

# **Research Project**

Title of the Research Project:

DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN  
ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY  
OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH  
INDIA

Name of Principal Investigator :

DR.ALOK PRASAD

Deptt. of Principal Investigator:

DEPARTMENT OF MED./MOD. HISTORY

University/College: UNIVERSITY OF  
ALLAHABAD, ALLAHABAD

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**The Study of Caste System** and Caste-based Social Exclusion have been an important facet of the academic enquiry in the field of Social Sciences in the recent times. Yet, there has been no single analytical or scholarly work on the views of Jawaharlal Nehru on the Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion, especially with regards to the inclusive policies and ideas vis-à-vis Dalits in first two decades of Independent India. The present project aimed to fill this lacuna and makes a study of the successes and failures of the State in addressing the social exclusion of the Dalit in the state of Uttar Pradesh in the Nehruvian period. It followed the conventional methodology involving collection and a study of published primary sources followed by a detail study of the unpublished primary sources.

#### **Consulation of Primary Sources:**

During the project have made a perusal of the unpublished and published primary sources. There are umpteen published secondary sources on the topic of research under consideration. The most important of these were the collections of speeches, writings, and correspondence of the major national and regional leaders and statesmen of Nehruvian Era. They are available at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS), Shimla and National Archives of Indian (NAI), New Delhi. I consulted, collected, and, perused the following collections available at these premier institutions of research:

1. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol.1 to Vol.14
2. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series, Vol.1 to Vol.63
3. The Essential Writings of Jawaharlal Nehru, 2 Volumes
4. Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to the Chief Ministers, 5 Volumes
5. Writings and Speeches of Babasaheb Ambedkar, 21 Volumes
6. Selected works of Govind Ballabh Pant, 18 Volumes

I also consulted the following unpublished primary source material, mostly archival material, during the project:

I National Archives of India, New Delhi:

1. Proceedings of Ministry of Education: Scholarship Division and Technical Education (1951-1964)
2. Proceedings of Ministry of Home Affairs: Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes Branch (1951-1964)
3. Proceedings of Ministry of Community Development (1956-1964)
4. Proceedings of Ministry of Labour (1947-1979)
5. Proceedings of Planning Commission- 1952-1978,

6 Private Papers:

- a. Ambedkar Papers (1920-1954)
- b. Govind Ballabh Pant Papers (1908-1961)

  
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- c. **J. K. Jaisankar Papers (1829-1958)**
- d. **P.D. Tandon Papers (1926-1960)**
- e. **Lal Bahadur Shastri Papers (1927-66)**
- f. **Sampurnanand Papers (1922-1968)**

7. Reports of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

8. Documents of the Planning Commission

II. U.P. State Archives, Lucknow:

- 1. Proceedings of Education Department (till 1964)
- 2. Proceedings of Harijan Sahayak Department (till 1964)

In addition to these collections, I also collected and perused several memoirs and observation of the contemporary politicians, bureaucrats, and foreign scholars who visited India during the period under study. One such observer who made a detailed inquiry into the changing situation of Dalits was Harold Isaacs who came to India in 1963 to 'find out what has been happening to educated ex- Untouchables in the first years of Indian independence.' His book India's Ex Untouchables is rich in the qualitative data on the condition of the Dalits in mid 1960s. Another important text is S.K. Dey's Power to the people: A Chronicle of India (1947-1967). Dey was the first Cabinet Minister of


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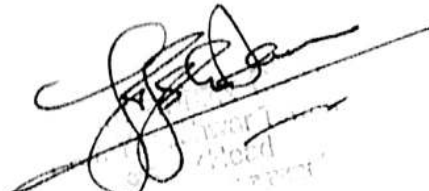


Cooperation and Panchayati Raj and the architect of India's Community Development Programme. His work gives insights into the problems in the working of development delivery for the Dalits in Nehruvian Era. There are also several ethnographic studies.

### Major Findings:

1. On the basis of my studies I have found that many of Nehru's ideas on Caste-based exclusion overlap with those of his far more radical contemporary Ambedkar though his attempt at finding the solutions to problem was in tune with Gandhi. Nehru sought to build India on the basis of political revolution, social revolution, and, economic revolution and the central concern of the social revolution was annihilation of the caste system. Indeed, one of the central concern of Nehru's democratic socialism was equality of opportunity and the removal of Caste system. Without these elements it has little meaning.
2. Contrary to the conventional understanding which is based on *a priori*, stereotypical, and, ahistorical perception given by many scholars and writers, Nehru was neither blind to Caste-based social exclusion or nor underplayed its dysfunctional impact on India's modernization project. Due to the commitment efforts of the state under Nehru to empower the dalits there was a steady increase of Dalit representation in the government services and the quota for

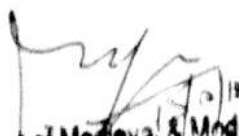
  
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them in the one of the most prestigious civil services—the Indian Administrative Service—was already filled by 1964 to its maximum.

3. The social exclusion and inclusive policies of Nehruvian state for Dalits at the time of Independence should be seen against the backdrop of the changes brought about in wake of two centuries of the colonial rule. Indian Society before the Colonial Rule was characterized by a caste-based social exclusion of the Dalits at various levels. While there was a mobility in the traditional caste system but lowest position of the Dalits was impervious to these changes. During the Colonial rule there seems to have occurred further exclusion and stigmatization of this group.

