Chapter VI:
Various Economic concepts of Phule

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6.1 The Drain Theory

The system of British administration in India was destructive for Indians as well as suicidal to Britain. It is known as ‘the drain theory’, which is based on an explanation of the fact that the appalling poverty of the Indian people was due to the British rule (which was a heavy drain on the resources of the country) under which heavy taxes were imposed on the people. If the income from taxes is spent in the country in which it has been collected, the money circulates, among the people of that country, the economic activities are promoted and the prosperity of the people is increased. But when income raised through taxes in one country is transferred to another country, that money is lost forever. It does not stimulate trade and industries in the taxpaying country (Hajela, T.N., 2014: 909).

Among the Indian Economic Thinkers, Dadabhai Naoroji (1815-1917), Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948), and Jotirao Phule developed ideas about the drain theory. Dadabhai Naoroji thought concerning whole country. M.K. Gandhi thought about village, and evoked ‘to come to village’. Gandhi thought 80 percent population of country live at village, so the prosperity of village means prosperity of country. Gandhi explains his idea of a model village.

An ideal Indian village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have courtyards enabling householders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a co-operative dairy, primary and secondary schools in which industrial education will be the central fact, and it will have Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains vegetables and fruit, and its own Khadi. This is roughly my idea of a model village (Gandhi, M.K., 2009, 125).
Gandhi proposed his ideas about village development, and resources of the villages should be utilized for the progress of the rural area was an opinion of Gandhi. According to Gandhi village was a base of the development of country.

Dadabhai Naoroji’s approach was different from Gandhi. He emphasized development of whole nation. For Naoroji the policy of the British government made India poor and inefficient. According to him, it was destructive for Indians as well as suicidal to Britain. His thoughts were centralized around the development of city and nation. He focused on the exploitation of the British rule to prove it he developed ‘The Drain theory’.

6.1.2 The Drain Theory of Naoroji:

The term ‘drain of wealth’ is generally used for the transfer of resources from India to England without either getting anything in return or getting only a disproportionately small part of such transfer of resources. The theory of ‘drain of wealth’ was advocated by Indian nationalist leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji towards the close of the nineteenth century in the process of analyzing the causes of poverty of the Indians.

According to Dadabhai Naoroji, the following items contributed to the drain of wealth from India.

a) Remittances to England by European employees for support of families and education of children a feature of colonial system of government
b) Remittances of saving by employees of the company since most employees preferred to invest at home
c) Remittances for the purchase of British goods for the consumption of British employees as well as purchases by them, of British goods in India
d) Government Purchase of stores manufactured in Britain
e) Interest charges of public debt held in Britain (excluding interest payments on railway loans and debts incurred for productive works) (Jayapalan, 2008, 133-134).

Naoroji calculated that by 1900, over £20 million were drained out from the revenues of India. This happened in two ways: first, by way of remittance by European officials of their savings in India, for their expenditure in England for pensions and salaries paid in England and from government expenditure both England and in India. Secondly, in the form of remittances by non-official Europeans, this process prevents the formation of capital in the country. Not only have that, the British, by bringing back the same capital, which they have drained from India, monopolized all trade and important industries (Hajela, 2014, 909-910).

Naoroji remarked that, if the country’s entire production is not employed in the country itself the reproduction would become more difficult. Naoroji gives an example of America, when America raised industry of railway; required capital was raised in America. Domestic employees were appointed and profit of railway was reinvested in America. However, in India production and expenditure, both are being taken in Britain, and India only pays their salaries.

6.1.3 Phule’s ‘Drain Theory’:

Outsourcing of wealth, for Phule, is transferred by two ways; from village to city and; simultaneously village to Britain.

Approximately 80 to 85 percent revenue (of total revenue of the government) was collected from villagers in two forms, as land revenue (direct tax) and from sell tax (indirect tax). However, the government was not spending 1 or 2 percent revenue on the villagers. All income of the government was spent on salaries, road building, railway, light, water, police, military etc.
Taking into consideration, all these aspects Phule advocated ‘Drain theory’, with the help of following assumptions,

1) Agriculture sector is main sector.
2) Two types crops are produced (A) perishable (B) imperishable
3) Farmers sell their crops in internal and external market.
4) Pensioners prefer to live in city or go to Britain.
5) Salaried employees spend their income at city level or in Britain (their own country).
6) Government’s revenue is collected in big proportion from Land.
7) Industries are destroyed by the British government policy
8) Moneylenders inhabited in city and provided loan to small moneylenders.

Phule’s drain theory can be studied with help these assumptions; and it can be depicted with the help of a chart.

The chart shows, the circulation of wealth from village to city or to Britain. Drain of wealth is taken place on various stages.

Figure 6.1
Chart of Drain Theory
6.1.4 Drain of wealth on tax level:

In the nineteenth century, the principal tax was the land revenue. In 1855-56, in Bombay Presidency, share of land revenue was 57.5 percent of the government’s total revenue. Next in importance were two commodity taxes of a rather special nature one was levied on the export of opium and the other in the sale of salt. Together the taxes on these two items accounted for 26.3 percent of total revenue of the government in 1858-59 more modern types of taxes such as income tax, customs and excise accounted for a small proportion of revenue 8.8 percent (Roy, 2011, 255-256).

The Bombay Presidency was got revenue 83.8 percent from land, export tax on opium and sale tax on salt. From progressive tax 8.8 percent, revenue was got. Proportionally its share was very less. This tax was levied on the city dwellers; therefore, it shows the meager proportion of the rich persons in the government’s revenue. Total revenue (approximately) was spent on salaries, on administration, road, light, water etc. The British government was not eager to spend for villagers.

Keer explains the government policy on education; Government was not eager to spend on education for the farmer’s children. The teacher who were teaching at village level, they were paid 10 rupees for a month. It was very meager (Keer, 2013, 174).

Similarly, as education, the government had no wish to spend on road, light, water etc. facilities for villagers. All welfare facilities were implemented in cities and their surroundings.

For Phule, it is drain of wealth from village to city.

6.1.5 Remittance to Britain:

Phule had perception of outsourcing of wealth to Britain. He had requested to the government about retired officers. For Phule, these officers should be in India, because they are accepting pension from Indians, in recompense of pension, they should give their service for villagers.

Phule thought, giving payment to the police is unproductive. The police service is not useful for villagers, need of their service is for city
dwellers. Hence, he requests to the government to use the police force to build bandh, dam, canal etc. Near about 85 percent revenue of the government is collected from the villages, but a single coin is not spent on their, was the proposition of Phule.

6.1.6 Drain of wealth on city level:

Farmer produced vegetables, milk, grains etc. at his village level; and the productions were supplied to city for sell. At city level, Municipality functioned for city dwellers; for the sake of revenue to provide facilities, it collected octroi from the traders, peasants etc. When farmer carried vegetables to city for sell, on his way there were octrois. In addition, he had to pay excise duty for his production. Municipality works for city dwellers, but revenue was collected from the villagers.

Phule explains,

Now the ignorant farmers have been burdened with yet another powerful new harassment like municipality just as there was local fund earlier. It is thus: When the farmers brings all their vegetables etc. produce raised in their farms, to the city, the municipality charges excise duty on it and exploits them (Phule, tr. Mundlay, 2002, 78).

Municipality charges excise duty on the farmer’s production; being indirect tax, it can be shifted forward. However, supply side, does not decide the prices of vegetables. Therefore, the burden of excise duty is not sifted forward, but endured by the farmers. Municipality collects revenue extorting money from villagers and spends for the facilities of city dwellers,

Phule describes,

There are wide roads with gutters built on both sides, paved with stone, hurricane lamplights on foreign-made poles on all sides, water taps made with important clay and iron pipes from place to place, public urinals and garbage collection carts. Trees are planted on both sides of the highways. There were town walls and bridges from place to place. In many places, there were dams, canals, wells and lakes. And in
cities like Ahmednagar, Aurangabad and Pune, there were strong water pipes, tanks, temples, masjids, sarais (i.e. free lodges), gutters, free drinking water supply post etc. All this was built by spending the cash from the municipality by extorting money from the subjects (Jotirao Phule (tr.) Mundale, Asha, 2002, 79).

At city level, the government spends enough money on education, but, on village level, the government had no wish to spend money on education.

While nationalists criticized the “drain” of income from India to England, Phule and such colleagues of his as Bhalekar directed their attention to the “drain” from the peasantry to the urbanized bureaucratic elite, and criticized such taxes as octroi, which provided a major amount of municipal income, and the local fund, by means of which largely upper-caste students were educated at the expense of the peasantry (Omvedt 2011, 122).

The British government had zeal only for cities and upper-caste. For education and fundamental facilities, the government spent huge amount, but simultaneously villages were ignored.

6.1.7 Drains on production level:

Phule classified agriculture production into two groups, one was perishable and other was imperishable. Agriculture production was dominated by demand; therefore, the farmers were exploited on price level.

A) Perishable goods:

The farmer grew vegetables and sold them in the city-market. The village there was no market for their production; therefore, they had to bring to city for sell. He had to pay excise duty on his product. Being, perishable production, he could not control on supply. In the city market, he could not sell his vegetables to consumer directly. Intermediary did not pay him fair price of his vegetables, and farmer did not have any facility to store the vegetables. There was monopoly of intermediaries in the city market, because they could pay bribe to the
officials. Due to this cause municipality supported to intermediary, and he got opportunity to exploit the farmers, who were illiterate and powerless.

The farmers brings a cartful of garden produce to be sold in the city, between the commission to the treacherous middlemen who purchase his goods in the bazzar with inaccurate weighing, and the excise duty of the municipality, all his cash income is gone and he has to pay the cart fare out of his own pocket and when he goes back home to his children, he is beating his breast and crying (Phule, tr. Mundly, 2002, 78).

Being, perishable goods and interference of intermediary, the farmer did not get proper price of his produce. He could not recover the expenditure of transport; there was no question to recover expenditure, which had been done in agriculture. The farmer had to pay to municipality as well as the intermediary also had to pay to municipality. All taxes of municipality were paid by the income of the farmers. The next tax system and strict collection of taxes increased revenue of municipality.

Phule compared between state and municipality,

Behold, the annual excise income of just one city i.e. Phune municipality is already equal to the annual revenue of the entire Sangli state Similarly if we try to march the tremendous income of the Bombay municipality with the income of ten or twelve princely states like the Pantsachivs of Bhor and others, they would not be able to bridge the gap (Phule, tr.Mundlay, 2002, 78-79).

B) Imperishable goods:

The imperishable goods like rice, cotton, linseed, leather etc. did not have enough sales in city or local market. Because, the cottage industries destroyed by the policy of the British government. In England, there was educated and skilled labour. In the production process, the new technique was utilized; therefore, the production cost was very low comparatively with Indian product. Due to this cause, Indian product did not emulate with the British products. Because of
the destruction of handicraft and cottage industry, there was no competition for purchasing imperishable goods. Only one purchaser was available in market, was British trader. He created his monopoly and devalued the prices of the agricultural goods; therefore, the farmer had not any alternative except selling their goods to the British trader. It was drain of wealth from village to Britain.

Phule described,

Since the day the English rule was established, the educated and skilled people in England started selling here the goods manufactured in England with the help of intelligence and the use of machines. This was sold at a cheaper price than the local goods made by illiterate Dhors, Mangs, Ironsmiths and Weavers. This was a threat to their livelihood. Therefore goods like rice, cotton linseed leather etc. could not have enough sales here and traders from England purchased it at whatever price they felt like giving and sold it to the skilled people of Vilayat. Briefly speaking, because of all these factors, the farmers can hardly recover even the expense incurred for cultivation (Jotirao, Phule, tr. Mundaly, Asha, 2002, 79-80).

6.1.8 Drain on loan level:

Before the British rule, moneylenders used to give loan to the farmers on borrower’s credit and his social status. There was no need to make mortgage. And if there was late to pay loan, the Panch committee had decided to the limit of interest; and he had to pay damduppat, not more. His land was protected from confiscation. Therefore, the farmer had Surety of his land. For the law, there was no limit to take interest, and no surety of land ownership. Without mortgage, law did not give loan to the borrowers.

Phule explains,

Now these days many Brahmin and Marwari moneylenders tell the discredited ignorant farmers that “because of the government laws, we cannot advance a loan to you against a mortgage, so if you make a sale deed of your farms in our name, we will give you the loan and when you return our sum we will resell your farms to you (ibid, 60).
Effects of new law on loan and drain of wealth

1) Mortgage was necessary for loan; it was expensive process, the farmers had bear expenditure of this process.

2) Without sell deed, moneylender did not give loan to the farmers. Being helpless, farmer bore the expenditure of sell deed and he had to bear also resell deed.

3) At city, inhabitant moneylenders’ interference was increased at village level.

4) Before British arrival, at the village there were credulous moneylenders who were giving loan to the farmers without mortgage. However, new law made them keep away from this process. Therefore, city dweller moneylenders established their superiority on this business. Before British, money was circulated at village, but new policy compelled farmers to do business with city dweller; therefore, money circulation of village stopped, and flow of money turned towards the city.

5) Documentary expenditure increased; and the possibility of deception increased hundred fold due to the illiteracy of the farmers.

6) The moneylenders could confiscate Land. Before the British rule, at village, there was Panch-committee, it did not let confiscate the land; and there was limit to take interest on principle, damduppat was last stage of receiving interest.

7) New rule compelled the farmer to sell his land to pay his loan.

8) Due to the new law, land and money were centralized at the hand of city dwellers.

As this way, ‘drain of wealth’ was activated very dynamically after the law’ and wealth of drain become very fast.

The British government was also borrower; it used to take loan from the big European moneylenders. The money was spent on various works as like, dam, canal, road etc. A big share of loan was used to build, dam canal, but drinking facility was developed for the city dwellers. However, loan was distributed on the land of the farmers; and
they were kept away from drinking water facilities. City dweller took benefit of the dam’s water but kept away them from loan burden.

Similarly with the apparent purpose of providing abundant water to the farms of the farmers so that their crops and draft animals are protected and so that they get a bellyful of bread and clothes enough to cover their body, and in reality intending to give large salaries to the European engineers who are their own countrymen, many canals have been build from place to place. With the intention of offering a high rent of interest to the European moneylenders, heavy loans have been incurred for these canals, the debt is changed to India, and lakhs of rupees out of the loan are spent on canal building. From farmers the cost of the water in the canals is collected at prices determined at will and even so is there any arrangement by the government officials to give water at the appropriate time? (ibid, 77).

6.1.9 The drain of wealth through Pensions:

Phule was thoroughly against of giving pension. Every pensioner was paid one hundred rupees for per month. But, according Phule, the farmer’s income of a month was four rupees only. The pensioners were paid through the tax revenue. Increasing burden of payments was not endurable for the farmers. Pensioners lived in city and spent their income at the city, so money circulation took place at the city level, and second thing the farmer's income was being shifted to city indirectly. Phule urged to the pensioners, for staying at village. Phule thought their experience and knowledge would help to change the condition of the village.

