravallion and Datt have studied that though the output growth in the primary sectors reduced poverty in both rural and urban, the secondary sector growth did not reduce poverty in either (Ravallion and Datt 1996).

Jay Mehta has criticised Sukhatme’s assertion that in India daily calorie intake be reduced to 1800 k Cal and lamented on the data released by 48the round of NSS (NSS 48the Round 1994) that only 97.3 percent in urban and 92.3 percent were getting two-square meals a day in the year 1992 (Mehta 1982, Mehta 1995). Mehta has narrated the poverty related death and other miseries from various corners of India such as Maharashtra, Orissa etc. while the reform was in full swing (Mehta 1995).

The recent poverty related death in various parts of Orissa especially form Kashipur -where to satisfy hunger poor had to eat poisonous mango kernel, should be the eye opener to those who profess that the new economic policy would alleviate poverty. Unless and until the institutional structure prevailing in the social order is re-corrected through rigorous socio-legal reform, mere growth
of economy is not going to do justice to the poor. Because of the rigidity of structure and diverge inequality existed in country, the new economic policy would rather make poor more poor and rich more rich and there by widen the rich-poor gap.

The global economic order, as per the data spelled out by various studies notably by World Bank, is not bridging the gap between the rich and poor countries rather widening it. “The average per capita income of the poorest and middle thirds of all countries has lost ground steadily over the last several decades compared with the average income of the richest third. Average per capita GDP of the middle third has dropped from 12.5 to 11.4 percent of the richest third and that of the poorer third form 3.1 to 1.9 percent. In fact, rich countries have been growing faster than poor countries since Industrial Revolution in the mid 19th century. A recent estimate suggests that the ratio of per capita income between the richest and the poorest countries increased six fold between 1870 and 1985” (World development Report 1999/2000: 14)

According to world development indicators-1998, the number of poor people has risen worldwide ,and in some regions the proportion of poor has also increased (World Development Indicators 1998). By citing the data of world development indicators 1998, world development report 1999/2000 brought out figures of people under poverty line – that is those living on less that $1 per day (World Development Report 1991 2000 : 24-26)

According to such report, poor people has slightly declined from 464 million to 446 million from 1987 to 1993 in East Asia and pacific region. But during such period, poverty people has risen in other parts of the world : from 2 million to 15 million in Europe and Central Asia; from 91 million to 110 million in Latin America and the Caribbean; from 10 million to 11 million in middle East and North Africa; from 480 million to 515 million in south Asia and from 180 million to 219 million in sub-Saharan Africa.
In percentage wise it declined marginally from 28.8 percent to 26 percent in East Asia and Pacific; from 4.7 percent to 4.1 percent in Middle East and North Africa; from 45.4 percent to 43.1 percent in South Asia. However, poverty increased from 0.6 percent to 3.5 percent in Europe and central Asia; From 22 percent to 23.5 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean and from 38.5 percent to 39.1 percent in 846 Saharan Africa. Similarly, the document also reported the decline of life expectancy from some countries such as Russian federation, Kazakhstan, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia from 1980 to 1997 (World Development Report 1999 / 2000 : 26).

Two conclusion can be drawn from the prevailing inequality and poverty in the world, Firstly, the increasing gap between rich and poor countries indicates that the global policy designed is to protect the vested interest of rich countries. To strenghten and maintain their economic and political supremacy the rich countries have adhered to unequal, unfair and discriminatory policy. The poor countries despite knowing such political hypocrisy are integrated into global policy forum as they do not have other choice to survive. Moreover there are some elite sections in poor countries too whom the present global policy suits for their own survival.

Secondly, the elite sections too have designed their domestic policy to protect, maintain and strengthen their own vested interests. Because of such they too adhere to the unequal, unfair and discriminatory policy thereby never allowing the gap between rich and poor to be bridged. However, they enunciate various social package to poor like developed nations offer to poor nations, but never implement such in letter and spirit or implement such through their self-style like wrong identification and corruption, so that they achieve twin objectives : they retain the confidence of poor in one hand and maintain the prevailing inequality of social system on the other hand.
One glaring example of implementation of development programme through wrong identification bought out by the Government of India itself is stated in table 2. As per the table 2, only 1.14 percent destitute group, 4.27 percent very very poor, 12.95 percent very poor, and 24.68 percent poor were benefited out of JRY (Jawahar Rojgar Yojana) in the year 1993. However, 56.96 percentage of people above the poverty line were the benifitant of such programme.

**TABLE 2**

Percentage Distribution of JRY workers by Annual Income : all India Conument Evaluation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group by Annual Income</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Destitute group (Upto Rs. 2,265)</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Very very poor (Rs.2,266-3500)</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Very poor (Rs. 3501-4800)</td>
<td>12.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Poor (Rs. 4801 – 6400)</td>
<td>24.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Above poverty (Rs. 6,401 and above)</td>
<td>56.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The poor implementation of programmes, politicisation, interference of vested interests, corruption, and prevalence of social rigidities are the main hurdles of socio-economic mobility of poor. According to World Bank, social factors found to be associated with persistent poverty include very low caste status, dependency relationship, vulnerability and risk adversity (A World Free of Poverty 1998). Various scholars have also lamented the poor or wrong implementation of programme by the Government in India (Bhati 1989, Sethi 1984, Nayak 1995, Hantal 1996, Jain 1985, Samal 1998).

On the period of reform, World Bank’s household surveys in India suggested that poverty reduction was particularly sluggish over the 1990s in India’s rural
areas, which contain more than 70 percent of the poor. The picture is one of wide disparity in poverty across and within Indian states and of uneven poverty reduction. The report also found that the large poor states in the north and east, containing 40 percent of India’s population, have lagged in reducing poverty since the late 1970s. According to Sanjay Kathuria, a senior economist in the World Bank’s New Delhi Office “Broadly speaking the reforms would be most effective to the extent they reduce the risk of macroeconomic instability, increase the access of the poor to human development, improve governance and reduce distortions and improve the demand for poor. Poorer states in particular will need to enact these reforms to overcome the initial lags and to accelerate development”. World Bank’s senior economic policy advisor James Hanson says if such reforms take root, then growth would accelerate to the 7.5 percent and higher levels of mid-1990s. India would then have a real opportunity to reduce poverty substantially in the new millennium (A World Free of Poverty 1998).

However, growth alone is not sufficient to reduce poverty, in fact, there are some countries whose growth is substantially below than India’s, but have achieved higher social development. Hence, growth would automatically reduce the poverty is mere illusion as history taught such lesson to us. The war against poverty be started very vigorously and seriously rather than sitting in arm chair in anticipation of growth to reduce poverty. Impact of growth on poor has been vengefully stated by various scholars among other by Anand Teltumbde in his article ‘Impact of new Economic reforms on dalits in India’ (Teltumbde 1996). More discussion on impact of new economic policy on poor would follow in subsequent pages. Below, the impact of new policy on education and literacy is highlighted.

**B. Literacy and Education.**

Education is one of the vital sector of human development. The need of modern education was felt not merely by the Britishers to rule India more
conveniently but also by other the then social reformers. The educated Indians headed by Mahatmaji led India’s freedom struggle to attain freedom form foreign yokes.