4. The Nehruvian State declared its commitment to universal, compulsory education. According to Article 45 of the Indian constitution 'the state shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age 14 years'. However, in practice an undue priority to higher education was accorded at the heavy cost of stagnation in elementary education. The elementary education was rendered a state subject in the Constitutional scheme even though Nehru emphasized the 'revolutionization' of education. In this scheme of education of Dalits was subsidiary to general educational development ; no significant or special efforts of the State were

  
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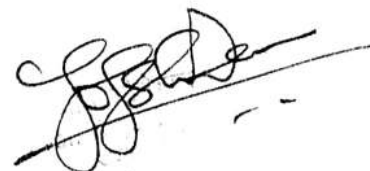


specifically dedicated for the educational development of the Dalits. Thus, in spite of very radical views and a commitment for Social Inclusion of Dalits under Nehru their educational inclusion at the level of implementation at grass roots level did not make much progress.

5. Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) is one of the most significant and influential attempt at explaining social inequalities and evaluating societies and public policies across the world in terms of attainment of well-being, development and social justice after John Rawls. This much celebrated approach, which has been widely popularized in the development discourse in the form of 'Human Development' and 'Human Development Index', has been critiqued from several perspectives in Indian and global contexts even as its claim to be a complete theory of justice has been questioned. In tandem with these criticisms this project also pointed to the limits of CA in the context of structural, often latent, barriers to their attainment of well-being and substantive freedoms. Therefore a finding of this project is that while Sen's CA is certainly a step in the right direction for addressing the inequality in education it is far from comprehensive in analyzing and addressing caste-based discrimination especially one faced by the Dalits in schools.

7. Poor quality and content of education contributes to reproduction to unfair privilege by making the deprived learn subordination in the class room

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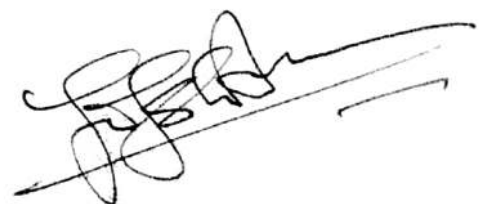


interaction, promotes cultural capital of the privileged and helps it transform it into an economic capital ( as suggested by Pierre Bourdieu), and inevitably leads to a loss of self-esteem for the marginalized. One can conclude that the CA of Amartya Sen offers a good and genuine starting point to evaluate societies for the degree of the human development. However, due to the neglect of historical-structural dimension of Caste in India and especially the subtle forms in which it operates , it needs to be drastically modified for any kind of policy analysis or policy recommendation. Indeed, one can argue the education in itself can limit some of the capabilities especially if the content of curriculum and pedagogic practices are pathological.

**Relevance:**

1. The findings enrich the knowledge about the processes involved in social in social inclusion/exclusion in the Nehruvian Period
2. The findings enrich the understanding of the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru to empowerment of excluded groups and deepening of democracy in India.
3. Indirectly, the implication of the study contribute to the development of the Contemporary Indian History as distinct field of study

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- UGC HRP <hrp411@gmail.com>  
To: Dr Alok <dralokpr>
4. The findings enrich the concept/theory of Social Exclusion especially the concept of Capability Approach of Amartya Sen in the light of Indian Experience
  5. They point to the the use of archival material in knowledge – building in Social Sciences especially in the writing of Contemporary Indian History.

## Discussion

### Section I

There have been many studies on the persistence of Caste-based discrimination in the India society in the recent times. What these studied point is the prevalence of not so much the blatant types of social exclusion of Dalits in the social processes as the more quotidian, subtle, and not easily manifest forms of discrimination. These studies provide an interdisciplinary perspectives on the persistence and prevalence of caste-based discrimination. An equally important aspect that they have engendered innovative and evidence based attempt at understanding the 'Economics of Discrimination', 'Phenomenology of Dalit Experience' and 'Social Anthropology of Dalit emancipation'. Coterminous with advances in the field of study of social exclusion in India is the emergence of the new discourse of welfare, development and social justice in the form of the Capability Approach (CA) which was first

  
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University of Allahabad

  
Dr. Jagdishwar Tiwari  
Dean / Head  
Department of Medieval & Modern History  
University of Allahabad

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## Discussion

### Section I

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developed by Amartya Sen in the early 1980s. Indeed, so significant has been this approach that it has been not only been accepted as the most important approach to social justice after John Rawls's 'justice as fairness approach' but also held to be the source of inspiration the world over for evaluation of societies and nations in human progress in terms of 'social indicators', 'Human Development Index'. The central epistemological concern of this paper is to explore the possibilities of integrating these two significant but non-intersecting advances in knowledge and theory and in particular to critically explore the applications of CA in the context of Caste-based discrimination in education in India. With this focus in mind this paper is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the core concepts of the CA and general critique of the CA by some of the scholars who have applied it in the particular contexts. The second section deals with the analysis of the discussion on caste and caste based discrimination by Sen in context of social development in India. This is followed by the detailed discussion on caste and caste based discrimination in the special context of education in India.