Conclusion:

Phule developed ‘The Drain Theory’ and he proved that, the wealth of village was transferred to city and England. He proved that, 85 percent revenue was collected from the farmers, however, all revenue was spent on the facilities of the city dwellers pensioners, administrative officials etc. On loan base, the city moneylender exploited him and his produce was purchased on very low price, which was not affordable to him.
6.2 The Theory of Social Change

6.2.1 Introduction:

Society occurs when human get together forms the groups and establishes their relation to each other. When the relations are established based on ownership of inputs, automatically exploitation takes place. However, according to India, for Phule, Social change was not taken place by ownership of inputs but it was taken place by invasions by various invaders.

Before invasions, social structure was sacred. There was not discrimination. There was not anyone was recognized Muslim, Brahman, Christian, Mahar etc in this stage, everyone was recognized to each other as ‘Man’. No social system was formed to exploit the nature or human being (Sharad Patil, 2004, 22, translation mine).

For Phule, creator created all animals, but while creating, he created a human being free from all barriers, and he made them to consume rights equally (Sardar, quoted in ibid, 22, translation mine).

In this society, there was not private proprietorship of anyone, everyone was proprietor of the inputs, and in other words, there was communism without ruler. Therefore, there was not discrimination among the people. Equality was a base to social structure.

In India, for Phule, the invaders brought about social changes. Various invaders made invasions to loot the fertility of India. But among them, Aryan attacked on India and subjugated land of India. In addition, new social structure was come to in existence. The proprietorship and earned power of Aryan created new society with discrimination.

After the Aryan, the religion made a part of politics; and used as weapon to rule and exploit. Social relationship now was occurred and controlled by religion. Ownership of inputs decided by religion not the efficiency of the human beings, status and social order was decided by religion, and privileges regulated social change. However, Karl Marx theory of the social change is a result of the ownership of capital.
Engels describes the social change in accordance with the materialist concept of history “The materialist conception of history”, wrote “Anti-Duhring” (it was aimed against a German professor named Eugen Duhring) “starts from the principal that production, and with production the exchange of its products, is the basis of every social order; that in every society that has appeared in history the distribution of the classes or estates, is determined by what is produced and how it is produced, and how the product is exchanged. According to this conception, the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in the minds of men, in their increasing insight into eternal truth and Justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange; they are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of the epoch concerned” (quoted in Robert L. Heilbroner, 1999, 144).

For Engels production function and ownership of its input decides to the social order and in Phule’s view, social order is decided by religion and its means.

6.2.3 (1) Primitive Communism:

In this stage, there were only basic needs were important. All these need were fulfilled through the common natural resources. Everyone had right to consume the natural resources. Needs were related only to livelihood, so there was not productive system was developed. No ownership was there, so equality was virtue of society for Phule, first, when these men and women were created, then they, probably had to rest in the shade of tall trees. In their hollows or under the crags of mountains they had to rest at night. And they must have satisfied their hunger by the roots, tubers and fruit from the surrounding Jungles (Phule, tr. Mundlay, 2002, 65).

In this stage, according to Phule, nature used to work with its own way. Man did not bring any hurdle in its way. Because there was not ownership in existence, therefore no exploitation was taken place. In the absence of the property, there was no need of any politically or
religious system to protect to the property. Being absent of knowledge, no religion or caste were come into form; therefore, there was no disparity. Everyone was equal in front of the law of nature. Human culture was not formed, but there was culture and it was created by nature itself, which bore equality, exploit less life and no disparity.

*Nature’s culture, for Phule, was ‘everywhere small springs of clean, clear water are flowing nonstop with musical murmurs. On the trees, the birds who will put even Tansen to shame by their melodious tunes are busy singing in their delicate voices. At the same time the gentle cool breezes from the west are spreading with breeze the fragrance everywhere of many types of flowers, seeing this, how full of joy was present’ (ibid, 65).*

Equality was a virtue of the social system. There was no question to create the disparity on the name of religion or caste.

For Phule man became unhappy when he realized himself as religious or a component of a special religion or caste. Phule expounded that,

in the primitive communism everyone was living with full of joy before realizing themselves Buddhist, Christians, Muslman, Mahars, Brahmins etc (ibid, 66).

In this system, no productive activities were taken place; therefore, there was no question of any production of goods or ownership of inputs.

*They had no knowledge of how to prepare clothes and arms, they must be allowing their hair, beards, and mustaches hanging loose, litting the nails on their hands and feet grow long and had to remain naked. They had no knowledge to make brass or clay utensils, so for to quench their thirst they used their cupped hands to drink water or drink as like animal (ibid, 66).*

According to Phule, man did not want to make himself different from animal; his living with animal was friendliness. There was no conflict between man and nature due to lack of selfishness.
They did not know how to make either a griddle or a grinding stone how they would know the sweet taste of roasted chapatti or bhakri. Would they not have the knowledge and facility for skinning sheep and cattle? When they could not accurately count to even one hundred, how would they be eating roasted cows, bulls and the name of sacrifices while intoxicated with somrasa? (ibid, 67).

Economy was in primitive stage. There was no exploitation or no discrimination. According to Phule ignorance of human beings kept the man in glad. No selfishness occurred and man had not capability to use his knowledge to deceive other human beings on the name of religion.

Phule expounded it, Phule thinks that, they must have been so ignorant on that occasion that if at that, time some shrewd and articulate scribes had brought to them a book inscribed on Palm leaves like the Vedas and they had taken it in their hands and realized it had no smell or taste, we cannot even imagine how what would have been the fate of the book.

Because they were vegetarian then, they could not have stolen, killed and eaten cows belonging to others, under the excuse of funeral rites or under the influence of the somarasa as per the opinion expressed in the Vedas by these night marauders. Because they were so holy, would they have liked to call these self-seeking scribes as their descendants? Would these (scribes) have dared to say in their presence, ‘you are a Buddhist”, you are a Christian”, you are a Muslim”, you are inferior because “you are a Mahar” and “we are superior because we are Brahmins” (ibid, 67).

(2) Village Community:

In this stage according to Phule, village was established by building shelter for their offspring. Need of protection of babies, gave stimulation to the ancestors to create the shelter. The first time feelings of ownership were sensed in the ancestors; and to indicate the ownership of man was showed by raising hedge around the huts.
Razing huts created groups of kinsfolk and their different identity. To live together rules were formed and the village community created culture. Phule expounded the village community.

When the offspring of our ancestors increased in number, they must have prepared huts for individual families, thatched with mats of coconut and supported by posts and beams of branches of trees, for their grandchildren and great grandchildren to live in surrounding them on all four sides, there must have been hedge of the babhul branches or of the thorny karvand creepers (ibid, 67).

In this second stage of the social change, man isolated himself from the nature and made hedge around his hut. In the first stage, he did not isolate himself from beasts, but now he needed to protect himself and his offspring from the wild beasts. The first time feelings of manness were created in man and he developed to himself and separated from the nature. In Phule’s ideas, he described,

On one side, the hedge must have had an entrance and so as the wicked wild beasts of the jungle should not enter from it at night (ibid, 67).

In this second stage of the social change, ownership of the property was established, and the need was created to protect it. In this village community equality and equal responsibility, both principles were presented. The first time principle of responsibility was formed in society; and through this principle, they appointed guards to protect them on remuneration basis. The remuneration was paid by all the society; the first principle of economy was taken form. Phule described it,

Men must have appointed gatekeepers for guarding and the villagers inside along with their children must have rested in peace and happiness. Because of this even up to the present time all of us villagers give to the gate keeping watchmen of our respective villages a half or a quarter of bhakri every morning and evening for their efforts (ibid, 67).

In the village community, the community recognized the first time the Judiciary. The guards and the judiciary these two systems were formed in the village community.
For Phule,

Then when in such villages, fights and quarrels amongst themselves arose because of some minor offences of the children, the elders in that villages must have sat in the shade on a platform built around a tree and arbitrate and in the end punish the culprits (ibid, 67).

(3) Migration of the Kinships:

Increased population created various problems in society. These problems were related to power, property and woman. In the second stage, property was a main cause of creating huts and compounds. Veskar was appointed and the villagers paid him. But the establishment of the Judiciary had created the problems of power. In the third stage of social change, woman was made a problem of dispute. It proves that since an ancient period woman have been being considered as goods of consumption.

Phule depicted it,

After some time, elapsed their families must have increased in number and various disputes must have arisen frequently about the possession and enjoyment of beautiful women and the forests (ibid, 68).

To find a solution on the issue of dispute, according to Phule, migration of villagers were occurred. Among them, some elder people leaded the kinships and migrated to far away from the countryside.

The first time the migration was taken by the indigenous in history of India. The elder men who were known by the name Patil and Deshmukh leaded the migrated people.

Phule depicted, to settle the disputes for permanently the straightforward gentlemen among them must have courageously decided to go and settle elsewhere along with men and women of their group and carrying their young with them in baskets and also their belongings. There they must have established new villages in far away countries. The other people in those villages must have called them Patil or Deshmukh (ibid, 68).
In this stage, democracy, which was formed in the previous stage, was collapsed; and the powers were centralized in the hands of Patil and Deshmukh. The economy formed as like feudal society; which was described by Karl Marx in his ‘Theory of Social Change’. Exploitation concept, the first time, was come into existence.

(4) Agriculture Economy:

Growing population could not subsist on the fruit of the forests of all these people. Therefore, they must have sustained themselves by hunting for fish, animals and birds. When even those proved inadequate for proper sustenance, they must have started some agriculture and because of this matters must have improved somewhat. Later when they developed the expertise to newly creates weapons, ploughshares etc. they must have brought under cultivation one region after another (ibid, 69).

In this fourth stage community shifted to agriculture, it was developed stage. In this stage group community, was transferred into village community. Every village was made a property of Patil or Deshmukh. For Phule, created feudal society formed rules and regulation to establish relation to other village community and to keep peace.

Phule described, all over the country, there must have arisen dispute with respect, to the borders between provinces, about the forest grazing rights etc., and there must have been big fights amongst them and many killings. Hence, to control at all, it must have become very difficult for all the people of various provinces to assemble at one place and to resolve all the matters by consensus. Therefore everyone must have agreed to a way out of this i.e. In all provinces people of all villages elect one wise well informed person for their village and these (elected) persons come together at one place and resolve all matters by a majority decision (ibid, 69).

(5) The rule of king:

After establishing democracy way to solve dispute between the provinces, some robbers took, benefit of the dispute as well as drought
condition and with the help of some kinships they established their kingdoms. For Phule,

People settled and cultivation was taken place. Increasing population created problems of livelihood. Lack of rain made effect on crops and all rivers, streams and lakes dried up. Hence, all the animals and birds in the forests went away wherever water could be found. Wherever the eye wanders, one could see piles of dead bodies of human beings due to starvation. Seeing the adventurous robbers in several countries hired in their service most of the poverty-stricken hungry persons. Taking them with their selves, they first committed major robberies in the surrounding fertile countries. Once they established ascendance over their followers, they planned kings of other people (ibid, 69).

According to Phule, ninety-six families who were representatives of Iran came in India; and with the help of poverty stricken hungry persons they fought with indigenous, and defeated them; and established their own kingdom. These families did not use their power to exploit, but used for welfare of the subject. The kings established the rule of law. They did not interfere into the indigenous culture, but protected it and made a part of the culture by themselves.

Phule delineated,

the rule of kings, the kings elected clever representatives, to maintain any army adequate to protect the land, to collect enough land revenue to pay for the army and to appoint revenue officials from Tahsildars to the peons to keep accounts of income with their consent. This must have brought great relief to the people in general of all countries. The kings co-operated to each other and ruled untroubled. Bali was one of them (ibid, 70).

In the kings’ rule, the ownership of lands was fixed. The system of documents of ownership of lands was come into existence. Therefore, stability in land cultivation was occurred; and for it, the production of agriculture increased in vast proportion. The salaried army was formed; and used to protect of the subject and their property. To manage the expenditure of the administration, tax system was
developed and implemented. People had no objection to pay the tax, because they were protected and the army protected their property. Therefore, this stability brought the prosperity in India. In the kings’ rule, everyone was treated equal and his or her efficiency was utilized for nation’s building.

Phule delineated, there was no diminishing of the subjects’ prosperity. In the kingdoms of people like the Dassus, Astiks, Asyuras, Ugra, Pishach, Matang etc. the population was happy and there was everywhere the smoke of gold in the air (ibid, 70).

(6) Invasion of Aryans:

Peaceful and lawful country made its development very fast.

Prosperity and richness of country attracted Aryans. The Aryans attacked India frequently, but Dasyus defeated them every time; but the Aryans invented the bow and arrow, destroyed most of the rich kings, big and small from the fifty-six countries on this side.

Phule delineated that,

mostly Varaha and such other brave robbers did this. After this, the Aryan Kshatriya Narashimha caused the young. Dasyus Prince Pralhada to stray from the path of religion and killed his father deceitfully with his help. Then the Aryan Kshatriya Vaman killed in battle the king Bali who was one of the mightiest warriors among the Daysus; on the third day, he looted all the golden jewellery worn by all ladies in the capital of Bali. Hence, the Dasyus fought many battles to drive away the Aryan Brahmin from their country. At last, the Kshatriya named Parshuram campaigned continuously against them twenty one times in all and made them so vanquished. After the Aryans victory they made various unjust “laws” for harassing in many ways the two classes of all the locally inhabiting Dasyus named Shudra (Dasa) and AtiShudra (Anudasa) by Aryan Brahmins (ibid, 71).

According to Phule in the sixth stage society was bifurcated into two groups, one group was of the Brahmins and second group was of ShudratiShudras. One group was of exploiter and other was of
exploited. With the help of religious, social and political privileges, the Brahmins established discriminative society.

(7) Discriminative society:

In Indian in social change, invasion had played an important role to bring about the change in society. According to Karl Marx capital and its ownership and the productive system were important to bring about change in society. However, Phule expressed his view in his theory that the ‘power’ played an important role to bring about the change in society. The Aryans invasion and defeat of the indigenous the power of Balis (welfare kings) was terminated. The power was utilized by Bali to establish equality among the indigenous, as well as to protect their rights of ownership and found the judiciary to institute the rule of Justice. Being peace and equal opportunity of work, economy was progressed. But after the defeat of the indigenous the Aryans Brahmins took all powers in their hand; and they changed the democrat structure of the kingdom and deprived sovereignty of the indigenous. To bring easiness in rule the Aryan Brahmins established Hindu religion and used it as device. In Indian political system, the first time religion made a powerful device to rule all institutions. With the help of Hindu, conventional religion the Brahmin kept away to the indigenous from education and their ignorance was used to deceive them in the name of religion. The Brahmin rulers increased the taxes; and the increased taxes were made the farmer hand over their lands to the Brahmins the Patils and the Sawakars. For this cause, the ownership of lands was terminated, and it was handed over to the unproductive class, who was not working.