Therefore, the importance of education to all of its people were felt after India got independence. Several provisions were laid down in Constitution of India for educational development of people the notable of which are article 45 and 46. The article 45 states about free and compulsory education to all children till they attain the age of 14. According to article 46, the educational and economic interests of SCs and STs would be protected by the state. As per the guidelines of the constitution, several programmes and schemes were formulated for educational progress in the country. Various schools, colleges, universities, technological and professional institution were set up.

Despite such however, the educational development in the country is not satisfactory. As per 2001 census only, 65.38 percent of India’s total population are literate, and women’s literacy rate is just 54.16 percent; therefore, more than 37 crore Indians are still counted as illiterate. The case is very pathetic among population belonging to STs and STs, particularly amongst the girls belonging to these community.

The educational development whatever has taken place in India has benefited to few well off sections, and leaves large sections of poor mass illiterate. Thus, the large poor sections are still being alienated from the mainstream of educational system. The mass education in India was felt even during colonial era. i.e. Woods despatch 1854, Hunter commission 1882, Sadler’s commission 1917, Religh commission 1929 s Sergent plan 1942 etc. In post-independent India the Kothari’s commission report on 1966-67 was regarded as landmark for mass education. But like colonial India, Independent India too could not spread its education to the poor mass. Thus social justice becomes only chant or slogan in India. In the ongoing battle of the various elite groups to retain their supremacy,
the poor masses have always been sidelined from mainstream whether it is in the field of education, economy, polity and so on. Kiran Bhatty, in her articles has accused poor quality of schooling and education, prevailing poverty, child labour, lack of parental motivation and lack of strong government policy for prevailing ugly picture of illiteracy and un-educational development in the country (Bhatty 1998).

However, before the new economic policy, their (poor sections) problems were some extent taken into consideration by government at least at policy level. But in post-liberalisation era, the exploitation is more, severe and dangerous. Now they are in the verge of complete alienation. The new policy of the government is trying for more and more privatisation and education is not escaped from such harsh policy. This is borne out of the fact that wherever the developmental expenditure by the states was 12.01 percent in 1990-91, it fell sharply to 11.33 percent in 1992-93. The growing impact can be seen in the higher education: its share shrinking from 11.47 to 6.7 percent in the VIIIth plan with the consequence that Vice-Chancellors of university are being repeatedly told to look for the funds from industry and business (Raina 1995:83; Hantal 1996:126-127). Hence, education in India is in state of crises and it is not wrong to state that it is in grave danger. It is because the poor sections can not afford to have quality education.

The inequalities that characterize Indian society in general and the educational system in particular are getting further reinforced due to the post—1990 economic changes. Market forces are being allowed an enhanced role leading to the private sector taking on greater role in education. Using the experience of Asian countries, it may be stated that there is an inverse relationship exists between the deterioration in educational system and the policies of structural adjustments, except in those countries which have undergone vary rapid economic growth. It is anticipated, therefore, that primary school enrolments in India may be adversely effected as was the case in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Market forces are not pro-
welfare and given a free hand, the educational institutions run by the private sector are more likely to be governed by the profit motive than by public or social good; This phenomenon is also taking place in China and is reminiscent of the development in our own country. The poor sections are more alienated from professional colleges of engineering and medical education (Shukla and Kaul 1998).

Shotton argues that the period of structural changes in economy under the aegis of IMF and W.B. and the much publicied liberalisation have only compounded difficulties for the ruling class in social services and education sector. He affirms that the thrust of the new stabilisation and structural adjustment programme implies a combination of budget containment measures for the public education system, limited access to post primary public education and higher user fees for education at the secondary and tertiary levels; there is a fall in the government spending on buildings and resources at the primary levels from 15 percent of pre-liberalisation era to 2 percent after it. The government seems to have little option but to follow the policy prescription of the IMF and the WB, which indicate the social costs of adjustment programme. Expenditure on the social service, poverty alleviation and rural development programme has been badly hit, resulting in a sharp rise in the cost of living (Shotton 1998).

Various scholars have expressed their dissatisfaction over the new economic policy pertaining to education in general and children’s development in particular. In recent article Paromita Shastri has shown the grim reality Indian children are facing. As part of evaluation of recent union budget with regard to child, she states: (i) Out of every Rs. 100 spent by the centre in the 1990s only 60 paise has gone to children’s education, 40 on their development and 20 on their health. The 2002-03 budget is much kinder, it hopes to spend about Rs. 1 on education, 34 paise on health and 45 paise on child development; (ii) Every sixth girl dies due to gender bias; yet Balika Samridhi Yojana, the first scheme to incentivise her
birth, died after three years; (iii) About 75 million children are under nourished. India’s biggest aided child care plan, ICDS reaches only 20 million, at a mere 19 paisa per child per day. The actual cost of reasonable child care is minimum of Rs. 15 per day per child or Rs 200 crore per year. Over half of child health budget comes from foreign loans, which the government often fails to spend. Yet it still asked for more money; (iii) We spend 1.5 percent of GDP on education. Still, about half of the children are out of school. They are all potential child labour (Shastri 2002 : 54 – 55).

Despite the fact that the Kothari commission recommended 6 percent of GDP for educational sector, it has been never implemented; about half of the recommended percentage, 3.6 percent is spent on education. Moreover, out of the total amount allotted for education, about 95 percent goes into teachers salaries and very little left for sensitive aspects of quality development, content and process.

Though education is in concurrent list, the union government’s share in the total revenue expenditure by the union and the state was only 8 percent. The Plan outlay for education in 1995-96 increased by about 16 percent (in current price) as compared to 1994-95. The fact was highlighted by the finance minister in his budget speech. He did no mention that the allocation under the non-plan category was reduced by 4.4 percent, pushing down the over all increase to only about 8 percent. Taking into account the 10 percent inflation rate in 1994-95 and expecting low significant deviation in the trend in 1995-96, the increase in allocation in real term is very modest. The non-plan and the total allocation in 1995-96 are in fact much lower than the 1994-95. This makes 1995-96 the second consecutive year having registered a decline in total budget allocation for education. Similarly, 85 percent of the total allocation for elementary education is accounted for by the three major programmes i.e. blackboard, non-formal education and teachers training. Most of the remaining 15 percent of the
allocation for elementary education relates to foreign aided projects. A large part of the expenditure (about 80-100 percent) of their projects is fully reimbursed by external aid organisations; the remaining part is mostly met by the state; this led many caution that the growth in public expenditure on elementary education is largely borrowed growth (Tilak 1995).

In the case of secondary education two-third of the total allocation in 1995-96 budget is captured by elite Novodaya and Kendriya Vidyalayas- 37 percent and 29 percent respectively. The vocational education programme has not progressed satisfactorily at all – the allocation for vocational education has been reduced from Rs. 88.5 crores in 1994-95 to Rs. 82 crores in 1995-96 (Ibid).

The impact of reform on education is felt primarily on its initial stage and put question mark on government’s policy on national educational development in the country. It is evident from the fact that its expenditure to total expenditure was 1.44 in 1990-91, 1.44 in 1991-92, 1.33 in 1992-93, 1.38 in 1993-94 and again 1.38 in 1994-95. Thus data proves that union’s share in education has been too less. It is because of one of this reasons of governments discriminatory attitude for the mass education the country continues to possess the dubious distinction of having the largest number of out of school children – 22 percent of global total and adult illiterates – 30 percent of the worlds population (Observer 1995).