### **Perspective and Core Concepts of CA**





In the context of history of an idea there have been conflicting interpretations of the CA of Amartya Sen with on one side some scholars emphasizing its proximity to Marxian concept of critical political economy and at the other extreme some scholars finding it to be essentially in the trajectory of liberal and utilitarian traditions of justice. So a set of core concepts of CA are given below for the specific analytical focus of the paper:

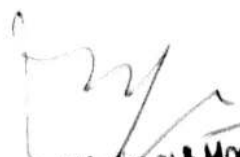
1. Human life is set of beings and doings a person values or have reason to value (**Functionings**) e.g being adequately, nourished, being in good health, avoiding escapable morbidity, etc
2. **Capability** is a set or combination of alternative functionings any one of which the person can choose- a range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead ( it represents Opportunity or Well Being Freedom). Thus, following Sabina Alkire one can see capability set is a kind of "budget set" or a set of choices or opportunities . For example, when two women are starving but one is starving due to poverty and the other is starving for religious reasons then in that case the latter has more capability as she has the choice of not starving which the former does not have.
3. **Agency** is what a person is free to do and achieve (ability to act) in pursuit of whatever goals and values he or she regards as important and

so agent is one who acts and brings about change(also called Agency or Process freedom). It inter alia includes goals other than one's well being ( **Open Conditionality**).

4. **Freedom** comprises well-being freedom and process freedom.
5. The objective of **Development** is to **expand capabilities**.
6. The C and F are completely **context specific** are to be determined by public reasoning in a given society.
7. Focus of analysis for evaluating societies for their degree of social justice should be on **opportunities to fulfill ends (Quality of Life or Well being)** rather than on means (resources, wealth, income etc) or on utility (satisfaction, happiness, pleasure)
8. **Conversion Factors**: conversion of income to Functionings is contingent upon physical heterogeneities, diversities in physical environment, variation in social climate, and differences in relational perspectives
9. Democratic System is vital : **Public Reasoning and Public Action** are likely to ensure Well Being


### **Paradigm shift in discourse on Development due to CA**

The CA of Amartya Sen has marked a seminal contribution to the following paradigm shift in development discourse in the last two decades:

  
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- From "Human Capital" to Human Well Being (intrinsic value)
- From Income and GDP analysis to Capability and Functionings Analysis or HDI analysis
- From Equity in Distribution to Primary Goods (Rawls) to their actual Consequences
- From Perfect Justice to Real Justice (Ideals to Possible/potential)
- From Richness of Economy to Richness of Life
- From Formal Justice (*Niti*) to Substantive Justice (*Nyaya*)
- From Negative Freedom to Positive Freedom
- From Structure (State, Markets etc) to Agency
- From Procedural Control to Effective Power
- Virtuous circle of capabilities- well being- economic growth
- Methodology : First Well Being analysis and then Social Mean Analysis finally prescriptions
- From Justice in the context of Nation State to the context of Global Justice

#### Criticisms of CA

  
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While the CA has been quite useful in evaluating the societies and cross comparison of groups, political units, and nations on the basis of the degree of expansion of capabilities it has also been criticized on the following grounds:

- Underspecified: Question of lists of Capabilities ( Martha Nussbaum) ;Not a complete theory of Justice ( Ingrid Robeyns) ; values other than Freedom like Caring, Freindship etc( Gasper and Staveren)
- Question of Power: In Gender Relations interdependence between individual capabilities in the household affect household outcomes (Vegard Iversen) ;
- Social institutions (family, firm, state) and Gender Inequalities: Social power is mediated through social institutions (Marianne Hill) freedom as Non-domination could be achieved through institutional mechanisms and reasoned interference (Petit; Alexander)
- Pathological Conditions of certain opportunities, Working of Democracy ( Elizabeth Anderson), Family Planning and lack of role of subjective perception of women etc may distort capability expansion (Nazar, Martello, and Garcia)

**Sen's CA and Caste-Based Social Exclusion in India**

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Although there are some references to Caste and Caste-based deprivations in Sen's general and theoretical works on especially *The Idea of Justice*, *Commodities and Capabilities*, *Inequality Re-Examined* etc it is mainly in his co-authored works with Jean Dreze on India that one can find detailed analysis of persistence of Caste-based discrimination. The first of these works is *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity* written in 1995. This was followed in 1996 by a detailed comparative analysis of social development across the states in *Indian Development: selected regional perspectives* while in year 2002 a yet another work *India: Development and Participation* dealt with the role of public action and public participation in correcting the course of social development in India. Most recently, in 2013 *India: an Uncertain Glory* re-iterated previous recommendations in public policy and public action especially in the context of failures of the state in attaining many aspects of well being for the masses in India especially in the realm of education, health, social security, etc.

Generally speaking Sen and Dreze recognize importance of caste as a major determinant of Capability and well being in India. Caste, they say, ' has indeed been a major barrier to social progress in India, and not just in the form of a counterproductive division of labour, but more importantly, as Ambedkar argued with great clarity, as a pernicious division of human beings into iron-



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curtained compartments'. It is significant that in the latest work they note that 'More importantly (than persistence or even revival of caste prejudices), however, caste continues to be an instrument of power in Indian society, even where the caste system has lost some of its earlier barbarity and brutality'. There is an interesting analysis of persistence of domination of *dwija* castes, especially Brahman and Kayastha, domination in professions and NGO sector and in Teacher, Doctor, lawyer, Judges, Editors as well their associations, NGO representatives and in Corporate boards . They aver that due to continued hold of caste 'concerns of dalits and adivasis is not adequately represented in public debates (especially, but not only, public debates on issues like reservation).' In fact there is a sense of frustration when Sen and Dreze point out that there should be greater discussion on caste and elimination of caste-based discrimination than that which happens at present. Yet, there is also a apathy for doing a comprehensive analysis on caste and the issues pertaining to caste inequality are often subsume under the rubric of class analysis—that is the inequality between the privileged and unprivileged classes or between the powerful and deprived classes etc.