The Aryan rulers used their power to deprive all the rights of indigenous. They deprived the indigenous from education; then their ownership of lands terminated. The indigenous specialty of work was transferred into caste, and by religiously it was made do compulsory. Their opportunity to do various types of works was deprived. The richest working culture of Indian society was distributed into caste and
degraded on the name of caste. Society bifurcated in the name of caste, and various groups of castes were formed with a vice of untouchability. In addition, united society was bifurcated, and discriminative society was formed.

(8) The rule of Muslim:

In discriminative society, Aryan became ruler of India. They used their power to establish their superiority and to exploit the subjugated on the name of religion. In their reign, they used their power to increase and instill superstition using various scripture, texts, Purans, Manusmariti etc. Using their superiority, they destroyed ‘working culture’ and degraded to the farmers. Phule described,

and then the Aryan Brahmins looked down upon the subjugated insignificant farmer slaves, in many directions. They forbid access to any knowledge to them and reduced them to a level worse than the animal and because they were illiterate and therefore ignorant upto this day, the Aryan Brahmins exploit them to such an extent in matters of the state and the religion that comparatively even

Abyssinians who were unjustly made slaves received a better treatment (ibid, 73, 74).

The Aryan Brahmin in their reign, they degraded productive activities and honoured unproductive rituals. They did not devastate only productive economy but also Dasyus, who were warriors and protectors of country. Parshuram defeated them and made slave. Their courage was destroyed and gave them status in society as Atishudra and kept away from society considering them untouchable. Destruction of farming and bravery Muslim invaders could conquer the country. Phule depicted that, the followers of Hajrat Mohammed Paigmbar in Arabia, destroyed the glory of the original Aryan people of Iran and turned their kingly wealth to ashes. Then making several attacks on this ignorant Hindustan, which has been chewed up by the Brahmins, they conquered this country also (ibid, 76).
According to Phule Muslim, kings did not make any interference in Hindu religion. Defeated Aryan Brahmins helped Muslim kings for rule, and with their support, they retained their religious privileges and exploitation of Shudra-atiShudra kept in continuous. For Phule, Muslim could not retain their rule because, Then as the Muslim emperors indulged in listening to the haremat night, the very skillful English people hammered on the Muslim domination and easily captured this country (ibid, 76).

(9) Democrat state:

The last stage of social change was the democrat stage. This stage would be occurred by the policy of the British ruler. The British ruler had brought principle of democracy with them and education was made free for all. There was no hurdle of caste to get employment, or opportunities. Phule had faith in the British ruler, and he thought that they have been sent by God to save the downtrodden and to emancipate from slavery of the Brahmanism.

Phule explained,

from the time that the English ruler came into this country, many European and American men of truth could not bear to see our sufferings; so they came constantly to see us in our place of imprisonment, and gave us this advice, that you are human beings just like we are, the source of your creation and nurture is one with ours, and you, like us, are worthy of all forms of rights, so why do you defer to the contrived authority of these Brahmans? From all sorts of truthful suggestions such as these, I eventually understood my own true rights, and at once, I kicked open the door of the fortress prison contrived by Brahma and escaped outside, and then began to give my worship to our Creator (Phule quoted in O’Hanlon, 2002, 198).

For Phule education was a main weapon, which could break down the slavery and be emancipated from Hindu convention religious chain. According to Phule, the eighth stage of the social change would be democrat.
Phule’s theory of social change can be shown in figure.

Figure 6.2
Theory of Social Change

The figure shows phases of social changes. For Phule four phases are natural and they show the spontaneous economic development. After forth phase changes in society were taken place by the aliens. For Phule, ninety-six families vanquished the indigenous and established their rule. The rule was democrat. At the six states, the Aryan rule was instituted and they used the discriminative policy and lastly, for Phule, advent of the British ruler would bring about the democrat state.

Conclusion:

According to Saint Simon “The form of government”, he wrote, “is but a form, and property relations are the basis; hence property relations are the real basis of the social edifice (frank E. Manuel, 1956, 244).

For Marx, “Society is standing on the basis of the productive system, when the change in productive system is taken place, the structure of society is changed” (Achyut Godbole, 2009, 255)
For Phule, “Social change is the result of invasions and the policy of invaders’ which was applied to rule”.

Rosalind O’Hanlon concludes the theory, according to him, there is other areas of Paine’s work, especially in Rights of Man, which at least it shows strong parallels. The most striking of these is Paine has determined adoption of that stock argument of English radicals since the seventeenth century; the idea of the Norman Yoke. He depicted that usurpation of power and land occurs brought about changes in culture and historical settings. Paine’s description of the origins of monarchy drew directly on English radicals’ version of this argument:

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country and lay, it under contributions. Their power thus being established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of Robber in that of Monarch; and hence the origin of Monarchy and Kings (quoted in Rosalind, O’Hanlon, 2002, 198).
6.3 ‘Loan theory’

In economic view, supply side and demand side decide rate of interest. According to economists, capital is factor of production and demand of it is regulated by rate of interest and the productivity of the capital. The amount of capital can be increased in huge proportion. However, it does not happen according to other factors of production e.g. land and labour.

The fundamental distinguishing feature of capital is that man makes it. Labour and lands are gifts of nature and their amount cannot in general, be increased by human action. The term capital is used to describe all those instruments of production, which are deliberately made by man to be used to carry on production in the future. The supply of capital is made man and it is depended on the rate of interest. The early economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo could offer no real solution to the problem of how the return on capital was determined, and the first broad outline of the modern theory of capital was given Nassau Senior (Alfred W.Stoniger and Douglas C.Hague, 1969, 300).

The essence of the theory put forward by senior was that interest the price of capital-depends on the two forces of demand and supply. In seniors view the supply of capital goods depended on the willingness of consumers to abstain from consumption in order that resources might be freed to produce capital goods. The demand for capital, senior thought depended on its productivity (ibid, 300).

Not everyone accepted Senoir’s theory of capital. In particular, Karl Marx objected to the idea of senior. For Karl Marx,

The rich (moneylenders) are not required to forgo their current consumption as they posses’ surplus income. Besides, money owners of productive assets might inherit them rather than procured by reducing their consumption (D.N. Dwivadi, 1985, 419).
For Karl Marx, moneylenders are inherited owner of the wealth. Therefore, they do not need to curtail their consumption and make available money to give on interest.

In the nineteenth century, in the contemporary period of Jotirao Phule, moneylenders were coming from the Brahmin, Marwari and Gujrati families. Hereditary they were owner of the assets, so they did not forgo consumption or postpone for future to lend money. Among these moneylenders, the Brahmin one of the group of moneylenders was possessing, religious and administrative privileges. Being spiritual privilege, the Brahmin could exploit to the farmers on the name of god; and being hereditary in administrative, they could make the farmers bribe for any work. So the farmers were exploited. There was not pure economic obsequies were taken place to decide rate of interest.

For Phule, Marwari, Gujrati and Brahmin moneylenders, without forgoing consumption; supplied Capital and demand was made by farmers to make up the expenditure which were done on ritual ceremonies, cultivation, marriage performing and squandering on dispute. Being demand for unproductive affair, the rate of interest of capital was very high.

6.3.1 The source of loan supply:

Right from Shivaji’s times down to the end of the Peshwa period the banking system seems to have played an important part. Especially during the Peshwa period, the system expanded greatly. A number of banking concerns were set up in Maharashtra with branches in different parts of India. The banking business became very brisk. In many families this business became hereditary, e.g. the Dikshit Patwardhan family, the Gharpure family, the Jagtap family, the Anagal family, the Pathak family, the Tambavekar family and the Vaidya family. Some of these bankers were very influential and had even matrimonial relations with the Peshwas. For example, a daughter of Dikshit-Patwardhan, a leading banker of Poona, was married to Vishwasrao Peshwa. Hailing originally from Guhagar, a place in the Konkan, the Dikshit-
Patwardhan first opened a bank at Nasik, then at Aurangabad in 1722, and finally came and settled at Poona in 1729 at the invitation of Peshwa Bajirao I (K.N. Chitnis, 2009, 374-375).

6.3.2 Demand of loan:

Phule did not take into consideration the demand of capital by industrialists, he only thought about the farmers. Near about 80 percent, people had depended on agriculture directly or indirectly. The farmers made the demand for loan, and supply was done by the special families, which were very limited and under the aegis of the Peshwa. Therefore, there was monopoly in supply of these families. Therefore, rate of interest always remained high and unaffordable for the peasants.

6.3.3 Purposes of loan demand:

According to Phule, loan was normally demanded for five purposes,

1) For ritual ceremonies
2) For paying the agriculture tax
3) For paying bribe and squandering on dispute
4) For cultivation
5) For marriage purpose

(1) For ritual ceremonies:

Phule represented his view, in his drama ‘Tritiya Ratna’ and described how farmer had to borrow the loan from the moneylender for religious ritual.

The plot is fairly simple. The Brahman priests visits the pregnant wife of the cultivator as she sits alone at home. He tells her that an unfortunate conjunction of zodiac threatens the life of her unborn child. In order to avert the danger, she and her husband will have to perform certain ceremonies of propitiation, as well as give a feast to a large number of Brahmans. By this and similar the priest as his patron the cultivator with the utmost contempt, playing on his ignorance and fear in his own greed for money and good food. The cultivator and his wife accept their lot with resignation and regard the payments to the
Brahman to protect their family as their karma. Already poverty stricken, they resort to the moneylender to pay for the feasts and ceremonies (Rosalind O’Hanlon, 2002, 124).

The farmer had no money; he had to borrow, from the Sawakar on the highest rate, because the productivity of the loan was zero. As guarantee, he had to mortgage his lands and made wife as guarantor, it was a disgrace for the farmer. The loan had taken to propitiate god. For guarantee he made mortgage and expenditure of it included in principle, and rate of interest was charged on the principle and expenditure of mortgage.

(2) For paying the agriculture tax:

Agriculture tax is paid on the yield of agriculture. However, in drought situation, farmer did not get any yield from the land, and he expected exemption from agriculture tax, but the Brahmin officials did not give him exemption in tax because the farmer did not give him bribe. Phule remarked the condition,

“Unlike the other villagers I did not bribe the Brahmin officials who did the survey work. Therefore, they reported to the white sahib and increased my land revenue to twice the amount. One that very year, the rains were marginal. Thus, all my crops and gardens had a setback. Just then my father died. Much had to be spent on his last rites. So in the first year, I borrowed from the Brahmin moneylender just enough amount to pay the agricultural tax and kept my garden as mortgage registered the document. Later, he uses indiscriminate figures of interest on my original loan just at will, managed to swallow my piece of horticultural garden along with the well in it (Jotirao Phule, (tr.) Asha Mundlay, 2002, 85).

According to Phule, loan was taken to pay the agriculture tax, if drought was fallen. Yield did not get being drought, but the agriculture tax was not exempted but to not giving bribe to the Brahmin officials. Demand of loan to pay tax was rigid. The rigidity of loan makes farmer to accept whatever interest rate and conditions. The farmer had to give mortgage of garden land, shows the rigidity of demand of loan. Taken
loan to pay agriculture tax could not be repaid. Because it was taken for unproductive work, secondly being rigid demand the Sawakar made rigors condition and swallowed the land. The demand of the loan was rigid, because if farmer did not pay agriculture tax on time, his land was confiscated. The farmer had to take loan from moneylender on any cost.

(3) For paying bribe and squandering on Dispute:

Phule described the condition of village. In village, there are various traditions. Some traditions are related to the status of man, as example, on the festival of Pola. On this day, two groups of the farmers fight with each other and go to the police station to complain against each other.

To extricate from Jail, both parties pay bribe to the sub-inspector. Firstly, they raise money by selling jewellery of their womenfolk. If the amount is less, they have to borrow from their friends and relatives cash sums to pay the fine and return home. Afterwards, having returned the borrowed money to which it belongs, they try asking the moneylender for some loan to start appeals to free the remaining people who are imprisoned. The farmers have to take loan on any cost to free the remaining people from jail. The farmer goes to the Brahmin and Marwari moneylender to demand loan (ibid, 59).

However, being in trap, the moneylenders do not give even a broken kowari to the farmers first time. For loan the moneylenders make written bond in front of the appellate court which is decorated by inefficient (crooked) people pensioned off from government departments, they get decrees and then after deducting the interest in advances, give the remaining sum to them (the farmers). These days, many Brahmin and Marwari moneylenders tell the discredited ignorant farmers that “because of the government laws, we cannot advance a loan to you against a mortgage, so if you make a sale deed of your farms in our name, we will give you the loan and when you return our sum, we will resell your farms to you” (Jotirao Phule (tr) Asha Mundlay, 2002, 59-60).
The farmer demanded loan for his dispute setting on the police station level. The demand for this motive was rigid, and rate of interest was charged highest. Demand of loan for this purpose was unproductive and rigid. Therefore, demand curve of this demand remains rigid.

(4) For Cultivation:

The farmers did not have sufficient capital to invest in the agriculture; every time they dependent on loan. The demand of loan is utilized for productive purpose. But moneylenders did not like to give loan for productive purpose. They thought that if the loan repaying capacity of the farmer is increased therefore the moneylender will not get chance to swallow the mortgaged land. Therefore, for this motive, moneylenders were not providing cash in time to buy the seeds. And later, when old seeds borrowed after wards were sown the yield of some farmers suffers. Thus by these calamities, natural and manmade, the crops did not grow.

Demand of loan for this purpose was seasonable and demanded time to time. If there was natural calamity or drought condition, crops did not yield satisfactory and the farmers not pay the loan. Demand for this purpose was rigid.

(5) For Marriage purpose:

Demand of loan was done for the purpose of marriage. Being monopoly of Brahman in administration and in education, there was not opportunity for farmers’ sons to get employment or an education. Lack of capital, did not let them do business. When question of youths’ marriage arise, they did not get bride, without giving bride price. According to Phule,

Most farmers are unable to pay taxes unless they take a loan. Moreover, such helpless farmers cannot marry their daughters unless they accept at least five or twenty five rupees as bride price. Further, if heavily indebted farmers are not given loans for their sons’ marriages by the Brahman or Marwari moneylenders then many of these young
men in the full bloom of their youth, choose other ways to satisfy their urges then they contract tuberculosis and are ruined (ibid, 96).

The demand of money for marriage motive was rigid, because to save from ruination, the sons’ father had to borrow loan to give bride price, otherwise his family stood on the edge of destruction. The rigidity of demand gave shape to demand curve rigid and parallel to OY axis.