India’s allocation to education is very very less not only in comparison to the developed countries but also in comparison to other developing and poor nations – South Korea and a poor nation like Thailand allocated seven times, Srilanka six times and Malaysia ten times more to education than India (Raina 1995 : 83).

The most important problem the people of India face to day is that the education is gradually being privatised. Now the quantity of private schools is growing up as their growth has been activated and encouraged by the new economic policy. These schools are known as elite schools where not only the fees are very high to be paid by the students but also the other school related
expenses are too very high which ordinary Indian can not afford, and as already discussed in precedings section, huge population of India are under the clutches of poverty and therefore, practically the policy is a bigger step to alienate the poor mass from educational system, and negligence of government in existing government schools only compound the crises of mass education. The problem is more acuate in higher and professional education.

In addition, most Universities are now opening up vocational course which target the small but lucrative sectors and are charging very very high fees for the same. As a result basic subjects are being neglected both by Universities and by students as they keen to chase the dream of lucrative career opportunities (Shukla 1997 : 110) Now in higher educational and professional careers, due to privatisation policy mostly the rich students are only enrolling. The poor students are being alienated. Hence, through the changing scenario of environment, the policy of state is also being changed in favour of elite sections who have been enjoying all the benefits since long past.

Thus, the deprived are always deprived; if one method of deprivation is over, another method is adopted to stab from back. The deprived sections are always kept few steps backward so that they can never reach to the level of those who determine the state their deprivation. And knowing the importance of the present educational system, the dominant sections are again now through the new policy of deprivation deceiving and estranging the deprived so that the deprived remain the deprived forever.

Now again the question arise as who are the deprived, who are the real sufferer of the present hegemony of elitism or privatisation of education. To deal with these questions again the caste and class factors come into forefront. If proper investigation is made, one will see that the deprived sections especially the SCs, STs, and Backward Classes or in sum the Dalits who have been deprived of
their due since time immemorial are also today's deprived and exploited group. Minorities especially the Muslim of India are too not excluded.

Through due to some programme and policies some improvements are seen among few sections of dalit communities, the gap between them and other is increasing. The illiteracy gap between the SC, ST and rest of population is increasing as it was 17.59 percent in 1961, 19.13 percent in 1971 and 19.84 percent in 1981 among the SC and the rest of population. In case of the ST, the figures are 19.33 percent, 22.50 percent and 24.87 percent respectively for 1961, 1971 and 1981 (Eighth Five Year Plan: 420). The wide gap of drop out rate between he SC, ST and the rest of population is not unknown the government of India as it also prepares the report on such (Agenda no. 18, 1990).

‘In the overall context of inadequate public resources for schooling, greater privatisation of quality education for the elite and search for non-formal alternatives for the educational backward, it is likely that socially and economically disadvantaged groups will suffer greater neglect. Unless the present state of formal education is brought centre stage and the issue of equity in education is regularly addressed, we will continue to witness the abdication by the state of its social reassibility in education’ (Nambissian 1996 : 1002). Therefore, it can be concluded that the present policy of the government is sidelining the down-trodden or dalits from the educational institutions (roughly like that of ancient India under religious doctrine) which they were slowly but steadily getting since independence. Now, due to privatisation, the dalit con'nt have access to these institutions; now they can’t be employed as physical labour too. Because due to easy technology transfer under the new policy, the workers are likely to be replaced and neglected. Thus they unlikely in past, are now neglected physically as well as mentally. Therefore, they are now in the verge of worst stage of their life.

C. Labour and Employment.
One of the most important social sectors is labour and employment. As India is one of the most populated countries in the world (second position) she needs the employment oriented growth; not only the wealth will be concentrated upon very few individuals if only technology is being employed, millions will also be unemployed and starved. Hence, one of the prime motives of the new economic policy was to provide full employment by the end of 2000 AD. let us analyse the impact of this policy on labour and employment.

According to the planning commission the additional employment increased from 3.00 million in 1991-92 to 7.18 million in 1994-95 (Economic Survey 1995-1996 : 181). However, according to critics the liberalisation policy adversely affected employment in the country. According to Ruddar Datt, during the first two year of the eight five year plan the employment growth rate in the organisation sector which constitute about 9 percent of total employment in 1992 was only 0.36 percent. Secondly, the planning commission’s proclamation of 2.03 percent average growth of employment is also much lesser than the target of 2.6 percent per annum set up by the planners for employment generation. In absolute terms, this indicates a short fall of over six million jobs between 1992-93 and 1994-95 (Datt 1996 : 10).

Practically the employment growth rate under reform period is very slow. The growth rate generation during 1992-93 to 1994-95 at 2.03 percent per annum (average of which is claimed to be higher than the average annual rate of employment growth of 1.78 percent during the preceding seven years ,1985-92) is much lesser than the growth rate generated during 1972-73 to 1977-78 which was 2.82 percent, also it is lesser than the growth rate generated during the 1977-78 to 1983 which was 2.22 percent. Despite the lower growth rate during the period 1983 to 1987-88 which was 1.55, the employment growth rate form 1972-73 to 1987-88 which is 2.21 is quite higher than the economic reform growth rate of 2.03 percent (Datt 1995 : 106).
Planning commission’s comparison of current reform period’s growth with the period 1983-1987 is not even justifiable as the during 1983-1987, the process of new economic policy was already started by Rajeev Gandhi government. The comparison of current reform growth rate of employment with that of period before 1983 indicate decline rate of growth in current reform period. 

Another study by Gangopadhyay and Wadhwa concludes that employment growth has slowed down between 1973-83 and 1984-3 for all industries except textiles, leather, metal products and other manufacturing. Rate of growth of wage earnings has also been falling in all industries except the four listed above. However, capital intensity as measured by capital per workers has been going up (Gangopadhyay and Wadhwa 1998 : L40- L49) according to other case studies of Ahmedabad the new policy has led to displacement of workers and also has an adverse effect on the employment situation and the lives of workers (Noronha and Sharma 1999 : 1454 – 1460, Roy 1996). Biplab Dasgupta, in his article ‘SAP: Issues and conditionalities’ highlights that structural adjustment leads to a freeze in public employment and the private sector employment also seldom grows because of low level of private investment (Dagupta 1997 : 1100 – 1101).

Chandrasekhar and Abhijit Sen have also criticized the new economic policy on the ground of its negative impact on employment. They looked at the industrial distribution of workforce for the years 1989-90 and 1992 based on NSS data. Since daily status details were not available they looked only on usual status employment. Their finding says that the growth of employment is not declined in case of agricultural employment whereas in non-agricultural employment unit, it declined significantly between pre and post reform periods. Similarly the actual shares for the period 1977-78 to 1992 shows that the share of primary sector increased in the post reform period as compared to pre-reform period for both males and females. This can be interpreted that the now economic policy couldn’t
absorb the workers in secondary and tertiary sectors, thereby compelling the workers to return to agricultural fields (Chandrashekar and Sen 1995).