Broadly speaking, apart from the fact that there is appalling lack of analysis on the caste and the elimination of caste-based discrimination ( which is surprising in view of the recognition of caste as a major barrier to



enhancement of well-being ), the solutions recommended for overcoming the low scale of social development appear to be rather naïve. For example, public action is considered as the key to social development in India as if the state, civil society and the market in India are free from impact of caste society or the structural tendency towards caste based discrimination. Indeed, at many places Sen and Dreze note the fact that the public policy has not been free from caste prejudices. So, it is not clear that how the state, society and market will be able to usher in an expansion of capabilities in spite of an in opposition to the caste society which sustains and reproduce caste inequality and subordination and of which they are a part?

#### **CA and Education in India**

According to Sen Education is a basic capability that affects other capabilities. In his analysis of CA in education educational progress is measured in terms of school attendance at elementary level and literacy rates. It starts by a comparison between nations (especially that of India with China), states (federal units), and social groups (Scheduled Caste and others) in terms of school attendance at elementary level and literacy rates. This is followed by a general as well state-wise criticism/ praise of various states for the extent to which they have been able to achieve school attendance rates at elementary level and literacy rates. In particular the data and its analysis makes it plain the

  
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while the track record of India in elementary education, as evident school attendance rate at elementary level and literacy rates, has been dismal some states like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh should be lauded for a good track record (even better than many Asian countries).

It should be appreciated that Sen is among the few scholars who could see the highly elitist nature of education policy in India since Nehruvian times or even before. In fact Sen points out that the Hindu system of education in pre-colonial times was dominated by Brahmins and Mullahs and the British only reinforced these structural inequalities. So the first beginnings towards providing access to education to deprived sections started by the Christian missionaries and social reform movements from within these sections. As far as the role of the state in independent India is concerned it has thoroughly failed to deliver the goods even though the constitution has mandated through its Directive Principles that there shall be universalization of education by 1960. The most undeniable evidence of elitism in public education policy is a highly lop-sided focus in favour of higher education at the cost of elementary education. In contrast to failures at the national level the successes in Kerala and Himachal Pradesh are attributed to historical factors, well directed public intervention, active agency of women, local democracy and cooperation.

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While Sen's CA is certainly a step in the right direction for addressing the inequality in education it is far from comprehensive in analyzing and addressing caste-based discrimination especially one faced by the Dalits in schools. It has been rightly argue by M Murali Krishna recently that the normative student in Indian educational theory is Hindu upper caste, middle class urban male and curriculum and educational practices are designed that way. Various probe reports have pointed out that there are now subtle forms of unequal treatment in classroom which are far more widespread than blatant forms of earlier times. In particular, Thorat and Lee SC have shown that Dalit girls are very vulnerable and seen as easy prey by non-Dalits. Mehdi Ali has recently pointed out that in Uttar Pradesh covert and over discrimination and indifference by teachers and high caste have persisted. The following table based on the study published on the basis of survey of 565 villages across 8 states comprising 70% of the Dalit population suggests that many forms of untouchability tend to persist even now.

**Table 1: Persistence of Untouchability in education in Rural India**  
(Ghanshyam Shah et al 2006)

S.No	Practice	Prevalence

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1. Schools: Separate Seating 30-40%

2. Separate Drinking Water in Schools 20-25%

3. Denied Entry into Dalit Houses > 50%

4. Prohibitions against Food Sharing > 50%

Also, one can argue the education in itself can limit some of the capabilities especially if the content of curriculum and pedagogic practices are pathological. Krishna Kumar, an eminent educationist cited the following case in a school to show how the students of tribal communities another deprived social group suffer from low esteem due to the pathological curriculum content and pedagogic practices:

T: What is Tantricism ?

(several Hands went up in two front ranks)

S1: Tantricism means a belief in magic and superstition.

S2: M'am, it's a mysterious ritual and it's a sign of backwardness.

T: Which areas are were most affected by it- towns or villages?

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Q

53: Villages

T : What types of villages were most affected?

S : Tribal Villages

( The teacher nodded in agreement and proceeded to explain how the contact between Brahmins and Tribals led to the formers adoption of Tantricism. After this the T asks who taught Tantricism to a ST student in but he remains silent)

## Section II

The Study of Caste System and Caste-based Social Exclusion have been the cynosure of the academic enquiry in the field of Social Sciences since the time of political Independence in India. Yet, there is no single analytical, far less comprehensive, work on the views of Jawaharlal Nehru on the Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion in India. Perhaps the greatest weakness is that of the 'Nehruvian Scholars' and biographers of Nehru who have chosen to put his emphasis of removal of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion in the larger project of 'Modernization' into and oblivion. But, even as Nehru was the first Prime Minister and one of the most charismatic leader of his age, the obvious and inevitable question of his views on Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion has, in absence of any significant study, has engendered certain *a priori* perceptions and academic truisms. The most significant of these is the claim that Nehru's radical modernizing agenda, including removal of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion, was often stymied by the conservative bloc of his age comprising the land-owning castes, the upper-caste bureaucracy,

and the regional Congress satraps. Less convincing but certainly very diffused perception is that Nehru, being a Brahmin and "outsider" or even worse a beneficiary of the privileges of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion, probably lacked a political will to deal dismantling of Caste inequalities in any real sense. And, still another perception is that Nehru, if at all, began to think about the Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion only when he became the Prime Minister of India and, there, could not avoid dealing with problem face to face. This paper therefore seeks to make an inquiry into Nehru's ideas and, thereby, hopes to test these *a priori* assumptions and perceptions.