6.3.4 Determination of rate of interest:

The rate of interest charged on loans was exorbitant. In those days, the monthly, not yearly, rate of interest was mentioned in the loan papers. It varied from 1 percent to 5 percent per month or from 12 percent to 60 percent per year. This was indeed an exorbitant rate. Generally, one-twelfth of the interest was remitted whenever it was accumulated considerably. If in some cases even after this remission, some amount of interest was left to be paid, and then the account was finally closed writing off the balance of interest. Sometimes the interest was paid in kind, not in cash (Chitnis, 2009, 379).

Generally, a borrower gave a promissory note or a bond of debt to the creditor. On 11 September (Bhadrapada Vadya 23, Saka 1659, year Pigala) Malar-ram Gharpure gave a promissory note to his creditor Kaloji Jagtap for Rs. 1022-8-0 promising to pay the amount on demand. On 3 November 1737 (Kartik Vadya 7, Saka 1659), a certain Janoji Bhoite executed a bond of debt for Rs. 500 borrowed from Bhaskar Bawa Vaidya, the creditor, promising that after a year he would pay back the loan on Kartika Vadya 5, Saka 1660, with interest at the rate 3 percent per month or 36 percent per year. A debtor could free himself from the burden of debt by parting with some property of his movable or immovable, if he did not have the cash to pay off the debt (K. N. Chitnis, 2009, 379).

Contemporary period of Phule, rate of interest was exorbitant. There was very less possibility to repay loan with interest in time, first case the rigidity of the demand of loan of borrower could not influence
interest determination. Being monopoly of moneylenders’ supply of loan was regulated and determined as their wish.

Trithankar Roy quoted rate of interest as follows.

Table 6.1
Interest rate (percent per year)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of loan</th>
<th>1772</th>
<th>1812</th>
<th>1757-58</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1905-10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peasant loan</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>24-36</td>
<td>36-50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Mortgage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>12-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Mortgage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The broadly negative view of the officers, especially in Deccan, upon the role of the creditor had been reinforced by economic history scholarship in the more recent times. Without doubt, some of the highest interest rates occurred in rural lending. One possible interpretation of such rates would be to assume, as many historians have readily done, that peasants as a class had inferior bargaining power, and the peasant as an individual had to depend on a monopolistic creditor. The credit market was imperfect, the lender could control the terms of credit. Knowledge and power were unequally distributed between the debtor and creditor thanks to new laws that favoured the creditor and to asymmetric distribution of accounting and legal literacy. Historians have use the term ‘dependence’ in the context of increasing indebtedness and necessarily as bad news for the peasants (ibid, 134).

Phule also stated the condition of the farmers and the new law, which was made, was favorable for creditors, so Phule quotes that,

In short, most Judges, gods on earth have started giving faithful judgments like Ghashiram Kotwal, and therefore many aristocratic and courteous moneylenders have stopped transacting their lending business (Jotirao Phule (tr.) Asha Mundlay, 2002, 60).
High interest rate, demand of loan for unproductive motive, monopoly of creditors and rigidity in demand were the characteristics of the loan theory in the British rule. The laws, which were made, were favourable for the creditors. Phule criticized the laws and monopoly of creditors.

The loan analysis of Phule can be depicted through a diagram as follows.

**Figure 6.3**

**Determination of Interest Rate**

In the diagram, on OX axis, demand of loan and supply of loan is measured. On OY axis rate of interest is measured. In this diagram

- SS = Supply curve of loan.
- AD = Demand curve loan for agriculture motive.
- TD = Demand of loan for tax motive.
- BD = Demand of loan for paying bribe and extra
- RD = Demand of loan for ritual function.
- MD = Demand of loan for marriage purpose.

According to Phule, loan was demanded for five motives amongst these four purposes were unproductive due to the
Brahmanism; and one motive of demanding loan was productive. For agriculture, loan was demanded to invest for seeds, fertilizers etc. However, four motives were unproductive; therefore, rate of interest remained always high.

All demand curves are parallel to OY axis these shows the rigidity of loan demand, and supply curves shows the monopoly of the creditors. If rate of interest comes down, the supply of loan also decreases and vice versa.

Conclusion:

Phule had known the causes of poverty of the farmers; one of them was loan system. Being complete monopoly and protection of law the farmers were deprived their ownership of land due to inability of loan paying back. Impact of Brahmanism was made farmers lame and illiterate; they had to take loan for unproductive causes and spent them for religious motive. Therefore, loan could not increase their efficiency but made impact negative on their productive ability. According to Phule loan was not capital for farmers but was a way of forgoing land. Phule studied the loan structure its demand side and effects of it on the farmers.
6.4 Infrastructure and Incentives

Criticism was being done on Jotirao Phule, that he was an advocate of the British raj. Many times, he had supported to the British government, but his support was not them to stay in India but was for their economic reformation. Before British, Aryan and Mooslman were invader, but they did not bring about any reformation. Their invasion had been utilized to exploit wealth and consume fertile land. Aryans’ invasion was not limited only exploitation, but they made slave to the indigenous, and established their religious superiority and vanished indigenous religion; and created hypocrite ethics.

In the Peshwa’s rule, the subjects’ poverty was vulnerable to attack by the robbers. They lived in constant dread of high Government officers as also of the violent marauders enjoying the patronage of the ruling class (kings). So the subjugated subject’s tendency was made dispassionate. Phule explains the inclination of the subjects;

*the people were not able to use the money they had earned the hard way for their own comforts, nor could they store it safely because of so many threats and difficulties (Jotirao Phule, 1991, 53, translated P. G. Patil).*

This situation made an adverse effect on the mind of the people, and they reached at stagnation position. Therefore, development activities were completely abstaining.

The results of that condition influenced as follows:

1) The common people lost all their interest.
2) The people became slothful, ideal and indigent.
3) Incentive of more earning was not in active.
4) There was not security for saving, so everyone was abstaining from the saving.
5) Saving was robbed, so no one had interest to earn more than their livelihood.
6) No industrialization had been taken; or there was no interest to king to do anything for the industrialization.
7) The king was patronage of the Pindaris (robbers), so there was not arises any question to complain against them.

8) Agriculture was cultivated only to fulfill their fundamental needs. There was not any new technology was utilized or modernity adopted.

9) The kings were spent income of taxes on their majestic life.

10) The king and his bureaucracy were alienated from the populace.

11) Patronage of robbers could not make protector of the poor subjects.

This type situation was existed in Maharashtra. Therefore, when British brought about development in infrastructure; Phule admired the British government, and praised their work.

Today a people’s earnings are quite safe (which they have earned the hard way). That is why they can spend them, as they like, they can save them up, or can dispose of them, as they like. In short, they are the undisputed masters of their earnings. That is why they have given up their slothful habits and are trying their best to acquire more and more money (for their own use) (ibid, 53-54).

In Peshwa period, there was no protection to wealth of the Shudra-atiShudra because of code of conduct of Hindu religion. They had no authority to posses wealth, therefore, there was not improper to deprive wealth from the Shudra-atiShudra.

In the British rule, wealth of the Shudra-atiShudra was protected and they could spend, as they like. In the British rule, an important economic institute, ‘consumption’ was come into existence. There was not any religious restriction to consume products.

6.4.1 Effects of Infrastructure:

1) Confidence:

The Shudra-atiShudra had lost their confidence, they had not self-esteem or they had not known that they were exploited. When infrastructure facilities were developed, all men got opportunity to walk on the same road and got chance to travel by the same train. Therefore, they got confidence and awoke about self-esteem. The first time they
felt that money could buy prestige, esteem and honour, therefore, they got stimulation to earn money and involve in consumer market.

2) **Job opportunity:**

The caste had given a job for everyone and no one could change it. However, the British government gave chance to work in infrastructure sector to work. They got opportunity to work and earn more than before.

3) **Consumption:**

Consumption was strictly restricted for the Shudra-atiShudras by Hindu religion. In 1819 the Rani of Travancore (in Kerala) announced that the lower castes including the Nadar Climber women have no right to wear upper clothes like most lower non-Brahmin castes of Kerala. However, the revolt of the Nadar and pressure of the Madras Governor, on 26 July 1859 the king of Travancore issued a proclamation announcing the right of Nadar Climber women to wear upper clothes but on condition, that they should not imitate the style of clothing worn by upper class women (en. Wilkipedia – org / wiki / channar - revolt).

Ambedkar stated on incident occurred in the village of Zanu in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat.

In November 1935, some untouchable women of well-to-do families started fetching water in metal pots. The Hindus looked upon the use of metal pots by untouchables as an affront to their dignity and assaulted the untouchables women for their impudence (2004, 25).

He stated another example from the village Chakwara in Jaipur State.

An untouchable of Chakwara who had returned from a pilgrimage had arranged to give a dinner to his fellow untouchables of the village as an act of religious piety. The most desired to treat the guests to sumptuous meal and the items served included ghee (butter). But while the assembly of untouchables was engaged in partaking of the food. The Hindus in their hundreds, armed with lathis, rushed to the
scene, despoiled the food and belaboured the untouchables who left the food they were served with and ran away for their lives (ibid, 26).

It proves that, there was no authority to the Shudra-atiShudra as to wear good clothes, use any metals or consume good food. But in the British rule, the Shudra-atiShudras got opportunity to consume all these goods, therefore they got incentive to earn more or participate in the economic activities. Using these consumer goods, they got confidence and they came to know about their esteem.

‘Mahatma Gandhi was thrown away out of the first class of railway coach, and his esteem awoke and he did it for the Birth ruler.’ As like it, Phule knew the importance of the infrastructure and he praised to the British government. Modern reformation could fill the gap of the discrimination was the proposition of Phule.

Phule was foresighted; he had known that infrastructure would not only obliterate the discrimination but also remove the poverty of the Shudra-atiShudras. Alfred Marshall also quoted the importance of the Infrastructure,

The hope that poverty and ignorance may gradually be extinguished derives indeed much support from the steady progress of the working classes during the nineteenth century. The steam-engine has relieved them of much exhausting and degrading toil; wages have risen; education has been improved and become more general; the railway and the printing-press have enabled members of the same trade in different parts of the country to communicate easily with one another, and to undertake and carry out broad and far seeing lines of policy; while the growing demand for intelligent work had caused the artisan classes to increase so rapidly that they now outnumber those whose labour is entirely unskilled. A great part of the artisans have ceased to belong to the “Lower classes” in the sense in which the term was originally used; and some of them already lead more refined and noble life than did the majority of the upper class even a century ago (Marshall, N.D. 5).

In the British raj, the infrastructures were developed which was necessary for the economic change. Bandobast of Pendaries was made
and subjects had been got incentives to earn more than their basic needs. Being neutrality about subjects’ protection, the apathy about wealth was vanished, but the new structure of economy gave an opportunity to everyone to work on their efficiency base, which was regarding on the caste base before British advent. ‘More efficiency, more money’ this principle established and got stimulation to work hard, which was destroyed.

There was a big difference between Jotirao Phule and other reformers. In economic development, Phule saw a key of social change and other reformers thought it was a proper time to drive British from India and establish own rule, which was rejecting equality. Phule had known the rule of the kings who were guided by the religion. The Peshawa’s rule had known to the Shudra-atiShudra how they had been treated. Phule did not support to the political movement, but for social change, he supported to the British Government and insisted them for development.
6.5 Infrastructure and Economic Development

The prosperity of country depends directly upon the development of agriculture and industry. Agricultural production, however, requires power, credit, transport facilities etc. Industrial production requires not only machinery and equipment but also skilled manpower, management, energy banking and insurance facilities, marketing facilities, transport services which include railways, roads and shipping, communication facilities, etc. All these facilities and services constitute collectively the infrastructure of an economy and the development and expansion of these facilities are an essential precondition for increasing agricultural and industrial production in a country. Before the British rule, people were unknown about the concept of economic development.

They did not think that, there is a duty of the government to do the development; and creates infrastructure. Before the British advent, in Poona, there was a rule of the Peshwas. Jotirao Phule describes,

*For more than a century the Bhat rulers have overburdened the poor subjects with unjust, heavy taxation, and thus have gobbled up crores of rupees (for their personal comforts), but they not have the goodness to spend even a farthing of this ill-gotten wealth for the welfare of the poor subjects, in all conscience. We are most ashamed to narrate the various ways in which the Bhat rulers have expended this huge amount of money. They established temple-complexes at different places for their own caste men and opened centers of free distribution of food (to them) (Phule, Jotirao. tr. Patil, P.G. Vol.-II, 54-55).*

As soon as the amounts of taxes were credited into the treasury, the Bhat rulers would issue prompt orders to donate Rs. Two Lakhs to temple complex X, Rupees Fifty Thousand to temple complex Y. The case of the ‘Pravati Temple-complex’ (in Poona) was in a class by itself. Sweet cakes fried in wholesome ghee were served to the Brahmins and additional alms of Rs. 10 per head were given to them every day. The next day, laddus were served and alms of Rs. 20 per head were given to them. The following day rice scented with keshar
(Saffaron’) was served, and potfuls of alms were given to them. Two shawls each were given to the Brahmins on certain occasions, and sometimes turbans, pairs of fine-spun dhotis, and in some instances, handsome annuities also were given to some Brahmins. In this way, the Peshwas squandered away and misused the amounts of taxes contributed by the Ryots by the sweat of their brows in showering such munificence in the form of sumptuous daily feasts and liberal alms and prizes to (undeserving) Brahmins, which caused a great injustice to and heart burning among poor ryots (Phule, tr. Patil, 1991, 54-55).

Phule depicted the condition of the Peshwa raj. In this period, there was only extravagance of the revenue on wasteful things. The ruler was not accountable for their subject or any progressive activity.

The British advent brought new ideas of the economic development. In the nineteenth century, Infrastructure was come into existence; and motivation got to the progress.

6.5.1 The Impetus:

In the nineteenth century, the focus of productive investment by the state was irrigation, railways, roads and the telegraph. The preexisting transport infrastructure of India was backward, given the size and geographical diversity of the land. For example, the road system that the company had inherited was primitive. The problem of moving goods in bulk worried business interests, and moving troops concerned the government. Britain was the pioneer manufacturer and user of the nineteenth century transportation and communication technologies. Their extension in India was in some sense a logical outcome of colonialism. The knowledge and the capital to build railways or the telegraph were more cheaply available to India then to the rest of the non-western world of that time. Famines in the nineteenth century demonstrated the vulnerability of the people to harvest shocks. The means to reduce such vulnerability were irrigation to raise cropping intensity, railways to distribute food quickly between surplus and deficit regions, and construction of public works where
famine-hit people could come to work for wages. Public construction, in this way became bound up with the idea of welfare (Roy, 2000, 234-35).

Dalhousie established the Public works Department (1854), and initiated moves to set up a railway and a telegraph system.