Parthasarathy and Reddy, attacking the new policy said “one of the disturbing features of the present reforms regime is the uninhibited false propaganda. For last three years, there has been frantic effort to propagate the idea that the economic reform policies have been according the highest priority to labour intensive growth... The claims on employment growth are based on the planning commission’s projection of employment. There is hardly any information either on the method or on the composition of these estimates. A closer examination of reforms show that there is nothing in the changes which can be claimed as inducing a labour-intensive pattern of growth. If we look at the trends in the organisation, which comprises of public sector and private corporate establishments employing more than 10 persons, a distinct declaration in terms of employment since 1989-90 is discernible. The annual addition to employment in 1989-90 in the organised sector was 4.5 lakhs, and during the period 1992-93 to 1994-95, the public sector show a decline compared to 1989-90. In fact the private corporate sector’s addition to employment in 1992-93, was negative and the later recovery is marginal, 0.19 percent (Parthasarathy and Reddy 1996 : 28).

Through special employment and poverty alleviation programmes, substantial portion of job have been generated as reported by Economic Survey 1995-96. According to its estimates, these special programmes generated 2.65 million jobs in 1992-93, 3.6 million in 1993-94 and 4.14 million in 1994-95. It shows that, on an average, more than half the estimated employment generation has been through the special employment and poverty alleviation programmes and these have absolutely no relation to the economic growth of the country. It is well known that the primary focus of these special programmes is employment and not growth or asset creation. Hence, this may be characterized as ‘growthless job’. While not
necessarily questioning the validity of these programme to project the poor by way of “safely net” it would be a gross distortion of facts to include these jobs as arising out of growth (Parthasarathy and Reddy 1996: 29-30).

Further as calculated by Parthasarathy and Reddy, if employment generated through special programme is included, the residual jobs in the entire productive sector which are the focus of the new reforms, have been an average accounting for about 45 percent of the jobs. If one talk about agriculture, the rest of the economy accounts for hardly 15 percent of the estimated jobs. Out of this 15 percent of the estimated additional employment, the large number of jobs are in the unorganised sector – most of which are in the form of casual employment. A very small proportion of employment has been generated in the organised industry which is the focus of the reforms and growth and is also shown as a proof of sources of reforms (ibid).

By referring the figures pointed out by B.B. Bhattacharya and Arup Mitra (Bhattacharya and Mitra 1993: 1989 – 95), Rudder Datt stated that in contrast to Government claims of growth of employment the new economic policy had been the instrument of growth of unemployment in the country- 11 million unemployment in 1990-91, 17 million in 1991-92, 19 million in 1992-93 and further it increased to 21 million in 1993-94 (Datt 1995: 106).

After analysing the labour and employment under structural adjustment, Jayati Ghosh says that the rate of growth of organised sector employment decelerated significantly at 1.5 percent per annum and would be below the rate of population growth. Within this, the main impetus of employment generation was provided by state government and some quasi-government organisations such as the nationalised banks. The private organisation was the most sluggish with the employment at only 0.2 percent per annum over the decade, and even employment in central government and industrial undertaking grew very slowly. Moreover, over this decade there was a sharp drop in labour absorption by the
organised sectors. She further laid that over this deccade there was a sharp drop in labour absorption by the agricultural sector and as a result agricultural employment grew not only slower than population growth, but less than it had growing in earlier deccades (Ghosh 1995: 572).

Ghosh is also of view that pattern of structural adjustment and government economic strategy since 1991 has been one which has involved further reductions in employment generation in organised sector, both public and private. It has also affected adversely rural non-agricultural employment because it has involved the reduction of expenditure in rural areas in several ways (ibid: 573).

Sudha Deshpande and Lalit Deshpande, however by analysing the 50th survey round on employment and unemployment in India have concluded that the liberalisation has increased the demand for casual worker particularly the women though not of regular workers (Deshpande and Deshpande 1998: L 31 – L 39). However, such casual type of employment may have short run social safety net, but in true sense not the solution of unemployment problem in India. In fact, it could be regarded in parthasarathy and Reddy’s term as growthless employment, and hence not the real growth of structural employment in the country.

Commenting upon the liberalisation policy in India, Prof. Prabhat Pathnaik says “It is the workers who are the main victims of such policy package. Unemployment, apart from affecting the living conditions of a sections of them directly, has effect of slapping their bargaining strength and decimating their organisation, the trade clinics. What is more unemployment which can be caused in this particular case by a reduction specifically is welfare expenditure and transfer payments to the workers, which again affect both their living conditions directly as well as their bargaining strength. The worker thus face a double attack either of which alone would affect their lives and their strength adversely, but both of which together constitute a severe blow (Pathnaik 19xx).
He further writes that it is a retreat from the commitment to the welfare state and high and near full employment. Instead of an seemingly non-partisan state standing above classes and acting in the interests of society, are now witnessing a transition in the capitalist world to a bluntly partisan state, indeed a smashing trade unions and winding up the social security system (Ibid : 200).

Several other authors have contributed their mind on this controversial topic – relationship between new economic policy and social justice in India. owing to various constraints – space, time etc, all are not covered here. With due excuse to them all, however it can be safely concluded that the liberalisation policy is not really employment friendly. Though, through special programmes some social safety is tried to build up, yet it is not the employment in true sense; perhaps it was true that by end of 1994, around 900 million unemployment was seen in India (Observer 1995).

The new policy is employment unfriendly presently for two reasons. Firstly after evolution of such policy in India the government has been cutting fresh employment in government Sectors, public sectors, autonomous bodies etc, thereby compelling million youths either to go for underemployment or to survive without employment. Moreover, government has been evolving the voluntary retirement scheme to retrench the employees. It has been cutting employment to boost the growth. However, such growth in India’s inequality system would rather increase the gap between the rich and poor. The employees under pravatised PSUs./autonomous bodies/government sectors are more likely to suffer especially in long run.

Secondly, the private bodies are not interested in social service like providing employment as their primary motive is to earn profit and boost growth of their enterprises. The incentive providing for privatisation to boost export or growth may achieve export or growth, but the fruits of such growth would be appropriated by influential few. If any so-called social safety net are provided, as
is seen, those are rather just like providing food to survive in misery and reproduce other miseries of subsequent generations so that the disparity between rich and poor are maintained, preserved and perpetuated from generation to generation. More corruption and other maladies would strive to maintain such disparity. The weaker sections especially the Dalits are more likely to be depressed through such policy. The detail discussion of impact of policy on Dalits is dealt in following section-D.

D. Weaker Sections.

As stated already in preceding sections, the curse of liberalisation in India is more dangerous to the weaker sections especially the Dalits. Despite the socialistic pattern of philosophy followed by India, these sections have been living with poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, and all kind of miseries. They are poorly represented in educational and employment sectors of the nation. Hence, the protective discriminatory policy was enunciated for their socio-economic mobility. However, these sections are still far behind the rest of India’s population.

The constitutional obligation i.e. reservation, has not been implemented efficiently for some plausible reasons or others is certainly unconstitutional and undemocratic. Whether we analyse poverty, education or employment, we will find the Dalits are the worst sufferer and therefore it may not be incorrect to state that these sections have been marginalised from mainstream. The downtrodden are in fact, truely pushed into the darker corner of society as they are socially suppressed, economically oppressed, psychologically depressed and politically exploited for pleasure and glory of few sections called elite in the country. The light is not shown to them at all except in pen and paper or in election platform or in T.V. or radio or in News Paper.
As we have seen in the section-literacy and education, they lag far behind others in illiteracy, and the progress of education has been very very minimal. Whatever little bit progress were seen among them would no more be expected under the new policy due to its privatisation and commercialisation steps. Hence, the wings of bird are removed before they get matured.