Nehru was a Kashmiri Brahmin by birth but when he was born there were already winds of change and rebellion against the Caste system among the Kashmiri Brahmins of Allahabad where he was born and spent his early childhood. His own father Motilal Nehru had visited England in 1899 in direct contravention of Hindu norms of the time which meant loss of one's caste and religion and social ostracism if they crossed the seas. He refused to do the *prayaschita* (penance) rituals before his community when he came back from Europe and, instead, lead a protest against outdated beliefs of the Hinduism with some like-minded persons through an organization called *Satya Sabha*<sup>i</sup>. In his maiden public speech in 1907 Motilal called Caste system and *Purdah* system (the custom of veil) as two greatest blots on the Hindu Society<sup>ii</sup>. Thus, Jawaharlal Nehru's foundational experience was characterized by non-

  
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conformism and rebellion against the orthodoxy and this was only further reinforced by the direct exposure to Theosophism and Western Liberalism in subsequent years. Perhaps, the other most significant formative influence in his adulthood apart from and before Gandhi was his visit to Soviet Russia in 1926 and, therefore his first response to the issue of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion was wrapped in the garb of traditional Socialist analysis of economic determinism.

For Nehru the Socialist ideas, as expressed most tangibly in the form of social restructuring in Soviet Russia in the 1920s, were not merely of theoretical interest but rather should be seen as an answer to the problem of social disorganization due emergence of modern industrialization. The first half of the twentieth century was a testing time not only for Indian Society but also western societies. Globally, the modern capitalism was under deep crisis as evident from the World Wars and the breakdown of the traditional social order in many countries of Europe. In India, due to distorted nature of colonial industrial capitalism and the colonial rule the problem of social disorganization were even more acute. Quite naturally, the Congress Nationalism under Gandhi could not remain oblivious to the social inequality and disorganization if it were to become a genuine mass movement; the struggle for political freedom could not be separated from the questions of social and economic re-construction of India. And, thus, in Nehruvian discourse of Caste System or Caste-based Social

exclusion should be seen with in the larger his concern to search for a stable, secure, and, dynamic basis of social organization for India. These concerns were only reinforced in 1940s and 1950s when there emerged the problems of partition, economic scarcity, food shortages, etc

For Nehru, the question of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion till 1930s was still a side issue which did not excite his public concerns. Yet, he remained tenacious in his discussions with Gandhi about a direct assault at caste system as opposed to the latter's concern about removal of untouchability only. He repeatedly asked Gandhi about the removal of the caste system and eventually he could appreciate his position the by focusing on the removal of untouchability he was actually undermining the whole caste system as untouchability was the most common denominator, the weakest link in the chain, the weakest point of the enemies front<sup>m</sup>. Equally important, Nehru learned from Gandhi the non-confrontationist and indirect approaches for removal of Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion. By 1946, when his *Discovery of India* was published, Nehru has already developed his ideas on Caste System or Caste-based Social exclusion in a comprehensive, mature form and, subsequently, the changes to them were more in tenor than in substance.

Any discussion about Nehru's views on Caste System or Caste-based Social Exclusion must first begin by his view on the origins of the Caste System because unlike any other theory his theory emphasizes on the need of Social


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Inclusion as the fundamental motivation for emergence of the Caste system. According to him the Aryan invaders after having conquered the Non-Aryan indigineous population in North West India could have killed or enslaved the latter, but instead opted for a peaceful and inclusive solution—the Caste System. They devised the Caste system in a manner that they could ensure there purity and superiority from the Non-Aryans population and yet integrate them into their society. Thus, caste system in its original and pure form was an attempt, in the context of a multi-racial society,

to build an inclusive social organization albeit marked by inequality between the two major races-- the Aryan and the non-Aryans<sup>iv</sup>. Here, he makes a special mention that though the initial difference was between the Aryan and non-Aryan but in the course of time Aryan attempt to claim superiority and the very non-egalitarian principle inherent in it infested them too and in the course of time the four fold order of the society emerged.

According to Nehru, the Caste System with its four-fold division, in its ideal form a very flexible and adaptive system. It was a system of division of labour in its most perfect sense, a Multi-Ethnic State where each caste was expected to specialize in its occupation and together all the castes engendered a harmonious society. In this system there was normatively an injunction on the castes to avoid any conflict with the other. But what gave a stability and solidarity to it were evolution of a common and share culture, traditions, customs, pilgrimage

  
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Dr. Yogendra K. Srivastava  
अध्यक्ष / Head  
प्राचीन एवं आधुनिक इतिहास  
Department of Medieval & Modern History



centers etc. Also, as there was no concept of private property, the produce from the land was shared between the state, farmers, and various castes more or less equitably. Moreover, as the society was not materialistic and the guiding spirit behind the production was self-sufficiency the system could normally remain stable and bereft of strains.

In the Caste System the Brahmin was at the top and usually strived to set it apart from the others by endogamy and by maintaining a relative distance from the mundane. Indeed, Nehru views the Brahmins as a class of persons held very high in the esteem in a society erudition and learning were held in high esteem; so great was this esteem that Brahmins have continued to be respected even much later when there was a degradation of the system and deterioration in the contribution and commitment of many Brahmins to their normative occupations. According to Nehru the chief manner of integration and inclusion of the non- Hindus in the caste order was through the open access to second and the third rungs in the Caste hierarchy. Thus, many social groups, after acquiring the military and political power would gain entry into the caste system as a Kshatriya; similarly many aboriginal tribes enter into the system as the Shudras. Finally, there were the Untouchables at the bottom of the hierarchy as they were enjoined to do menial jobs in the society.