The single most important decision made during wood’s administration was the Education Despatch, also known as wood’s Despatch, which set out the plan for grants-in aid schools and three universities in India (Among these, one was at Mumbai). The policy of state aid, outlined in the document, was to remain in force for the next several decades. Though subsequent developments belied wood’s hope of delivering a boost to primary education, his hope of laying a strong foundation for university education was fulfilled (Roy, 2000, 234, 235).

The infrastructure was developed in the British rule. This development made an impact on human life. New technology, new culture and new ideas were developed. The subjects knew the government’s accountability. Their paid revenue was utilized for the economic welfare.

Phule got the proud of the infrastructure, which was made. The infrastructure did not make any discrimination among society. Phule had appreciated the importance of the British reformation. Phule supported to give more taxes, because of production would be increased by the government’s reformation. To destroy casteism was only possible after the economic development. These developments did not make discrimination, and give equal opportunity to consume these facilities.

Phule was very happy for these facilities, and he depicted it,

The (English) Government has introduced many good reforms for the welfare of the subjects, and is planning to undertake many new projects beneficial to the people at large. Formerly, travelling was a great ordeal for the people, because it was fraught with many dangers. The Government has now constructed new roads and provided safely to the travelers on their journeys. So travelling has become a joyful thing for them. The Government has constructed (new) bridges for the convenience of the people, have opened many new English schools, many hospitals, as also many caravanserais for the needy people. One
can mention many more of such new conveniences. However, there is one great project which the Government has undertaken which is truly beneficial to the people and which is commendable and eternally creditable to the Government. We need not highlight its importance to the common person. The good and valuable project undertaken by the Government holds forth a great hope and cheer before the people who have been afflicted with the curse of poverty all these years. That projects concerns the bridging together the many mountain-passes interspersed on the mountain ranges in our land and constructing many vast lakes (percolation tanks). The Governments is planning to construct many canals at different locations and to provide life-giving water, through them, to the needy farmers’ lands enabling them to cultivate those lands through all the seasons. The Government also intends to provide clean drinking water from these lakes to the thirsty subjects who were suffering all these years (for lack of drinking water). Such a vital amenity was overdue, and by God’s grace, it has materialized now (Phule, tr. Patil, 1991, 53-54).

Jotirao Phule praised of the British government for their infrastructure facilities. These facilities enabled to the Shudra-AtiShudra and united to the nation and people were brought together. The infrastructure gave the stimulation to do economic activities these activities, were stagnated by the Kings’ reckless.

The infrastructure gave the joy and happiness to the people and made them knowledgeable about various economic affairs. The train did not convey only passenger but lessened the tendency of touchable and untouchable, by travelling same coach.

The water projects overcame on the scarcity of water and was supplied to the people for drinking and farmers for their field and made them enable. The inability of the farmers made them efficient to pay more taxes to implement welfare schemes of the government and made them give up their slothful habits.

Infrastructure brought energy in the economic activities. Nation was united by the help of these facilities and made people aware about the new technology and working culture. Efficiency and knowledge
were made the capital of the business, before it, only religious components were active and caste was a capital, which was completely unproductive. The stagnation was vanished and the new economic concepts were developed. It was a great result of the infrastructure was an opinion of Jotirao Phule.
6.6 Salaried Labour Model

The crux of the problem of economic development is to raise the rate of capital formation. According to Ragner Nurkse, mass disguised unemployment existing in under-developed countries contains an important saving potential for capital formation. It can be mobilized and utilized to further economic development in the under developed economies. Labour is said to be a great source of wealth and therefore the huge surplus labour represented by the disguised unemployment can be mobilized to create capital (H.L. Ahuja 1979, 863).

For economic development, capital is main source, but under developed countries, there is no saving, so capital formation is not in existence so American economist, Ragner Nurkse suggested drawing the disguised labour from agriculture and transfer to them manufacturing sector. Because those disguised labours’ marginal productivity is zero.

Ragner Nurkes define the concept of disguise unemployment.

“These countries suffer from large-scale disguised unemployment in the sense that even with the unchanged techniques of agriculture; a large part of the population engaged in agriculture could be removed without reducing agricultural output. That is the definition of the concept of disguised unemployment as applied to the situation with, which we are concerned. The same farm output could be obtained with a smaller labour force. In technical terms, the marginal productivity of labour is zero (Nurk, quoted in Ahuja, 1979, 863-864).

Maharashtra was under developed in contemporary period of Jotirao Phule. Industrialization was not taken place. Agriculture was main source of employment, supply of raw material and revenue of the Government. So when question of capital formation was arisen about the Bombay Presidency, Phule put forward the theory that is ‘Government’s salaried Labour model. Phule’s model of capital formation is different from Nurk’s and Lewis model, because economic conditions were so different.
In contemporary period of Jotirao Phule, economy of the Bombay Presidency was divided into two groups; one group was peasants, Shudra AtiShudra and second group of the Brahmin. In the Brahman group moneylender, Brahman and a bureaucrat were components of the group. Agriculture was main sector of the production. Manufacturing sector was not developed and the British Government had no interest to bring about any industrialization in its rule. Therefore, Phule centralized his ideas on the development of the agriculture.

Because, the employment potential of organized industrial sector is so little that this labour reallocation between agriculture and industry and “smaller fraction of the total population being employed in agriculture” is just not possible in labour surplus developing countries like India. Indeed a good amount of employment opportunities can be generated in agriculture, itself by capital accumulation in agriculture, adopting proper agricultural technologies and making appropriate institutional in the pattern of land ownership (Ahuja H.L., 1979, 879).

Therefore, Phule, for economic development he did not emphasize on the Manufacturing sector, as Fei and Ranis put forward their views,

“In such a dualistic setting the heart of the development problem lies in the gradual shifting of the economy’s centre of gravity from the agricultural to the industrial sector through labour reallocation. In this process each sector is called upon to perform a special role: productivity in the agricultural sector must rise sufficiently so that smaller fraction of the total population can support the entire economy with food and raw materials, thus enabling agricultural workers to be released; simultaneously, the industrial opportunities for the released workers---- labour reallocation must be rapid enough to swamp massive population increases if the economy’s centre of gravity is to be shifted over time (Fei & Ranis, quoted in, Ahuja, 1979, 879).

Phule did not think to draw disguise laboures from agriculture, because there was not Manufacturing sector was developed. Second thing was that Phule had given more importance to agriculture, because
80 percent people had depended upon directly and indirectly on agriculture. Thirdly, there was a great scope to bring about development in agriculture sector. So Phule emphasized on the development of the agriculture. For the agricultural development, Phule developed a ‘Salaried Labour model’, and asserted to the Government to bring in implementation.

6.6.1 Phule’s salaried labour model:

Underdeveloped economy has enormous unskilled labour and scarcity of capital. Another character of economy is disguised unemployment are in huge proportion. Western economist Ragner Nark and Lewis suggest drawing unskilled labour from the agriculture and employing them in infrastructure sector. Phule’s intention was different, he did not advocate drawing labours from the agriculture sector, he suggests.

*Government should take up the work of restricting water, absorbing water and thereby establishing water reservoirs. Government should assign the duties in this respect to the indigenous, European military personnel’s and the extra police force (Phule, quoted in Gupta, 2008, 101)*.

In his model, Phule insisted to the British government to employ the polices and the soldiers for bandh bandist dam, canal etc. because,

1) If unskilled labours from agriculture are shifted at the public work, they should be paid for their work.
2) For their payments, according to Phule, the British government will lay extra taxes on the farmers and their condition again will deteriorate.
3) Using of the police and the soldier force, with them, they will use their equipment and their skill to work on farm.
4) The farmer’s work will be honored.
5) The government’s employees are appointed for the welfare for society this massage will be delivered among the Shudra-atiShudras.
6) The technology will be utilized with the soldiers while working in the agriculture, therefore, the farmer will know about the technology and will try to use it in cultivation.

7) The health of the police and the soldiers will be improved.

8) According to Phule, if they work honestly even (six paisa) one Anna is worth, every year the government will increase twenty-five lakhs of rupees.

Importance:

In nineteenth century, Phule recommended ‘Salaried Labour model’, however, the British government did not utilize it, but neighboring country in China, Mao utilized the model of Phule and brought about the development in China. It indicates the model is practical and can be utilized in future, to bring about development in underdeveloped countries.
6.7 Employment Creation Theory

In the British rule, an employment was a big problem. Industrialization was very less. Agriculture was only one source that could absorb to the unemployed. However, agriculture sector was non-profitable; therefore, absorption of unemployed meant to create disguised unemployment. There was other source of creating employment was the government sector. For administration, jobs were created and recruited by the British government.

Therefore, there was monopoly of the British government in the labour market. Under monopoly in the labour market, a single buyer faces a large number of workers who are unorganized and whose geographical mobility of labour is very much limited. Being monopoly, salaries should be given in minimum amount, but it was not happened in the British administration. When salaries were being fixed, per-capita income of India was not taken into account, however per capita income of the British country was considered. Therefore, being monopoly of the government in the Job sector, salaries were very high. Approximately all recruitments were created in service sector; therefore, the productivity of the employees was not taken into account.

According to Phule, his contemporary period, per capita income was 48 rupees, for a year, however, minimum salary of the government employee for per month was 100 rupees. It mean that, for per month, the farmer’s earnings was 3 or 4 rupees therefore, Phule made a suggestion. His suggestion was not recommendation, but he developed theory, which dependents on the following assumptions;

1) Resources of job creation are limited.
2) Unemployment is a big problem.
3) No other source is in existence to absorb to unemployed.
4) Salaries of the government employees are very high.
5) The government’s jobs are prestigious.
6) Discrimination will be lessened.
7) Before fixing salary, Per capita income of India should be considered.
8) Centralization of consumption will be come down.
Dhananjay Keer described Phule’s ideas,

Jotirao was a very active member of the Poona Municipality. While discussing, in October 1878, the budget for the year 1879-80, he made a suggestion that, instead of appointing one clerk on a monthly salary of Rs.50, two clerks on the salary of Rs.30 and Rs.20 should be appointed. The suggestion was accepted. A few days later he was also appointed a member of the subcommittee to scrutinize the Account for the year 1875-76 and 1877-78 (2013, 152).

Phule’s suggestion was accepted, it means that, it was practicable and fair-minded. He had suggested a model to the government to maximize job opportunities in the minimum resources.

Importance:

The government jobs were prestigious and for Phule, it would help to bring down the mentality of discrimination and simultaneously the Shudra-atiShudra would get opportunity to work in administrative sector, therefore, they would be stimulated to take education.

High salaries help to centralize income in a few people’s hands, and it creates a big gap between the government employees and the farmers. For Phule decided salary for one employee will be distributed between both, the inequality will be bring down and idle efficiency will be utilized in the government sector.

For Phule, if the Shudra-atiShudra is included in the government jobs, they will help to the government to decide policy about downtrodden.
6.8 Labour union and Jotirao Phule

In the contemporary period of Jotirao, industrialization was in infancy. The first Cotton Mill called the Spinning and Cowasji Davar, at Tardeo, Bombay, established Weaving Company on July 7, 1854 (quoted Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 157) with support from a cosmopolitan band of co-partners. He was the son of a Parsi Merchant and was thirty-nine.

Since then the mill industry had grown but there was no organization to represent their grievances, although Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengalee, a Parsi scholar and social reformer, tried to talk to the Mill owners and evoke their sympathies for the mill hands. A few progressive individuals supported his stand (Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 157).

Then period, no organization of labours was formed. Labours were appointed on the contract basis. So no security norms, working hour’s norms or service regularity norms were observed. Industrialization was in infancy. Therefore, no Government was made pay attention at the labours of the industry (ibid, 157).

Situation of the labours was worse. No one was to like to think about them. They had also not known their rights. Actually, the religion had made ShudratiShudra a slave. Then contemporary period, all organizations were fighting for the social reformation.

Karl Marx’s communist manifesto was not arrived in India. Therefore, there was no question arise to think about the labours or their problems. In 1875, the commission was found but that was completely unfavorable for the labours (ibid, 157).

A commission consisting exclusively of leading mill owners was appointed in March 1875, but the commission was found not in favour of imposing any legal restrictions on the infant industry and made light of the complaint that young children were made to do fulltime work and the hard, long hours to which women were subjected. About this time, there were forty-one mills in Bombay (Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 157-158).

Jotirao Phule when went to Bombay he studied the problems of the labours, he addressed several meetings in Bombay; and he gave
stimulation to his colleague Narayan Meghaji Lokhande to work on a labour union.

In 1884, Narayan Lokhande (Rajani Pam Datt, 1986, 196) established the first labour union.

Jotirao Phule gave guidance to Lokhande to work for the industrial labour. Phule did not work only peasants, Shudra-atiShudra but also industrial labour. It was his foresight. In the western world, Karl Marx was writing on the labours problem, simultaneously in Maharashtra one reformer and foresighted was working one organization of labours with his fellow. Rajani Pam Datt mentioned year of foundation of organization of labour in 1884. However, Dhananjay Keer gave different date of foundation. According him,

That is why Lokhande has been hailed as the founder of organized labour in India. He founded the Millhands’ Association early in the year 1880. It was the first organization of mill workers, and he was its elected President (Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 159).

Under the guidance of Mahatma Phule Lokhande worked as the President of the Association of mill hands labour. Lokhande was an active member of Satyashodhak Samaj, so he was influenced by thoughts of Samaj, which thoughts were derived from Phule’s ideas.

The Phule’s thoughts influenced on a manifesto of Lokhande who prepared to submit to the factory commission.

Lokhande had made demand as the President of the Mill hands’ Association on behalf of the millworkers.

Demands were:

1) To restrict hours of work
2) One day leave should be sanctioned for a week
3) Holiday for lunch at noon should be sanctioned
4) If worker is got hurt in working duration he should be compensated

These demands were made (Rajani, Pam Datt 1986, 196).

The first labour organization was established because of Phule’s ideas. It was not only established but also strived for the rights of worker. In this first manifesto, new concepts were come into existence. Compensation, Limited hours of working, a right of leave and holiday for lunch, these new concepts were formed and tried to bring home to mill owners.
6.9 The basic need of the self-esteem

Undoubtedly, physiological needs are the most prepotent of all needs. What this means specifically is, that in the human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others. A person who is licking food, safety, love and esteem would most probably hunger for food more strongly than for anything else (Maslow, A.H. 2013, 10).

Jotirao Phule discussed the issue related to the basic needs of human beings. He observed the condition of the farmers and elaborated the situation of the farmers in his a book named ‘A Warning’. Maharashtrian economy was dependent on the agriculture. The farmers supplied food and vegetables to the city habitants. But they could not fulfill their basic needs. They strived to meet their basic needs and have to satisfy with un-nutritive and unpalatable food.