Despite protective discrimination policy, the representation of dalits have been neglected. The actual representation of SCs and STs in public enterprises is stated in table 3. The Report of Commission for SC and ST, 1983-84, examined the actual representation of SCs and STs in nationalised banks and other financial institution on the basis of information available with the banking division of the Ministry of Finance, and found their poor representation especially in higher cadre posts (SC/ST Commission Report 1985-86: 10).

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage of actual representation as on:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/1/1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>26.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also 2) Report of Commission for Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1985-86 Government of India p.10

The case is more serious in government departments. The examination of various departments of union government by the SC/ST Commission revealed that for group A posts, department of parliamentary affairs, department personnel
and administrative reforms and the cabinet secretariat were the worst defaulter having nil representation of the scheduled caste while six ministries / departments reported 0.29 percent to 4.72 percent representation of scheduled castes. In 23 ministries/departments, the representation of Scheduled Castes ranged from 5.00 percent to 9.98 percent. Thus the position of the intake was far from satisfactory (SC/ST Commission Report, 1983-84: 61-77).

The case was more miserable in case of scheduled tribes as in group A posts in 16 ministries / departments there was nil representation. In 31 ministries / departments the representation of ST was between 0.06 percent (department of atomic energy) to 4.83 percent (department of economic affairs), and the prescribed 7.5 percent reservation was not followed by any ministry / department (ibid).

The similar antipathy towards implementation of reservation policy and poor representation of SCs and STs have been reported by various Sociologists from their respective studies (Singh 1979, Oommen 1978; Gandhi 1982; Sharma 1984; etc). A more recent study by Manickavasagam and Alagappan on BHEL, Tiruchirapalli reveals the same trend of ineffective implementation of reservation policy the figure of which are stated in table 4.

*Table 4*

**Representation of SC/ST employees in BHEL, TRICHY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>No. of SC/ST Employees</th>
<th>Percentage to total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Secretary</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical officer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hence, the government and public sectors have not satisfactorily represented the dalits despite constitutional obligation which prescribes total 22.5 percent reservation (15 percent for SC and 7.5 percent for ST) for the SC/ST community. Thus the case would be worst in case of private sectors as the profit seeking private enterprises would like to alienate more conveniently the dalits. When the compulsion representation (constitutional quota) is not fulfilled, what to hope about from the voluntary representation. Moreover, the employment growth rate in private sectors is much lesser than that of public sectors as evident from table 5.

Table 5

Employment growth rate in Public and Private Sectors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agriculture &amp; Allied</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining &amp; Quarry</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elect. Gas &amp; Water Supply</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-7.9</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, Hotel &amp; Restaurant</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans, Storage &amp; Com</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-3.2</td>
<td>-1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, Real Estates</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community, Social and Personal Series</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the article entitled ‘Impact of Economic Reform on Dalit’ Dr. Anand Teltumbde said that despite poor implementation the dalits were getting some improvement owing to reservation, prior to structural adjustment. However, the new economic reform has been critical to dalit in availing educational and employment opportunity. In fact the winds of privatisation under the economic reforms have already shaken the very foundation of the reservations (Teltumbde 1996).

The new economic policy often claim for growth with human face - the growth would help building up more social justice programmes. But these social justice programmes have been operationalised in India since long but the fate of dalits were continued to be same, even worse. Due to poor implementation welfare programmes and other social maladies, the dalits are in the verge of worst situations. The recent case study by Amarnath Tewary should caution about the
social justice programmes. Tewary’s study of scheduled caste, mushar community (rat eater, the lowest of the low) of Bihar reveals that due to hunger they sell their bodies and children as there is no alternative left for these landless labour community. The women sell her body for Rs. 10 to 15, and a child is sold to untraceable broker for few hundreds to few thousand rupees. In Madhubani area alone more than 500 Musahar children have been sold. If an independent inquiry is held, the number would rise further. More pathetic point is that after sold out the children neither children nor broker is traceable. Anthropologist Sachida Narayan says(Quoted by Tewary):

“Musahars are mainly landless agricultural laboures. They have only their physical labour to sell. They do not have any fixed economy and their annual income is less than primary school free. To day the musahars of North Bihar are fighting for their survival and no body takes any notice of it. So it is not surprising that they are selling off their children to brokers- they are not left with any alternatives”.

All this despite the official statistic that since independence successive governments have spent Rs. 35.6 lakh on each musahar through various development scheme. Result! the community still has a paltry per capita income of Rs. 200. Government records boast of scheme like the Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojaha, Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, Employment Assurance Scheme ,Indira Awas Yojana, the Drought Prone Area Programme and Pradhanmantri Gramodaya Yojana for the welfare of scheduled castes. The musahars are supposed to be the beneficiaries of more than one of these programmes but the reality is different: the community in the Chhajan- Gangaram, for example has never seen a government officer in their village except for the health officers visiting for the pulse polio programme (Tewary 2002: 46 – 47).
Therefore, the weaker sections or dalit should bear in mind that the consequences of liberalisation would be highly negative for dalits if proper measures are not taken. Some likely effects on weaker sections are stated below.

I

As there is no reservation policy implemented so far in private sectors, the dalit would not be recruited in private sectors at all except in few negligible cases – primarily at lower level posts. This is because of the prevailing notion of caste solidarity, meritocracy and ineligibility.

It is well known fact that since long past the caste system has been playing the pivotal role in determination of serial position in Indian society. Because of one of these reasons, despite constitutional enforcement, the dalits are not being properly accommodated in the higher grade services in government and public undertakings. In private enterprises it would be upon the desire of entrepreneur to recruit posts in his own choice; hence he would try to accommodate the large sections of upper castes in his enterprises due to the similarity of socio-cultural and other vested interests with them.

Whereas the case is antagonistic in case of lower strata—the dalit, whom he and his forefathers have been looking down since distance past. Therefore, it would not be easier on his part to bring a son of his sweeper to his par, the level of higher grade post which is more or less horizontal to his own position. However, few exceptional cases cannot be ruled out, as despite such rigid caste structure in India, there are some people belonging to so-called upper caste who attach importance to humanism above all the socio-cultural barriers.

Second important factor that would play vital role in checking the dalit’s entry into the private sector is due to the prevailing notion of meritocracy whose role is much more significant to the profit oriented private enterprises than the so-called service oriented public sectors.
Because of the economic backwardness and other restrictions directly or indirectly imposed upon dalits by the vested interests, their educational achievement in term of merit is much lower than those of the upper sections who get privileges and opportunities much more than these weaker sections to pursue the higher educational and professional careers.

According to Mali, it is not because the masses are not willing to learn but it is because of the negligence of upper classes and administrators few people in the country i.e. 2 percent, are enjoying all fruits of educational facilities. They are getting higher type of education and they are in the key posts in the fields of the country. So the education system existing today in our country is the monopoly of classes and not masses. Masses are starving for want of minimum educational system which is financed by poor public. As and due to this factor obviously upper sections are front runner for higher grade posts in private enterprises which give immense importance to the merit factor for making higher profit (Mali 1989: 1-5). Moreover, though crores of rupees are spent on education of these elites by the government through various elite institutions, they drain brain to developed nations for their own luxuries; therefore, do not bother about improving of Mother Land.