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### Section III

The importance of education of the in socially excluded groups is being formally and consciously recognized in the recent times. J.B.G. Tilak argues sees Elementary Education as a merit good and argues that rate of return of public investment on elementary education is greater for the socially excluded groups than others". S.Bhattacharya sees three modalities between Education and socially Inequality. According to first modality "preservation of homeostatis" education re-inforces inequality by establishing the hegemony of the privileged class. The second modality "subservient homeostatis" denotes limited social change as education allows upward social mobility for some among the excluded groups and these are then co-opted by the privileged class. However the third modality "subversion of regime of

### Section III

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The Indian society at the time of Independence should be seen against the backdrop of the changes brought about in wake of two centuries of the colonial rule. Indian Society before the Colonial Rule was characterized by a caste-based social exclusion of the Dalits at various levels. While there was a



mobility in the traditional caste system but lowest position of the Dalits was impervious to these changes. During the Colonial rule there seems to have occurred further exclusion and stigmatization of this group. According to Ramnarayan Rawat the Chamar, who were the largest sub-caste among Dalits, were traditionally involved in cultivation as marginal peasants. However, during the Colonial rule, due to commercial imperatives of production and export of skins and hides special conclaves of Chamars were set up in Uttar Pradesh and this caste came to be associated with the degrading occupation of skinning of dead cattle. Similarly, the prevalence of dry toilets meant association of Bhangi sub-caste to degrading occupation of manual scavenging<sup>vii</sup>. The Colonial state was not interested to address the exclusion and stigmatization of Dalits, except rhetorically, as it followed a conservative social policy after the revolt of 1857.

Coterminous with the Colonial Rule was the rise of political consciousness among the Indians and this meant that Dalits hoped for a better future. An important factor here was the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and 'National Movement' wherein the uplift of Dalits especially from extreme forms of disabilities was made an important goal of the Movement. The promise of egalitarian social order in the Constitution (1950) and Nehruvian Democratic Socialism gave a fillip to such a hope and overt declaration of abolition of

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untouchability through the Constitution and various Central and State laws gave more reasons of hope<sup>viii</sup>. Like, many other regions, there was also a legacy of the grassroots mobilization in UP prior to independence and the independence usher in a notion of political equality-- a change of status of individuals from Subject to Citizen. Finally, Partition of India and the accompanying communal polarization lead to temporary decline of Dalit identity politics and Hinduization of Dalit identity for obvious, historical reasons.

Against the backdrop of this euphoria the Indian State declared its commitment to universal, compulsory education. According to Article 45 of the Indian constitution 'the state shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age 14 years'. However, in practice an undue priority to higher education was accorded at the heavy cost of stagnation in elementary education. The elementary education was rendered a state subject in the Constitutional scheme even though Nehru emphasized the 'revolutionization' of education. In this scheme of education of Dalits was subsidiary to general educational development ; no significant efforts of the state were to be specifically dedicated for the educational

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University of Delhi

development of the Dalits. In the case of UP the following measures can be said to collectively constituted the regime of action for Dalit education at the pre-graduation level:

- The United Provinces Removal of Social Disabilities Act, 1947 and The Untouchability Offences Act, 1955 prohibited the practice of untouchability in educational institutions.
- Officer on Special Duty from Provincial Educational Service was appointed at Head Quarters of Department of Education to Supervise the education of the SC in 1951. However, this arrangement was soon abandoned.
- Schemes and Policies: Reservation in admissions and hostels up to 15%, exemption from tuition fees, pre-matric scholarships, free supply of books, stationary, ashram schools in remote areas, reservation in public schools for meritorious children, special schools, libraries, and, hostels under grants-in-aid
- Centrally sponsored post-matric scholarship

There was a wide gap between the professed policy and its actual implementation. The free education for Dalits was free only in name. For example, only tuition fees exempted but not admission fees, examination fees,

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University of Allahabad



the session whereas parents borrowed money at high rates of interest much before. Finally, there was often lapse in payment of pre-matric scholarship and inordinate delay in payment of post-matric scholarship were rife<sup>xiv</sup>.

A very serious problem in schools was persistence of some overt forms of untouchability. There was often a separate seating arrangement for Dalit students in the class rooms. There was widespread segregation and discrimination in use of water facility; Dalit Students had to wait for some savarna employee or student to pour water for them for drinking as they were strictly forbidden from using water facilities in school on their own<sup>xv</sup>. One of the most pernicious aspect was casteist slurs and violent behaviour of teachers directed towards Dalit students; taking cue from teachers the non-Dalit students also often behaved in the same manner with Dalit students<sup>xvi</sup>. Sometimes Dalits students were forced by the school teacher to do degrading and dehumanizing work like sweeping the school, stealing etc<sup>xvii</sup>. Dalits students were not allowed to dine in the mess of common hostels. They were excluded from cultural activities in schools. 6 out of 17 cases and 3 out of 7 cases of untouchability reported in the Elayaperumal Committee Report (1969) and Commissioner of SC/ST (1965) during survey tour in U.P. were related to untouchability in educational institutions.

  
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Given this condition the outcomes for Dalit education were a forgone conclusion and this is evident from the Table I and Table II.