He mentioned the condition of the farmers.

One can imagine what un-nutritive and unpalatable food they must be eating. They are forced to eat dry jowar, nachni or bajara bread, leavened with salt or chilies or onions. His vegetables are cooked but he cannot afford the luxury of a bit of oil or salt or chilly-powder to garnish them at all the times. Sometimes he is forced to eat a porridge prepared from the roughly ground floor of jawar or nagali. Sometimes he has to eat just boiled vegetables. Sometimes he has to make do with the jungle-berriest. Worst of all, he has occasionally to drink plenty of water (in lieu of food) strap his stomach with a length of cord and do hard manual labour (on an empty stomach) the whole day on the farm (Jotirao, Phule tr. Patil P.G. 1991, 56).

When basic needs are not fulfilled, the people do not have efficiency to do work. Malnutrition deprives efficiency and makes them strive to satisfy their hunger. Pleasantness of society is deteriorated and stagnation taken place. In economic view, man is human capital and it is useful to bring about development in these countries, which do not possess capital or natural resources. But being inefficiency due to
starving of Human capital does not bring about any economic progress or not progress in production of agriculture. Human capital strives to meet the basic needs and their motivation is centralized around the food. Maslow, A.H. emphasized importance of the basic needs, he expresses,

*If all the needs are unsatisfied and the organism is then dominated by the physiological needs, all other needs may become simply nonexistent or be pushed into the background. It is then fair to characterize the whole organism by saying simply that it is hungry, for consciousness is almost completely preempted by hunger. All capacities are put into the service hunger satisfaction and the organization of these capacities is almost entirely determined by the one purpose of satisfying hunger* (Maslow, A.H. 2013, 11).

The receptors and effectors, the intelligence, memory, habits all may how, be defined simply as hunger gratifying tools. Capacities that are not useful for this purpose lie dormant or are pushed into the background. For the man who is extremely and dangerously hungry, no other interests exist but food. He dreams food, he remembers food, and he thinks about food, he emotes only about food, he perceives only food and he wants only food (Maslow, A.H. 2013, 11).

When the basic need of the food is not satisfied, society does not think for other things. So there is not possibility to bring about any innovation. So economy goes in the stagnation condition. Every activity of nation is centralized around the food problem. Scarcity of food or import of food-increases dependence of the nation and it is not good for any nation.

According to Phule, food problem is a big problem and it increases dependence of the Shudra and AtiShudra. The dependence makes them more religious and superstitious. The superstition makes Shudra-AtiShudra to be exploited by the Brahmanism.

Phule also thinks about the esteem of the farmers. According to Maslow, the esteem is the basic need of Human beings. He explains,

All people in our society (with a few pathological exceptions) have a need or desire for a stable firmly based high evaluation of themselves, for self respect, or self esteem, and for the esteem of others.
By firmly based self-esteem, we mean that which is soundly based upon real capacity, achievement and respect from others (ibid, 20).

These needs may be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom. Secondly, we have the desire for reputation, recognition, attention, importance or appreciation. Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness. These feelings in turn give rise to basic discouragement either or else compensatory or neurotic trends (Maslow, A.H. 2013, 20-21).

Maslow’s theory of motivation indicates that, the self-esteem exerts on the capability of Human beings. Man is made to lose his confidence. It affects the welfare of society, its production etc.

Phule was aware about the farmers’ desire of the self-esteem. He tries to get reputation in society. However, the poverty does not let them get reputation in society. Actually being landowner and according to Phule being Kshatriya they cannot create self esteem and produces feelings of inferiority, which impacts on his productivity.

Phule express that the farmer cannot buy good clothes for himself and their women. He does not feel inferior about their clothes, but they feel helpless about their women’s clothes.

Phule indicates the feelings of the farmers about their self-respect and helpless.

The poor ryots were not quite will off to afford to pay such taxes to the Brahmin ruler. Their condition was very miserable. The poor Shudras had to toil and moil on their farms throughout the year. They could not afford even coarse clothes to cover their bodies, and coarse un-nutritive food to satisfy he pangs of biting hunger. A tattered narrow length of cloth about twenty-odd feet long served to cover their heads with what was an apology for turbans. They went bare-footed. They could ill-afford a piece of cloth by way of a shirt. This, in brief, was the condition of the ryots’ dress (Jotirao Phule, tr. Patil P.G. 1991, 55).
Phule quoted here that farmers’ own condition of their clothes was not humiliated much, but their women’s condition of clothes was insulted much than own. Phule described the condition of clothes of their women. They had not sufficient clothes to preserve the honour. Jotirao Phule described the poor condition of clothes.

We are most distressed to describe the clothes worn by the ryots’ women folk. Ryots used to eke out their miserable existence (living) somehow, as their men folk could afford them no joy or comfort. If they were lucky, enough to get a very rough sari, worth Rs. 2 or Rs. 2 and half, they had to make do with it for at least two years. They did not have a spare sari. Being immersed in hard manual work (domestic chores and working on the farms), they had to wear the same rough unwashed sari for four or five days together. If they could snatch a few moments of leisure from their grinding routine of work, they used to repair to the river nearby, where they washed their saris in parts, washing one half at a time, while retaining the remaining half on their bodies, to their great shame. In due course of time, the sari would be worn threadbare. Then they would stitch up half the portion at one time and would attend to the other half at a later date. Later on, the sari would be so threadbare and tattered that the poor woman had to sew it up with multi-coloured patches (of cloth). Because of this, one could not say, for certain, what was the original colour of the sari (which was really a patchwork quite). Covering her body with such a tattered and patched up piece of cloth and balancing a heavy basket of cow dung cakes, she had to go to the public market. Alas! How painful and sad is this condition (Jotirao Phule, (tr.) Patil, P.G. 1991, 56).

Phule described the condition of clothes of women, because women are respective for Indian culture, and every man tries to preserve the honour of woman. But being poverty he cannot buy sufficient saris. It feels him disparaging and he loses his self-esteem and self-respect.
Phule expresses the emotions of the peasant that,

*The Shudras must truly be heartbroken (their hearts must surely crack) while narrating the tale of woe to their friends. They will surely say, “Cursed be the day that we were borne! It would have been much better if we had died at birth. We cannot bear the sight of our womenfolk’s plight!” A man can bear intense physical with stoicism, but bear the agony caused to their near and dear ones is surely beyond human capacity (Jotirao Phule, (tr.) Patil P.G. 1991, 56).*

The self-esteem is a basic need. It provides stimulation to work in society and earn self-respect. Every citizen’s has wished to be respected by society; therefore, he works hard and tries to give something to society. His giving to society brings changes. Wealth, innovation, Literature, sacrifice, donation, search etc. all these things are given to society from human beings to get respect. If self-esteem is not getting in society, he loses his efficiency, his consciousness, affection etc. It is, for Phule, impossible to farmer because of the Brahmanism. He had to pay heavy taxes to the Brahmin rulers to spend on feast their own caste men. Influence of the religion increased because of illiteracy, and people tried to get reputation in society to spend enormous amount on various ceremonies, by borrowing loan from moneylender.

The self-esteem is wish of man. According to the Hindu religion, productive works were distributed amongst the caste, and those works were irrespective from the perspective of society. Caste was also insulted except Brahan by society. So both caste and work was disrespected by society.

When Phule thinks welfare of society, he emphasizes importance of the basic needs honour of their works and religions status. The Brahmanism did not like to honour the work of blutedars. If the working culture were spread among society, economic progress would take place. The progress would give awareness and materialistic culture would be occurred. And it could be threat to privilege of the Brahanman.

Therefore, the economic development was prohibited on the name of the Hindu religion and their work was dishonored by the caste system. The Brahmanism made ShudratiShudra lose their self-esteem and behave as like slave. Because his caste was fruit of his past deed, and to live in his caste losing esteem was his dharm and he should observe it for his prosperity in the next birth.
6.10 Self esteem of Shudras

Having described the cultivators’ submissiveness to the religious authority of the priest, Phule went on the suggest that as a result of their common position in the religious hierarchy, Brahmans in all walks of life tended to share the same attitudes to the lower castes, and to collaborative with each other to preserve both their traditional prerogatives and the new administrative and occupational advantages that these had brought. Phule feared that the traditional educational disabilities of the low castes would be confirmed and reinforced by the administrative structures of British rule. He envisaged the formation of a layer of western-educated Brahman officials and administrators, from the village Pantoji or schoolteacher, who would normally have been a Brahman, but now controlled the implementation of education schemes at village level, to the inspectors of education in the Department of Public Instruction.

Being, illiterate conventional Hindu religion played an important role in life of Shudra-atiShudra. In addition, their submissiveness to the religious authority of the priest was alienated to the Shudra-atiShudra from their desires, works and efficiency. The made horoscope by the priest did not let them live with their own ideas, or not their self-esteem. Productivity of labour depends upon their involvement in work. Conventional Hindu religion made gloomy and did not stimulate to think differently about their work. For benefit of the priest, downgraded condition of the Shudra-atiShudra was favourable and their upgradation was restricted by conventional Hindu religion.

The concept of the active, productive man who grasps and embraces the objective world with his own powers cannot be fully understood without the concept of the negation of productivity: alienation. For Marx for history of mankind is a history of the increasing development of man, and at the same time of increasing alienation. His concept of socialism is the emancipation from alienation, the return of man to himself, his self-realization (Erich, Fromm, 2013, 40).
For Marx the economic development is the emancipation from lifeless affairs. Phule envisages the emancipation of the Shudra-atiShudra from conventional Hindu religion will bring prosperity in the life of them. However, Phule had known that Brahmans had no interest to literate to the Shudra-atiShudra and let them free from the submissiveness to the religious authority of the priest.

Phule expresses the opinion about it, in his play during the exchanges between the Brahman and the cultivator, the commentator interjects:

_The Brahmans have for a long time impressed upon the minds of the Malis and Kunbis, with the display of their writings and powers, that the Shudras should never transgress the orders of the Brahmans, and if any of them thought that this was not true, they were told to go and look at the books of Manu and the deeds of Parashuram, which would confirm them in the proper belief (Jotirao Phule, ed. Keer & Malshe, 2006, 29-30)._ 

The scriptures, texts, Manusmriti etc. were used to create monopoly of the Brahman to rule and extort the Shudra-atiShudra. They had been made religious and superstitious. Therefore, the man did not experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but that the world (nature, others and he himself) remain alien to him. They stand above him and against him as objects, even though they may be objects, of his own creation. Alienation makes man passive. According to Phule, the traditional and highly conservative ideas of karma and dharma, the ideological underpinning of the social divisions of Jati and Varna produced the social stagnation clear in the deference and resignation of the cultivator. There is the Brahmans’ inability to change their conviction of his own religious superiority. For Phule, emancipation of the Shudra-atiShudra from religion is essential, for his development. Idolatry is immediate and visual cause of exploitation and alienation of Shudras.

The whole concept of alienation found its first expression in western thought in the Old Testament concept of idolatry. The essence of what the prophets call idolatry is not that man worships many gods
instead of only one. It is that the idols are the work of man’s own hands-they are ‘things, and man bows down and worships things; worships that which he has created himself. In doing so, he transforms himself into a thing. He transfers to the things of his creation the attributes of his own life, and instead of experiencing himself as the creating person, he is in touch with himself only by the worship of the idol. He has become estranged from his own life forces, from the wealth of his own potentialities, and is in touch with himself only in the indirect way of submission to life frozen in the idols (Erich, Formm, 2003, 39). For Phule, idolatry is a device to deceive the Shudras.

In his Tritiya Ratna, Phule described the situation. The Bishop tells to the farmers. The Brahmin priest deceived you on the name of idolatry (Name of Maruti, God of Hindu) because they are also illiterate as you. Their progenitors were behaving as your ancestors as they are behaving you today. So idolatry makes effect on the efficiency of the workers and do adverse effect on the development (Phule (ed.) Keer, 2006, 25).

The deadness and emptiness of the idol is expressed in the Old Testament:

“Eyes they have and they do not see ears they have and they do not hear” etc the more man transfers his own powers to the idols, the poorer he himself becomes, and the more dependent on the idols, so that they permit him to redeem a small part of what was originally his. The idols can be a god like figure, the state, the church, and person possessions. Idolatry changes its objects; it is by no means to be found only in those forms in which the idol has a so-called religious meaning. Idolatry is always the worship of something into which man has put his own creative powers, and to which he now submits, instead of experiencing himself in his creative act (Erich, 2003, 40).

Idolatry constrains man to forgo his own creativity and efficiency; and he accepts submissiveness. The submissiveness is made a device of exploitation of Shudra and atiShudras by Brahmans.
Self-identity, self-respect, and stimulation of work are vanished by the idolatry. Idolatry is a great device of exploitation so Phule remarked it in his The Third eye.

The missionary points out to the cultivators that the god Maruti, on whose propitiation they have just spent a large sum of money, is made of stone, and so clearly forms a part of the earth. He asks him whether such a great work as the earth could have produced itself or whether a being other than it must have created it. The cultivators admit that such a creator, but baulk at the idea that he should be worshipped, since he was not perceptible to the senses of worshiping anything less such as a god Maruti, must have produced the earth. The missionary points out the impossibility of worshipping anything the less, such as the god Maruti, since all things perceptible to the senses must have been created by the higher being. The cultivators are persuaded, and seeing that the god Maruti is only a stone, explode into anger (Phule ed. Keer & Malshe, 2006, 26).

I can see now that this stone is not worthy of worship, and if I smashed it now and ground it into little pieces and mixed it with the earth and made rangoli patterns with it, then perhaps another credulous man like me would not listen to the Brahmans, be deceived in its name and fall headlong into debt (Jotirao Phule, quoted in O’Hanlon, 2002, 129).

The commentator continues, the nature of the creator is to remedy injustice of all Shudras-atiShudras. There is no need to fear all the Brahmans for a moment. Emancipation from the Brahmanism god has sent the English people into your country. The purpose of the British government is to lift the ban on education, which the Brahmans have imposed on the Shudra and atiShudras. Aim of the British government is to educate Shudras and atiShudras and make them wise to think consciously.

Marx concept of socialism is the emancipation from alienation, the return of man to himself, his self-realization. Phule advocated for emancipation of Shudras atiShudras from discrimination, superstition and Brahmins’ supremacy. According both for emancipation of human being is necessary to rupture contact of idolatry and myth of religious.

Human beings welfare is depended upon the self-esteem, self-realization and self-respect. Their productive is also dependent on their self-realization. Phule in nineteenth century he put forward the idea of man’s esteem.
6.11 Liquor and compensation

Jotirao Phule was not thoroughly materialist economist. He was a welfare economist. Welfare is not only accomplished by the material development. Truth, equality, morality education and exploited-less economy were his norms of the welfare economy. He emphasized on the moral behaviour. According to him, Morality is a greater virtue of the human beings. If the materialist economy hurts the morality of human beings, it should be restricted, if it is not possible ought to be reimbursed, by the compensation, was the view of Jotirao Phule.