Mali’s view of class and mass are in reality the so-called upper caste elite and the lower caste dalits, as in India there is high degree of correlation exists between the caste and class.

Third important factor is that due to gross negligence of the government, most of the weaker sections are striving for the basic necessities alone. They hardly think of education, what to speak of higher education. Their miserable conditions do not permit to go for the technical/professional or higher education in India, what to speak of foreign education. Due to privatisation another problem they would face is that they can never think of joining the private institutions for pursuing technical and professional courses due to unthinkable and unaffordable
high amount of fees—which are lakhs of rupees. The meak of so-called upper case would also suffer.

Hence, the weaker sections are not eligible to be in the race for higher grade services both in public and private sectors, as they have been restricted form the entry into the educational / professional institution itself. In the era of new economic policy they particularly the dalit would therefore, be the worst sufferers. Some of them who have already come out of the clutches of miseries to some extent, may strive successfully / unsuccessfully for their survival whereas the large sections would be alienated by the gross discrimination policy, if otherwise the counter revolution is not followed.

II

The second important point is that these weaker sections would not be able to own the private enterprises. Whenever any public sector is privatised, the owner would be form the other sections that is either from the upper-class elite or from the foreign elites. Of course, to show the example and for the backdoor-cheating and deceiving, one or two dalits may be availed a little share of ownership. However this is too least expected, what is expected is that the owners of all major private enterprises including privatised public or government sectors would be the upper class elite who would have in most cases the calculative collaboration with foreign enterprises including MNCs (Multi National Corporations) therefore exploiting the weaker sections in very terrific manner in long-run if otherwise the trend is not deviated.

III

Another important point the weaker sections should understand is that the so-called Indian elite adapt itself very smoothly with changing situation by confusing the mass. It could not loss its supremacy despite the fact that it was attacked and ruled by Muslims, British and other foreign powers for centuries in past. Today, again they manipulate the mass in very clever way. For example in one way they
have implemented Mandal Commission and enhanced reservation by including OBCs under the reserved category and on the other hand however, they are making vigorous privatisation and cutting down employment in existing public and government sectors thereby achieving two objectives simultaneously:

(i) Satisfying the downtrodden and winning their confidence through reservation
(ii) Protecting and maintaining their vested interest by alienating again the mass through rigorous privatisation and cutting down of employment of existing government, public and autonomous sectors.

Instead of checking corruption and other drawbacks responsible for low growth in public sectors, the government is making vigorous privatisation even at heavy social costs. What is more sad to note that some of the profit making public sectors like BALCO, IPCL, CMC, are being privatised. Moreover gross irregularities on such privatisation have been reported.

Though through modernisation, anti-corruption measures and other policies, the PSUs can be developed and strengthen and made profitable enterprises, the government instead of mitigating the root cause of poor performance of PSUs, is selling these in the hand of private bodies. Such vigorous privatisation is not only improper solution as the fruits of it are clearly expected to be eaten by the few elite sections, it is also un-democratic, unethical and immoral in context of Indian society and goes against the basic spirit of constitution; therefore can be regarded as “unconstitutional” because through this method the gap between the rich and the mass would be further widen and the weaker sections would be driven out of national mainstream and again would be pushed into the darker corner of society. This is primarily because the reservation and other protective policies enshrined in the constitution of India became inactive to protect the interests of the weaker sections in the land of private capitalists. Thus, though industrialisation, modernisation and globalisation are requirement of time, due to prevailing unequal
social order and lack of protective policies, the current trend of India would rather help the elite sections again to persistently suck the blood of masses.

IV

After SCs, STs and OBCs, another sections of India more close to dalit or can be called dalit or weaker sections are the women. About relationship between women and dalit we have already dealt in previous chapter.

The women have been exploited like other dalits for last three thousand years (approx) under the pretext of religion and culture. After independence too, their status is not changed. Social reformers like Raja Rammohan Ray, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar fought for abolition of sati, widow remarriage, girl’s education etc. Jyotiba Phule advocated for women’s education especially dalit women’s education. Ambedkar fought through the Hindu Code Bill to give various rights to women i.e. inheritance, monogamy marriage etc.

Since independence therefore, several acts, policies, programmes schemes etc. have been made for women but results these programmes have been unsatisfactory in uplifting the women. Because of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment, the dalit women is much more inferior. On the other side, the so-called upper caste women is more suppressed though the dowry system and other forms of cultural exploitation. It can therefore, be said that the upper caste women is more prone to cultural exploitation i.e. exploitations through religion and culture whereas the dalit women is more prone to structural exploitation i.e. exploitations due to weaker level of economic, education and occupational structure. Moreover, in most cases, the dalit women is exploited by the outsiders (external exploitation) i.e. molestation, rape, murder etc. whereas the upper caste women is exploited from the insiders (internal exploitation) i.e. dowry death, wife bitting and other forms of harassment under pretext of religion and culture.

Due to reduction of social expenditures and prevalence of acute poverty among rural women and other social maladies, the women are likely suffer more
in the era of new economic policy (Agnihotri 1996: 124-125). According to Indu Agnihotri, following are the other miseries the new economic policy is effecting on the Indian women (Ibid 128).

The growth rate for female employment came down in early 1990s in comparison to 1980s. This despite the visible trends of increase in female headed households. The number of work days under Jawaar Rojagar Yojana declined from 864 million in 1989-90 to 778.3 million in 1992-93. The number of families assisted by the IRDP scheme declined from 3.35 million to 2 million in the same period. In Maharashtra, while decade ago the advance of draught scheme for providing jobs were for 50 lakh people, today their number, despite draught and starving death, is 6.5 lakhs. Expenditure under DWCRA shows the following trend:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>Rs. 16.03 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>Rs. 15.88 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>Rs. 12.69 crores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) is maintained that the Integrated Child Development Scheme alone would not be only major programme for child care support for the low income groups, today this is too is subjected to cut. The National Creche Fund visualises very limited grants – that too for only the next 5 years.

The worst sufferers among women are those belonging to dalit community – more sufferers of poverty malnourishment, illiteracy, unemployment, ill health, drudgery jobs, molestation, rape etc.

They cant join in technical / professional or higher educational courses due to unaffordable high fees; they can’t join in hotel or MNC or private sectors as receptionists, clerk or so. They also can’t join as teacher or nurse in private
schools or hospitals. All of these are generally available to the women belonging to the upper sections of society, through they are too exploited under the new policy. In other words, through slowly women were climbing up before the reform, the new economic policy had obstructed their path. In sum, it can be concluded that the liberalisation policy at its present form has been barrier to progress of the weaker sections in general and dalits in particular. On the other hand however, it has become the boon or the igniter for the progress of the elite class.

V

Another important problem that India would witness is the socio-psychological behaviour of the consumption pattern. Because of the new economic policy, costly consumer goods would flood into Indian markets in relatively cheaper prices which would by and large be used by the people with the higher level of income who mostly constitute the upper sections of Indian society.

The dress pattern and life style of the lower socio-economic groups particularly the dalit would gradually be inferior and de-recognizable in society. Thus from this consumption pattern, the life style would differ and from the life style the social position would differ. That is to say the people with lower standard of consumption would be socio-psychologically harassed, demoralised and humiliated. Their aims and aspiration would be in the state of abeyance.