**Table I Literacy rates of SC an Rest of Population in Uttar Pradesh**

Year	SC	Rest of Population	Literacy Gap between SC and rest
1931	0.5*	5.5	4.5
1971	10.19	24.79	14.60
1981	14.96	30.45	15.49
1991	22.92	35.92	13.00

\* designated as exterior castes

Source: Census Reports

**Table II :Co-efficient of Equality (CoE)\* for SC of Uttar Pradesh for various levels of Educational Attainment**

S.no	Year	Primary	Middle	High/Higher
------	------	---------	--------	-------------

  
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		schools		schools		Secondary	
		UP	India	UP	India	UP	India
1	1960-61	62.3	77.5	52.7	52.9	40.2	41.2
2	1965-66	59.1	84.5	45.8	57.8	35.6	45.5
CoE change		-3.2	+7.0	-6.9	4.9	-4.6	4.3

\*Co-efficient of Equality for SC= Proportion of SC enrolment to enrolment from other communities

- Proportion of SC Population to Population from other communities

Source: A Report on Education of the Scheduled Castes( 1965-66) by J.P.Naik, Member Secretary, ICSSR(1971, New Delhi)

It is self-evident from Table I that there has been a significant and persistent gap in the literacy level of the Dalits and the Non-dalits of UP during the four

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decades of Independence . Table II shows between 1961 and 1966 at the primary level the inequality in the education increased in UP while it decreased at all-India Level. At the middle and the higher secondary level similar trends can be seen.

<sup>i</sup> B.R. Nanada, *The Nehrus: Motilal and Jawaharlal*, London, 1962, pp.38-40

<sup>ii</sup> Ibid. p.107

<sup>iii</sup> Tibor Mende, *Interview With Jawaharlal Nehru*, Paris, 1956, p.33

<sup>iv</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, (henceforth *DI*) Calcutta, 1946, p.62

<sup>v</sup> J.B.G.Tilak, *The Economics of Inequality in Education*, New Delhi, 1987, Sage Publications, pp.41-132

<sup>vi</sup> S. Bhattacharya, *Education and the Disprivileged*, New Delhi, 2002, Orient Longman. p.19

<sup>vii</sup> See chapters 2 and 3 in Ramnarayan S. Rawat, *Reconsidering Untouchability: Chamars and Dalit History in North India*, Bloomington, 2011, Indiana University Press

<sup>viii</sup> See Badri Narayan, *The making of Dalit Public in North India: Uttar Pradesh 1950-present*, New Delhi, 2016, Oxford University Press

<sup>ix</sup> Report of the Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Caste and Connected Documents, 1969, Government of India, Department of Social Welfare (Henceforth Elayaprumal Committee) pp.185-194

<sup>x</sup> Tulsi Ram, *Murdahiya*, New Delhi, 2010, Rajkamal Prakashan, p.26

<sup>xi</sup> Ibid., p.154

<sup>xii</sup> Ibid., p.168-169

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xiii Elayaperumal Committee, p.195

xiv Report of The Commissioner for SC and ST (henceforth RCOST), 1963-64, p.191

xv RCOST, 1958-59, p.35-36

xvi As Omprakash Valmiki recalls of his days in the school: *"The country had become independent eight years ago. Gandhi's uplifting of the untouchables was resounding everywhere. Although the doors of the government schools had begun to open for untouchables, the mentality of the ordinary people had not changed much. I had to sit away from the others in the class, that too on the floor. The mat ran out before reaching the spot I sat on. Sometimes I would have to sit way behind everybody, right near the door. And the letters on the board from there seemed faded.... During the examinations we could not drink water from the glass when thirsty. To drink water, we had to cup our hands. The peon would pour water from way high up, lest our hands touch the glass".* See Omprakash Valmiki, *Joothan: A Dalit Life*, 2003, Kolkata, Samaya Publishers, pp.2-28 for the rampant structural violence against Dalit students in the schools in 1950s and 1960s.

xvii See Ethnographic Notes on the Scheduled Castes of Uttar Pradesh, Census of India, 1971 p. 16; Valmiki. Op.cit.pp.4-6

Department of Medieval & Modern History  
University of Allahabad

Prof. Yogeshwar Tewari  
अध्यक्ष / Head  
मध्यकालीन एवं आधुनिक इतिहास विभाग  
Department of Medieval & Modern History  
University of Allahabad

**Annexure - III**

**UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION**

**BAHADUR SHAH ZAFAR MARG**

**NEW DELHI - 110 002**

**STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE IN RESPECT OF MAJOR  
RESEARCH PROJECT**

1. Name of Principal Investigator : DR.ALOK PRASAD
2. Deptt. of Principal Investigator: DEPARTMENT OF  
MED./MOD. HISTORY University/College UNIVERSITY OF  
ALLAHABAD, ALLAHABAD
3. UGC approval Letter No. and Date: F.NO.5-201/2014(HRP)
4. Title of the Research Project: DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN  
ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN  
NORTH INDIA
5. Effective date of starting the project 1.7.2015
6. a. Period of Expenditure: From 1.7.2015 to 30.6.2018  
  
b. Details of Expenditure



		(Rs)	(Rs)
i.	Books & Journals	75000	NIL
ii.	Equipment	80000	NIL
iii.	Contingency	75000	21637
iv.	Field Work/Travel	150000	NIL
v.	PROJECT FELLOW	336000	160322
vi.	Chemicals & Glassware	NIL	
vii.	Overhead	41100	41100
viii.	Any other items (Please specify)	NIL	NIL