Phules’ thought can be studied by knowing his attitude about the liquor shops, which were instituted in Poona in more numbers. Dhananjay Keer narrates an experience, which was occurred in 1880.

In 1880, Jotirao clashed with the government to cope up with the situation arising out of the growing illicit liquor business, Government was thinking of increasing liquor shops in Poona. In the year, 1880 Government therefore permitted some new liquor shops to be opened. So their number increased (Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 161).

Jotirao, who was against the evil of drink, protested against the policy of Government and wrote to Plunkett, the chairman of the Managing committee of the Municipality on July 18, 1880, that,

“The Poona Municipality has at a great cost kept a large sanitary establishment and is also maintaining a department, especially with a view to preserving the health of the inhabitants. However, the existence of a large number of liquor shops in the heart of the city which were altogether unknown to it a few years ago, and which are sowing over the land the seeds of every kind of mortal disease is not calculated ensure this object. “I think it will be readily admitted by all that these liquor shops are not only, injurious to their health. Since the opening of these liquor shops, drunkenness has increased to such an extent that many families have been utterly ruined, and it has now become almost an established vice in the city (Dhananjay Keer, 2013, 161-162).
Jotirao Phule throws light on the effects of liquor shops.

1) Morality will be damaged
2) Health will be deteriorated
3) Family will be ruined
4) Vice will be spread in the city

On the contract, of the Government policy, Phule criticized. On one side, the Government arranged to promote health; and simultaneously gave the permission to start liquor ships, which were harmful for the health of the people. Earning from the tax was very low than to spend money on sanitation.

Jotirao Phule had known the results of the drunkenness. Peasants’ families were destroyed by wine. So Phule didn’t like to start them in Poona. According to Jotirao Phule, Poverty is cause of drunkenness. Wine has been supported by Hindu religion. So people did not feel any wrong about consumption of wine. The Hindu religion has been exploiting since the Aryans’ arrival. Phule had a fear that wine would be got spiritual support, because,

The extensive list of names of wine and spirits both in the classics and in the modern languages of India leave little reason to doubt that the cultivation of wine had been practiced at the time of the Vedas (Keer, 2013, 164). Wine is not a cause of poverty only, but morality will be deteriorated. Phule has elaborated an incident in his book, Shetkaryacha Asud.

Some girls have become the liquor seller, wearing anklets of the babhul beans. Many boys are giving her play money of tamarind seeds and are buying make believe liquor (i.e. water) from her. After drinking it, they act intoxicated, bump against each other and act out of the alcoholic quite realistically (Jotirao Phule (tr.) Mundlay 2002, 81).

Wine shops not only exploited economically but also morally, they would spoil society, it was fear of Jotirao Phule. So he requested to the Municipality to bring restrictions on the numbers of shops, if it is not possible, compensation would be reimbursed and he made demand.

“With a view to checking in some degree at least the spread of this evil I would beg to propose that the Municipality should tax liquor
shops in proportion to the mischief done by them. I am informed that in no other Municipality are liquor shops subject to local Municipal taxation, notwithstanding the levy of the imperial taxes on them. If necessary, inquiries may be instituted. I shall therefore, thank you to lay the proposition of mine before the next general meeting (Keer, 2013, 162). Jotirao Phule, from the perspective of compensation, he suggested,

1) Tax should be levied on the liquor shops in proportion to the loss, which will be occurred by the wine shops.
2) Taxation right should be reconsidered and transfer to the authority, who works on the ground root.
3) Local offices know the local problem.
4) Municipality has to do the arrangements to promote health, as it has to authority to control vice in the city.

Conclusion:

In economic view, it is hard to count the loss due to the wine shop. How much amount of the tax will recover the loss, is questionable. Drunkard will use another way to get wine; Phule did not consider this issue.

Importance of the Phule’s demand: Jotirao Phule had fear that the wine shops will be started at the heart of the city, wine will be got prestige and religious support; and people will not feel disgraceful. So control should be there on the number of shops, and price should be increased and be made unaffordable to the common people. Increased income of tax should be utilized to propagate vice of wine.
6.12 Principle of Responsibility

Introduction:

For social welfare, everyone should be responsible for his given duties, and he should be well informed about his work, was principle of Phule. This principle was developed in the interest of the farmers, because in nineteenth century 80 percent population was involved in agriculture sector and its allied, but they and their work, their output were not insured, or there was not any alternative to compensate their loss. Therefore, Phule put forward theory of accountability and developed from the prospective of economic view; known as ‘Principle of Responsibility’.

Contemporary period of Phule, the farmer was the backbone of economy. Approximately 70 to 80 percent revenue of the British government was collected from the farmers, but the government was not interested to take care of them. Therefore, Phule developed theory of Principle of Responsibility, to give protection to farmers’ crops and compensation of loss. The farmers who were 80 percent population and their source of livelihood should be insured was proposition of Phule.

6.12.1 Salient features of his theory:

I. Government employees should be well informed about their duties
II. Employees should be honest for their duties
III. Peasants crop should be protected by the police force
IV. Compensation of the farmer’s loss should be paid
V. Compensation should be paid from the payment of the responsible officers

Phule developed the theory to be compensated loss of the farmers, which is made by the wild animals.

He explained it,

Since our government does not dare to allow our Shudra farmers to carry even old fashioned and damaged rifles of matchlock so as to protect their farms from the attacks of wild animals from the forests,
then the government can entrust his task to our ‘clean’ black police department. However, if after that the farms of the farmers are invaded by wild boars etc. and they eat up the crops, all he loss must be compensated from the pay of senior officials of the police department or farmers must be reimbursed from the government treasury. A law should be made to this effect; otherwise, the farmers cannot peacefully sleep at nights and will not be able to strive hard in their farms during the day (Phule, tr. Mundlay, 2002, 118).

Phule thought that, the farmer is an entrepreneur, a worker, a proprietor a guardian etc. therefore for economic circulation; he should be efficient and stout to work on the farm. Therefore, his crop should be insured and the farmers should be got surety of his crop protection, otherwise reimbursement. He can sleep calmly, otherwise, his health will be deteriorated, Phule described,

*The peasants had to work on their field day and night. Their working hard got them physically tired. They could be involved into accidents and other nervous disordered. Their energy was dissipated and their morale was very much lowered down. Again unemployment and intermittent employment further added to human costs and forced women and children to take up employment (ibid, 118, 19).*

The government neglected being major productive factor in economy.

The government did not think about the health of the peasants and their condition of work. No sanitation facilities were provided to the farmers by the government. Without leisure, they could not work energetically. Phule thought about the physical fitness of the farmers for work, simultaneously, he thought about the proper knowledge of concerning duties. For Phule, to keep the farmers in competent position, his two type’s responsibilities should be observed by the officials. He classified responsibilities in two groups.

1) On quantity level
2) On quality level
6.12.2 On quantity level:

The quantity level responsibilities can be counted by the performing duties on physical level. Proper work force should be implemented to perform the duties. The police should protect the farmer’s crops. Phule explained responsibility as follows,

According to Phule, Calamities are two types.

1) Cannot be averted (Naturally calamity)
2) Can be averted (Artificial calamity)

Natural calamities, as like drought, flood, Toldhad etc. cannot be averted, therefore, for Phule, officers will not be considered responsible for them. But there are some calamities, which can be averted, as like animal’s attack on crop, larceny etc. There is duty of the police to protect the crops of the farmers from attack of animals and thieves. Phule argued if the police cannot give protection to the crops, the damage of crops should be compensated from the salaries of the officials. Here Phule gives a different suggestion as usual; He suggested that, reimbursement should be paid through the officers’ salaries. Because he wanted to observe some principles in administration,

I. Officers should be made the acquaintance of their responsibilities.
II. The Government should not be burdened by the compensations, due to idleness of the officers.
III. If the compensations amount is given from the government treasury, it will be extorted from the farmers in the form of land revenue.
IV. The government will protect competence of the farmers, if he is compensated.
V. The farmers, are only taxpayers, therefore they should be protected.

Officials were very negligible and arrogant; they were not selected on the merit basis, but on caste basis. Approximately, all officials were selected from the Brahmin class, therefore they had no sympathy for the farmers, Phule had known it, being their superiority, they were exploiting to the farmers on various modes, therefore Phule wanted to assume them responsible for the loss of the farmers for their
negligence and their improper knowledge. Phule assumed the officials accountable for their improper knowledge concerning their duties.

6.12.3 On quality level:

The officials should have proper knowledge, and it should be implemented in his duties. Being improper knowledge, officials supply facilities to the farmer on wrong basis and there is possibility of loss occurring. For Phule, occurred loss should be compensated through the payment of concerning officers. Phule explains,

*Even if the crops of farmers are destroyed by the lack of timely water supply from the canals, the irrigation department will not be held responsible. Behold, should the white and black engineers who swallow thousands of rupees as their pay every month, not have enough educative judgment to know that calculation how many gallons of water are in the day, only these landowners should be given authority to draw water from the canal, whose land will be adequately supplied by the available water? Do you know that many farmers are at their wit’s end while they try to beg for water from the officials entrusted with releasing the canal waters? Finally, when no water is available from them and the farmers to the higher officials to ask for redressing the wrongs, instead of water, they are only attacked with arrogant language. What can one say to the so-called justice, which allows government servants, proud of their just behavior; that take a high price from the indebted poor farmer for the water for his money, speak arrogantly to him in the insolence of one’s high estate (ibid, 77-78).*

Theory throws the light on the responsibilities of the officials, and on the other hand, it stimulates for taking care of the production factors. Principle of economic progress tells that, there is accountability of the government to take care of the taxpayer, and support them to increase their production and income, because the government’s power depends on its revenue. To create the favorable environment for agriculture, the administration should be transparent, efficient and accurate.
6.13 Poverty and Health

Introduction:

Better health is central to human happiness and well-being. It also makes an important contribution to economic progress, as healthy population live longer, is more productive and save more.

When we are talking of health, it is not just about a healthy body but also about sound mental health. Good health can be described as the condition where both our body as well as our mind are functioning properly.

Good health gives a positive effect on productivity of the employees, therefore, an organization should also give the prior importance to the health of its employees through its policies when the organization is showing interests in the well being of its employees, they in turn will also feel more responsible and loyal towards the organization. It improves employee retention, reduces absenteeism and cuts down on company’s health care cost.

For children’s health, staying healthy is vital for proper growth and development of their mind and body. They require enough energy to spend the entire day in school. They should be able to focus in the classroom and full participate in the activities on the field, for this, they need proper nutrition, which includes carbohydrates, proteins, calcium, minerals etc.

6.13.1 Health and Poverty:

According to Phule, there is a very close relation between health and poverty. Poverty makes effect on health and human being’s morality. Phule studied effects of poverty on health. He studied the correlation of both through two aspects.

1) Responsibility of society
2) Morality

(I) Responsibility of society:

Health is wealth of society; therefore, for Phule, society should be taking care of health of its components means human beings. This
idea of Phule elaborated by an example, which has been given in Keer’s book,

_Once on his way to the locality of the untouchables, he found a little snotty-nosed boy weeping bitterly for food. His parents had gone out for work. He lifted the boy, cleaned him and purchased something for him to eat. A gentleman who recognized Jotirao asked him, how he could bear to fondle a dirty snotty boy. Jotirao replied that owing to the poverty of the boy’s parents he was in the condition. People like his acquaintance did not provide such children with water, soap and clothes, and so they were dirty. It was no their fault. It was the responsibility of society. The boy’s body wanted washing, but the mind of the questioner needed cleaning. Jotirao calmly added (Keer, 2013, 232)._

Dirtiness is due to poverty and it can be cleaned by water and soap, but the dirtiness of mind is not possible to wash by water. For social happiness, Phule argues to keep mind clean and behave with every-one as brother and sister. Poverty is result of social discrimination; therefore, there is responsibility of society to protect health of society by removing disparity. For social brother-hood, efficient’ capital and social happiness, mental and physical dirtiness should be wiped out, was the proposition of Phule.

**(II) Morality:**

Morality is a virtue of happiness of society. However, it is regulated by economic position of human beings. In poverty, morality is not nourished; because it gives birth to the dirtiness at home and its surroundings. Poverty affects on health, and deteriorated health gives stimulation to vice. And vice behavior makes effect on his health, his social credit and his morality. Phule depicted an incident of poverty and effects of it on morality, he describes,

_Outside home, water has collected in a small ditch and it is filled with insects and worms. Beyond, under the white Chafa tree, three are a few children dancing, half-naked, with all manner of stains on their bodies, noses running, sweating and stinking, playing with lumps of mud. One of them is playing at being a shopkeeper, with anklets of_
seeds on her feet, pretending to sell arrack. Many of them children giving her pebbles and seeds as coins and drinking water are shuffling about, falling on each other, pretending to be drunk (Phule (ed.) Deshpande, 2002, 159).

According to Phule, poverty injures to health of human beings and moral of society, it gives birth to dirtiness and vice. From the perspective of Phule, the damage of morality is detrimental for society and its reparation is not possible. In their vicious game, they get a habit to drink wine, and there is a big possibility of the children to be caught by virus, and have to borrow loans from Sawakar for treatment. Poverty creates its own culture. Dirtiness makes an inalienable part of impecunious. Penury does not let them to keep cleanliness at their home; but stimulates to mess-up.

Phule continues, the open drains have collected all the leftovers and flies drone over it. There is a waste-heap beyond and large green flies are buzzing over it because little children have been shitting there (ibid, 159). Poverty makes effect on poor’s health; and simultaneously on his mentality. Psychologically he is deteriorated; and does not think for healthy atmosphere. Dirtiness makes a part of his life, and he thinks, good health is not the right of the poor, it is luxurious thing, physically and psychologically he makes ailing.

The poor farmer not only fouls his surrounding but also messes-up his kitchen place also. Here is a heap of pith thrown about, and there heap of rotting onion. A stale stink rises from them. In the middle, an ancient woman is laying on a sheet, groaning. Beside her head lies a plate of food-a bowl of crushed bhakri softened in the liquid of the dal, and a jug of water. In the cradle, a little baby is weeping loudly. Besides all this, at places on finds a line of a child piss, at some other place a patch of white ash where a Child’s turd has been cleaned-up. Several corners of the house are red and dark from tobacco spit. The walls are covered with stains left from squishing bugs and insects on them, and fingers wiping of snot (ibid, 160).

Human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency. That is to say, the appearance of one need usually rests on the prior
satisfaction of another, more pre-potent need. Man is perpetually wanting animal. Also no need or drive can be treated as if it were isolated, or discrete; every drive is related to the state of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of other drives (Maslow, 2013, 6).