Love, affection, friendship, sex, emotion etc. would be directly related with socio-economic position of a person in the society ignoring out rightly his individual values and qualities. Not only the women would be classified on the basis of beauties, charmness, sexiness but also the male members too, thereby psycho-socially degrading those who are not compatible with the measurable standards in consumable markets. Thus, one section would be regarded as
consumable product due to the fact that they sell themselves in the market, another section i.e. elites would consume such products whereas the other specially weaker sections would be classified as waste or rotten product of society.

Thus, the weaker sections would march into the state of slavery. They would be treated much inferior to the pet dog of the elite class. It would be highly pathetic for the downtrodden that in long run of the present policy, they would be directed, controlled and ruled by pet dogs, monkeys, birds etc. of the upper class elites.

Therefore, their social position, if otherwise the strong socio-political revolution was not done, would be in the edge of worst level because the humanitarian philosophy would no more be appreciated by that time. The humanitarian thinkers or social reformers would either be put into death / bar or made as a pagal (mad) / joker (cartoon, comedian). Hence, solutions should be done in its very early stage of growth.

E: Miscellaneous

There are large number of problems one can find when analyse deeply the new economic reform with reference to the weaker sections. The notion of social justice is defeated and somehow confused in the state of liberalisation as both are seemingly inconguence as analysed and observed in previous sections. Few other points in this connections are examined.

According to Kealya, the liberalisation policy would effect the health sector. Under patent regime according to Kealya, Convenor of National Working Group on Patent Laws, about 70 percent of the drugs would be covered. Consequently heavy payments will have to be made ton the patent holders and thus it is feared that this would result in the prices of drugs going up to 5 to 10 times at present. At present, only 30 percent of population can afford modern drugs and if the GATT agreement is accepted, another 20 percent of population
will lose health cover, leaving only 10 percent population access to modern drugs. Such a policy has dangerous implications for the health of our population (Kealya 1994).

Mr. B.K. Kealya gives two specific example about drugs marketed by some MNC in different countries. In India there is a process patent of these drug but in other countries, they are covered up under product patent. The price differential between these two types of patent is so large that it compels one to be think whether the introduction of product patent in India would not push the price of drugs in India to a very high level like that of other countries having such patent. Table 6 provides information about the drug prices of two specific basic drugs. They are being marketed by two MNCs in four countries.

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drugs</th>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>U.K</th>
<th>U.S.A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Renitidine</td>
<td>Zantac</td>
<td>Glaxo</td>
<td>Rs. 29.03 (Times) 1.0</td>
<td>260.40 (9.3)</td>
<td>481.31 (16.5)</td>
<td>744.65 (25.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300mg*10’s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diclofenac</td>
<td>Voveran</td>
<td>Ciba</td>
<td>Rs. 5.67 (Times) 1.0</td>
<td>55.80 (9.8)</td>
<td>95.84 (15.2)</td>
<td>239.4 (42.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50mg*10’s</td>
<td>Geigy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These drugs are under process patent in India but are under product patent in Pakistan, U.K and the USA. As a consequences of product patent regime the price differential is about 9 to 10 times in Pakistan, 16 to 17 times in Britain (UK) and 25 to 26 times in USA for Renitidine drug in comparison with that of India. In case of Diclofenac drug, the price differential as compared to India is 9 to 10 times in Pakistan, 15 to 16 tims in U.K. and 42 to 43 times in USA. Thus escalation of prices into such a high level due to product patent is observed from the above table 6.
Agriculture sector is also said to have affected by the new economic policy. Initially, the developed nations were heavily subsidising their farmers all those years. However, now after they fully developed, they have started mobilising the third world nations to cut down the subsidies for their farmers which is obviously going the affect agriculture in India, especially in long run. It is true that benefitants of subsidies have been by and large the rich farmers due to non-effective implementation of land reform. However, the negative consequences of cutting of subsidies are felt due to two important reasons. Firstly due to reduction of subsidies, agricultural labour would be cut and owing to new regime’s easy accessibility to foreign technologies, the rich farmer would go in big way for commercialisation of agriculture. There is also another reason for this that is each member country of new global policy would have to open its agricultural market of at least 8 percent (In beginning of 2005 India would have to open this percent) to foreign exporters. Hence, the competition between domestic producer and foreign exporter would force domestic producer to retrench labour and go for more advanced technology to withstand the competition. Moreover, some rich farmers may go for alternative cash crops. Hence, the poor would face double impact agricultural unemployment and starvation due to sky rise of food prices.

Secondly, the agriculturalists, who could not withstand the competition due to reduction of subsidies in one hand and huge competition on the other hand would switch over to other business. It is known that nearby agricultural lands of cities, or towns, are being converted into urban land for industrial purpose. Nearby lands of Gurgaon were converted to make it electronic city. Thus lesser fertile lands lefts for food crops for billion of human mouth. Industerial development is not bad, in fact it is necessary. But one thing can not be ignored is that machine can not feed stomach; to satisfy hunger one need to have food. On the whole process, it is the weaker section who are likely to be starved of hunger;
it has already been occurred i.e. Kashipur of Orissa, where to satisfy their hungry stomach the poor dalits had to eat mango kernel – poisonous things, thereby resulting into number of hunger death. In long run it would effect more seriously, severely and deadly to the poor mass of Indian society.

Moreover, some eye wash programmes of social safety net with political colour will not have positive impact due to corruption, politicisation and other social maladies. Added to it, automation in rural India would make lifeless to ignorant, illiterate and poverty stricken people by making them unemployed. Besides, rising cost of living in such would often force them to deviate towards either anti-social activities or mass suicides.

In new policy regime, small land owners would also be severely effected as they neither can compete with rich farmers of advanced technologies nor with the industrial world.

It is estimated that at least 25 percent of India’s 400 million farmers will be heading towards further marginalisation and the loss of supplementary livelihood opportunities and other poverty coupling mechanism will multiply. Despite advancement in food growth production (yet there is hunger due to concentration black market and high prices), it is estimated that 360 million people living under poverty now suffer from chronic hunger. With food subsidy being drastically cut as per the designs of the structural adjustment programme (SAP), cheaper food grain will now be available to the poorest of the poor based on nutritional criteria. However, corruption and other maladies would not allow them to eat. Hence, the ordinary poor will be allowed some time by the government perhaps to be in the list of poorest of poor by cutting the benefits to them (Sharma 1995: 50-60).

Further, it should be remembered that the advanced countries – propagators of globalisation, are not making it for recreating world of equity but
to protect and maintain their own vested interest and further their hegemony and dominance over the weaker nations – the third world countries.

They do not have the heart for poor. The Europien community was considering destroying 20 million tonnes of beef, butter, and grain instead of distributing it at free among poor of the world. With its silence bursting, the U.S.A. had to spend $6 billion in 1986 to subsidise the export of just $2 million worth of cotton, and it is not without reason that the paradoxical over abundance of food in some countries at time when half of humanity was dying of hunger was described by former president of U.S.A. Ronald Regan as an “agricultural mass”. In a letter to top western leaders just before the 1987 Venic sumit, he had termed it as “the most serious threat” to the industrialised countries (Hantal 1996 : 157).

Indian elites do follow the footsteps of the western countries. What developed countries do to poor countries is done by elite of poor countries to its poor mass, even more. When India had huge buffer stock of food grain and food was going wastage, it did not distribute to the poor who lacks purchasing power. It is only when the hunger death occurred in Kashipur was given extension coverage by media and seriously criticised by the intellectuals and nonetheless, only when Supreme Court passed the order to distribute the surplus foods to poor even at free cost, the government took some measures. Thus, Myrdal was perhaps right in saying that it is a Drama(Myrdal 1986) or Ambedkar was right in saying that the Dalits can not except their suffering to go under the regime of Hindu Social Order(Ambadkar X).

Because of negligence in the social sector by the government, the social indicators of India is very poor. The liberalisation process rather manipulated the mass in name of human development. Human development of India is much lower and poor than even most of developing countries- it’s 139th rank is worse than China’s 106th rank, Pakistan’s 138th rank and Sri Lanka’s 90th rank(HDR

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>G.D.P. per capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>$102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>$125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>$100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>$141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Also see: Hantal, Bhimasen 1996. Liberalisation Policy and Social Justice in India (Diss – submitted to JNU). New Delhi: CSSS/SSS, JNU. P. 158

From the table it indicates that despite the huge population, China is far better off than India in terms of HDI rank. It is too proved again that there is no congruence between growth and welfare of people – as all the three neighbour countries have had lesser GDP per capita than India, but in term of HDI ranks they are better placed. Another thing to be noted is that due to its less attention on human development, HDI rank of India as pushed down from 134 in 1995 to 139 in 1998. Moreover, due to its overall wrong policy, it’s GDP per capita in 1995 (in term of 1987 US $)-$425, became lesser than China ($481), and Sri Lanka ($512) but remained better than Pakistan ($381), perhaps due to Pakistan’s political instability. Thus better human development of China and Sri Lanka also led their better GDP growth (HDR Report 1998 141-42).

As per UNDP report, population below poverty line ($1 a day – 1985 ppp $) in India (52.5 percent) are more than China (29.4 percent), Sri Lanka (23.7 percent) and even Pakistan (11.6 percent) as measured for period 1989-94 (HDR Report 1998: 146-147).
Scholars like Arnopoulous was of the opinion that population explosion, uneven development and industrial growth held responsible for the serious human problem (Arnopoulous 1995:42-69). These points are not rejected but the fact is that even if all or some of above problems were present the human development had taken place and similarly without much pressure of above problems also the human development had been lagged behind. China, though had more population than India had far better HDI rank. Similarly, some of the countries with very less GDP per capita had much better HDI rank like that of developed nation (See Table 8).

Table - 8.
HDI Rank of some developed nations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developed countries</th>
<th>HDI</th>
<th>GDP per Capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costarica</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


When the people do not get food to eat, water to quench thirst etc the new global policy is meaningless, as it is rather widening the gap between the rich and poor countries in one hand and between rich and poor people on the other hand. According to UNDP report quite substantial sections of population of throughout world do not have access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation (HDR report 1998:68).

At a time of unprecedented wealth for many countries, 2.8 billion people - almost half of the worlds population, live on less than $2 a day and 1.2
billion live on the very margin of life on less than $1 a day a poverty line adopted by the world bank (World Development Report 2000-01).

Similarly, a sixth of the world’s population primarily the people of North America, Europe and Japan received 80 percent of the world’s income, an average of $70 per day in 1998. At the same time 57 percent of the world’s population in 63 poorest countries received only 6 percent of world income, an average of less than $2 per day (World Development Indicators 2000).

Moreover, due to negligence of rich nations and corrupt, inept and poor programmes by the governments of third world receiving developmental aid from developed nations, attempts to wipe out poverty around the world has been unsuccessful so far (Poverty Report 2000). Similarly, 75 percent of the 150 million unemployed people around the world, as reported by ILO, lack any insurance protection while the vast majority of the population in many developing countries including the informal sector wage earners and self employed persons, have no social protection whatsoever (ILO World Report 2000). Similarly, United Nation’s experts, after analysing the current trend of malnutrition, have warned that one billion children will be permanently handicapped over the next 20 years if the world does not adopt a new approach to tackle malnutrition (UN Expert Report 2000).

Thus, in one hand we say growth is boosting up due to new global policy, but on the other hand the conditions of poor are worsening up. Growth patterns in the last three decades have not shown any sign of convergence. A typically poor country in the early 1960s did not experience higher real growth. Hence, there is no catching up of the standard of living of the rich countries by the poor countries (Sarkar 1997: 1979 – 1984). As already stated economic reforms are drawing a new dividing line in the society – between small groups of beneficiaries and vast sections of casualties. The political economy of reforms designed for and by affluent India can only be resisted with a political economy of radical
transformation in favour of working people’s welfare (Bhatt acharya 1999 : 1408-1410). Prof. Ray, on justice with relation to globalisation, therefore, rightly says:

"The new ideology of globalisation, seeking to legitimise the hegemony of the world marked over state sovereignty is unlikely to make a striking difference for justice and critical security within the global system. On the contrary, in the changed context, economic rationality appears in the guise of a new realism. Within the unequal global market the economic rationality of the capitalist market is unlikely to create a new version of interdependence or social justice. The rationality is more likely to reinforce at the global level the experience of early capitalist development within the European national economies. And the reinforcement would spawn greater distortion for want of sovereign global authority as a substitute for the state. The disjunction between the concern for justice on the national plane and that on the international plane may become even more pronounce, as trends already indicate" (Ray 1999: 1368-1374).

Under the process of liberalisation, the poor mass are further subjected to exploitation, as social justice can not be expected under the present system. It has been observed from past that though in name of social justice several plans and programmes were made no substantial development took place but on the other hand those funds were being re-appropriated again through corrupt method by affluent, and manipulated the mass for election purpose i.e. Hantal 1996). In the present policy regime situation is more dangerous for the poor mass as discussed above in various sections. Hence, the other name of the new economic policy can be the New Exploitative Policy.

Earlier, through the social justice were not implemented properly, some of the dalits were benefited. However, under the present policy regime those are also cut down. Thus, it has become the instrument of naked exploitation. Jobs of government and public sectors are cut down and private sectors (which has low
employment growth rate) are encouraged where there is no social protection i.e. reservation. Therefore, the weaker sections or dalits are being cheated and deceived again.

Every revolution follow counter revolution. There is limit to exploitation even in exploitative society. Hence, the revolution of new policy which make the weaker sections more weaker may lead to counter revolution by the latter class. Thus, the incongruence of the liberalisation policy and social justice is also one of the important cause of stress, strain and conflict in Indian society which is expected to grow further if the proper measures are not taken.

Globalisation or industrialisation are not hindrance by itself for social development. But the current form in which the exploitation has been legitimised, the social cover of the poor has been taken out and the social mobility of the poor has been obstructed, the current global policy particularly to third world countries and more particularly with reference to Indian Dalits is certainly the hindrance to the progress and development of large member of weaker sections. Thus it may not be wrong to state that “industrialisation in socialist pattern (through proper redistribution) is the way of progress, not the liberalisation in capitalist pattern (through concentration of wealth by fews) which in true sense is rather the way of backwardness in its present form” (Hantal 1996 : 161).