Man’s satisfaction drives him and he is regulated by his pre-satisfaction. In poverty, satisfaction is always absent, so there is not any driver for stimulation. He loses all his energy and efficiency and makes circle of vicious around him, and does not try himself to break down it; and come out.

The diagram can depict Phule’s theory

![Diagram of Vicious Circle of Poverty]

Phule’s theory throws the light on poverty and its effects on health. When health deteriorates, diseased person faces incompetent and accepts immorality. His incompetent keep him away from the employment, his unemployment keeps him in poverty, and the circle moves round forever of him. Poverty goes to poverty.
6.14 Concept of Happiness

For the economic progress, Human capital should be utilized in productive process in optimum portion. In nineteenth century, woman was restricted to participate in economic activities by religion. She could not work at public place, she had been kept away to involve in decision-making process. She could not take education; her involvement in all work had been restricted. For Phule, all these things are hurdle in the economic progress as well as happiness of human beings.

According to Phule ‘Man’ and ‘Woman’ both should involve in work and they should give their equal share to nourish their family therefore happiness will be got because hard and equal share of both.

Man and woman both should work and give their share to nourish their family and family will be happy (Phule, 2006, 559). Family’s happiness is dependent on to get an equal opportunity to work at any place. There should not be discrimination between man and woman based on gender. They should get opportunity to work on their merit base. Therefore, their efficiency will be utilized for their family’s happiness.

Other cause of happiness is, according to Phule to educate, children without doing any discrimination on the base of gender or caste. Education is a device of the ‘personality making’. In nineteenth century, the Shudra-atiShudras were prevented to take education. Woman was exploited on every stage in every caste she was exploited by the ‘man caste’. Therefore, she was prevented from all rights from all caste, therefore she was not known by any caste or any religion. Therefore, Phule stated that,

Boys and girls should be educated besides discrimination. Food should be offered at school place, it does not be offered at Mandir. Therefore, children will get stimulation to go to school and simultaneously burden of nourishment of the poor families will be lessened. According to Phule, food offering at school place is work of virtuous act and it is profitable to invest in human capital for future. However, for offering at Mandir place stimulates to idleness,
exploitation and creates disparity in society. Therefore, for Phule food should be offer at school apart from Mandir.

*Truth is religion and everyone should adopt it. Adopting the religion, everyone should treat to lame persons happily. You will give happiness to other by doing this deed and you and your society will be happy* (*Phule, 2006, 559*).

Principle of happiness, according to Phule is to bring equality in society in education system and everyone should be work to build society.
6.15 Relevancy of Phule’s Ideas in 21st Century

Today in India, there is a big problem of the farmers’ suicide, especially in Maharashtra. In twenty-first century, India has accepted globalization, and it has to compete to international market for every produce. In this period, in India the farmers’ suicides are shameful. Phule has proved that, the loan to farmer was not given on time, and purpose of giving loan was to grab the land, today, the banks do not give loan to the farmers on time. The farmers’ have to give bribe to sanction the loan. Phule has thrown the light on this problem, which is in existence today.

The farmers’ cannot sell their produce to the consumers without intermediaries, therefore, they do not get reasonable price and are deceived by the intermediaries. Phule studied this problem in nineteenth century, and he suggested that intermediaries should be kept away from the business of the farmers and their consumers. The farmers would get right to sell their produce on the fair price and consumers would not be exploited.

Various religious ceremonies are performed in 21st century. Abundant expenditure has to be done on the marriage ceremony, Chardham, temple buildings etc. The peasants spend money on these ceremonies. This expenditure, is done to get prestige therefore, the peasants like to borrow loan from the sawakar. Being unproductively of loan, there is a big proportion of suicide among the farmers for their incompetency of loan repaying. The poor’s are very religious being illiterate and poor; therefore, they spend their income in a big proportion on the ritual ceremonies. Therefore, their economic condition is not improved. It is today’s situation. In 19th century, Phule had suggested wiping out all the unproductive expenditure and he gave alternative to perform these ceremonies. It shows that today Phule is more relevant than past.

Phule said about bride price. This problem is in existence in poor families until these days. Being poor, they have to pay bride price and in middle and rich class, they have to pay groom price, therefore, the
poor and middle class families have to borrow loan from private agencies to pay the dowry. To perform ceremonies with customarily they have to do unproductive expenditure, therefore, they have to wash their hands with their property. Phule had suggested educating all the peasants’ sons and daughters to avoid dowry. Today his idea is applicable.

In 21st century human beings are more religious than before, the expenditure on pilgrimage is growing continuously and the richness of the temples are growing very fast. However, the richness of the temple is unproductive and being emotionally attachment of the poor’s the government cannot spend the wealth of temples on infrastructure or economic development. At one side, poverty is increasing and simultaneously wealth of temple is lying idle. Phule opposed the temple philosophy and suggested money should be spent on education and students’ noon meal. Today the government has to take decision to give noon’s meal, which was suggested by Phule in his contemporary period.

Phule was insistent about compulsory education, today the government has to be taken decision to give compulsory education, and the government has taken responsibility of giving education. It has been also included in the Indian constitution. It shows the importance of Phule’s idea regarding education.

Phule had critically examined Yatra, Wari pilgrimages etc. Today in Maharashtra, the court is asking to the government to take step against Yatra of Pandharpur.

In 2014, the Maharashtrian government has taken decision to build shettale, percolation tank, to use drip system in irrigation and loan reconstruction to overcome on the drought situation. All these suggestions are related to Phule’s ideas. In 21st century, industrialization could not stop poverty, exploitation or suicides of the farmers.

In indicates importance of Phule’s ideas regarding Indian economy.
Phule in his model of economy development morality is taken into account. Today being lack of morality the politicians are corrupt. The corruption has deprived poor’s wealth and power and centralization of wealth has been brought about. Therefore, the circulation of money in consumer sector is stopped and the black money has been being invested in immovable property means in unproductive sector. Therefore, Phule’s principle of morality is very much important in the developing process. Gandhi also gave importance to morality. In economic ideas of today ethics, morality, equality etc. have been taken into account. Phule had considered all these concepts in his period.

Migration of the villagers cannot solve the problem, but it compels to increase problem in cities. Therefore, there is needed to make investment at rural in agriculture. Therefore, industrialization cannot provide employment to the unskilled. Employments are provided a very few skilled labourers on big payment. Therefore, inequality is taken place among society and poverty increases. Increased poverty is dangerous for health of society peace and happiness. Therefore, there is need to eradicate poverty with the help of agriculture development was proposition of Phule. Today the government is going to think to bring development in agriculture and in education. It indicates relevancy of Phule’s ideas in 21st century.

Today India’s GDP has increased in a big proportion, but simultaneously, 60 percent population is kept away from the increased GDP, and poverty has been increased in large commensurate. Phule had known agriculture is a backbone of nation: Therefore, there is need to increases in production of agriculture, so he had suggested, bringing modernity in agriculture sector. Modernity would lessen poverty, unemployment, disparity and would help to bring about development in nation was proposition of Phule. For Phule, near about 80 percent people dependent on agriculture therefore, agriculture sector should be developed for welfare of society. Today, in India, Industrial sector and service sector have been developed but agriculture sector is not developed in proportion of these two sectors, therefore 30 percent
people, today, in India live below poverty line and unemployment is in vast proportion. To bring equality among people, there is need to bring about development in agriculture.

Phule has suggested different suggestion to create employment in the government sector. ‘Maximum employment in minimum wage was his principle of employment creation. Today, the government has accepted ‘contract base’ to create employment as like Phule’s principle. It proves that, Phule’s idea about ‘employment creation’ is practicable.

In 1960, Mao had utilized salaried model in China to bring about development in the infrastructure, which was suggested by Phule in nineteenth-century. Today, for economic development, salaried employees should be held accountable for their work. And his accountability should be correlated to his payment is need, for development of nation.

The Drain theory is outstanding search for Phule. The development of the cities is result of exploitation of the villages is theory of Phule. In India, very big dams have been built by acquiring land of the farmers, but they have been deprived from water facilities and 70 percent water is reserved for cities. Simultaneously, the farmers have been displaced, but they do not have been supplied facilities to settle. All facilities regarding water, light, road etc. have been supplied to city dwellers using the government’s income.

According to Phule, to bring about development in under developed countries, agriculture sector should be developed to bring about development in under developed countries. Therefore, for the development, modernization should be implement was Phule’s opinion, therefore, he suggested to the British government to start agriculture school at village level and education should be done compulsory.

When Phule studied backwardness of society as like Marx, he divided society into two groups. One group was of the Brahmans or other was of the Shudratishudras. Dividing society, he tried to awake the Shudratishudras for their exploitation. Today economy is divided into two groups on income level; one group who is belonged to elites possesses a big proportion of wealth and the second class who is
striving to fulfill their basic needs. The caste is base of second group; it shows that, Phule was very accurate about classification of society.

Phule’s suggestion of increasing sell tax on liquor was very practicable. Today the government, every year increases sell tax on the liquors to bring down its sell.

Corruption:

In nineteenth century, Phule had studied the British administration from the perspective of exploitation of the farmers, and he concluded that, the poverty of the farmers, due to administrative system, their inefficiency, and corruption. Today these problems, which were studied by Phule, are found today also. In 2012, India has ranked 94th out of 176 countries in transparency international’s ‘Corruption Perceptions Index’.

Second thing for Phule’s thought, he had concluded that, the rural area, or the farmers were exploited in huge proportion. Similarly, in 2014, the administrative class, exploit to the rural area, because, most of the largest resources or corruption in India are entitlement programs and social spending schemes by the Indian government, these are Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme and National Rural Health Mission. It shows that, in nineteenth century and today there is only one source for exploitation is rural area, means in Phule’s word, Shudratishudras.

In 2014, impact of corruption is studied and results have been founded as follows,

Corruption may lead to further bureaucratic delay and inefficiency as corrupted bureaucrats may introduce red tape in order to extort more bribes, such inadequacies in institutional efficiency could affect growth indirectly by lowering the private marginal product of capital and investment rate. Bureaucratic inefficiency also offers growth directly such as through misallocation of investment in the economy, additionally corruption results in lower economic growth for a given level of income (Source: en.wikipedia.org Indian Corruption).
Education and development:

According to Phule, education is a big tool, to bring about development. Is it relevant today? To answer the question, there is need to study correlation between education and growth.

We wanted to use this new information to compare the economic benefit of higher levels of just school attainment with the benefits of higher levels of cognitive skills. We therefore took measures of average educational attainment and average cognitive skills levels. For as many countries as possible and examine their relationship to the average annual growth rate in the country’s gross domestic product (GDP) per capita form 1960 through 2000. First, we looked just at the impact of average school attainment on the economic growth rate. An adjustment was made for the initial level of GDP because it is “easier” to grow if you starting out at a lower level; that is, it is easier to copy more productive technologies than to initiate progress on your own. When, we performed this analysis, who found, as other economists before us, that when the average number of years of schooling in a country was higher, the economy grew at a higher annual rate over subsequent decades. Specifically, we found that, across the 50 countries each additional year of average schooling in a country increased the average 40-year growth rate in GDP by about 0.37 percentage points (www.educationnext.org).

It proves that, there is correlation between education and growth. Therefore, Phule’s a model of economic development is relevant today also. It proves that, education is a big device, which can bring about development in underdeveloped countries.

Phule has mentioned correlation between poverty and health. In twenty-first century, poverty does adverse effect on the health of poor. In study of UNISEF, it is proved. UNISEF using 2005-2006 NFHS-3 sample survey results, has high lightened malnourishment in Indian children below the age of 5, with an estimated 7.4 million babies that were born in the sample year with low birth weights. The survey reported 17,656 women (39 percent) out of 43,325 were under weight
at the time of delivery, 40 percent of urban children in 6-59 month category were shorter than world standards (stunned) and 33 percent were underweight than expected weight to their height per world standards was significantly higher. Scheduled tribe children were observed to be most stunned and undernourished, while among religious groups Muslim children were the most undernourished and Sikh children were relatively best nourished among Indian children. The states with higher rates of poverty also had the higher rates of child undernourishment. However, the main cause of this malnutrition is a result of absolute poverty (en.wikipedia.org).

Phule elaborated the concept of the development in the new form, which is recognized as ‘Baliraja Proposal’. Equality is a soul of his economic development. According to him, Baliraja proposal is suitable model to bring about economic development. In this model, agriculture is a main source to bring about development and exploitation is completely absent. This model represents equality, fraternity and right of political, social, economical and spiritual. Spiritual right is main characteristic of this model. A Baliraja proposal carries justice and non-differentiated economy.

Summary:

In his economic ideas, Phule developed ‘The Drain Theory’, which was entirely different from other theories. From the perspective of him, village was a source of exploitation to raise income of the government to make development of cities. He quoted that, the peasants were exploited at various stages by the government, municipality and city dwellers. As like Karl Marx, Phule elaborated ‘The Theory of Social Change’ according to him invasion brought about the changes in the structure of Indian society. Hegel mentioned that, the people of India have achieved no foreign conquests, but have been on every occasion vanquished themselves. Therefore, for Phule invasion was a big factor to bring about changes in social structure. In his loan theory, he concluded that, loan was to be influenced by religion and illiteracy
of the peasants. Loan was taken for unproductive causes and interest was charged very high, near about 50 percent. Infrastructures for Phule, are blood vessels of the economic development. These reformation dispel superstitious and make the Shudras and Atishudras materialistic. Moreover, new economic culture gives them stimulation to work and consume various goods.

The government employees are corrupt. They do not work for their payment, but for bribe. Considering this assumption, he developed a model of ‘Salaried labour model’ as like Mao (in China). For him, payment should not be paid without work. Therefore, he suggested to the government that, the police and the military should be employed in agriculture sector to develop water facilities in their leisure time. Phule assumed that, the payment of the government employees is very high and simultaneously ratio of unemployment is high. He suggests that, instead of one employee, two employees should be designated on the payment of the one employee. Thereby work will be done efficiently and unemployment will be lessened. With employment opportunity, he emphasized for self-esteem of Shudras. For him, the self-esteem is incentive. Therefore, he insisted for the self-esteem of Shudras for equality economic development and social welfare. Compensation concept, the first time, Phule brought in Indian economic thought. Liquor makes social deterioration; it should be compensated by charging high rate on liquor. Principle of responsibility also to be familiarized by Phule, and this principle connected to compensation. For Phule poverty does not affect only on fulfillment of basic needs, but also it makes effects on morality, health and personality of human beings.
References and Notes:

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42) O’Hanlon, Rosalind. op.cit.

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49) Ibid, 59.

   Pola festival is related to bullock’s festival. This festival falls in Bhadrapada month, on this day bullocks are gathered on the ground and are made them run fast. There is an honour of one farmer to cross the entrance of gaon (vesh).

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