Staff

Date of Appointment (PROJECT FELLOW) 18 3 2017

				Rs	Rs
1.	Honorarium to PI (Retired Teachers) @ Rs. 18,000/-p.m.				
2.	<b>Project fellow:</b> ii) <b>Non-GATE/Non-NET-</b> Rs. 14,000/- p.m. for initial 2 years and Rs. 16,000/- p.m. for the third year.	18.3.2017	30.2.2018	336000	160322

1. It is certified that the appointment(s) have been made in accordance with the terms and conditions laid down by the Commission.
2. If as a result of check or audit objection some irregularity is noticed at later date, action will be taken to refund, adjust or regularize the objected amounts.
3. Payment @ revised rates shall be made with arrears on the availability of additional funds.
4. It is certified that out of a total grant of Rs.4,76,600 (RUPEES FOUR LAKH SEVENTY SIX THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED ONLY) received from the University Grants Commission under the scheme of support for Major Research Project entitled DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH INDIA (vide UGC letter No.F. NO.5-201/2014(HRP) dated 24.11.2015) Rs.2,22,509 (Two lakh Twenty two thousand five hundred and nine rupees) has been utilized for the purpose for which it was sanctioned and in accordance with the terms and conditions laid down by the University Grants Commission.

  
SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

  
REGISTRAR

(Seal) University of Allahabad  
Allahabad

  
Finance Officer

University of Allahabad  
12/11/2020

Annexure - IV

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

BAHADUR SHAH ZAFAR MARG

NEW DELHI – 110 002

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE INCURRED ON

FIELD WORK Name of the Principal Investigator: Dr. ALOK

PRASAD

Name of the place visited	Durati on of visit	Mode of Journ ey	Expenditure Incurred(Rs)
NA	NA	NA	NIL

Certified that the above expenditure is in accordance with the UGC norms for Major Research Projects.

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Signature  
Finance Officer  
University of Allahabad  
17/1/2020

Signature  
Prof. Yogeshwar Tewari  
अध्यक्ष / Head  
Department of Medieval & Modern History  
इतिहास विभाग  
University of Allahabad

Signature  
17/1/2020  
REGISTRAR  
Registrar  
University of Allahabad  
Allahabad



**UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION**  
**BAHADUR SHAH ZAFAR MARG**  
**NEW DELHI – 110 002**

**Utilization certificate**

Certified that out of a total grant of Rs.4,76,600 (RUPEES FOUR LAKH SEVENTY SIX THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED ONLY) received from the University Grants Commission under the scheme of support for Major Research Project entitled DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH INDIA (vide UGC letter No.F. NO.5-201/2014(HRP) dated 24.11.2015) Rs.2,22,509 (Two lakh Twenty two thousand five hundred and nine rupees) has been utilized for the purpose for which it was sanctioned and in accordance with the terms and conditions laid down by the University Grants Commission.

  
**SIGNATURE OF THE**

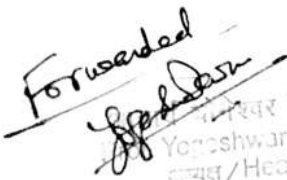
**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR**

  
**REGISTRAR/PRINCIPAL**  
**Registrar**  
**University of Allahabad**  
**Allahabad**

(Seal)

  
**STATUTORY OFFICER**  
**University of Allahabad**  
  
17/11/2020

(Seal)

  
**Forwarded**  
**Yogeshwar Tewari**  
**Head**  
**Department of Medical Education**  
**University of Allahabad**

Annexure - VI

PROFORMA FOR SUPPLYING THE INFORMATION IN  
RESPECT OF THE STAFF APPOINTED UNDER THE  
SCHEME OF MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT

UGC FILE No.F. NO.5-201/2014(HRP) dated 24.11.2015

YEAR OF COMMENCEMENT

0	1	0	7	2	0	1	5
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TITLE OF THE PROJECT: DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF  
SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH INDIA

1.	Name of the Principal Investigator:	DR. ALOK PRASAD				
2.	Name of the University College	UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD				
3.	Name of the Research Personnel appointed	MR. ANURUDHA KUMAR SINGH				
4.	Academic Qualification	S. No.	Qualification	Year	Marks	%age
		1.	M.A./M.Sc./M.Tech.	2008	468/850	55.05
		2.	M.Phil			
		3.	PhD.			
5.	Date of joining	18.3.2017				
6.	Date of Birth of Research Personnel	15.9.1989				
7.	Amount of HRA. If drawn	N.A.				
8.	Number of candidates applied for the post	FOUR				

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

BAHADUR SHAH ZAFAR MARG

NEW DELHI – 110 002

PROFORMA FOR SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION AT THE TIME  
OF SENDING THE FINAL REPORT OF THE WORK DONE ON THE  
PROJECT

1. Title of the Project... DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH INDIA
2. NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR ...Dr. ALOK PRASAD
3. NAME AND ADDRESS OF THE INSTITUTION :UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD, PRYAGRAJ
4. UGC APPROVAL LETTER NO. AND DATE ..... UGC letter No.F. NO.5-201/2014(HRP) dated 24.11.2015
5. DATE OF IMPLEMENTATION ...1.7.2015
6. TENURE OF THE PROJECT .....THREE YEARS W.E.F.1.7.2015
7. TOTAL GRANT ALLOCATED ...Rs.757100/-
8. TOTAL GRANT RECEIVED ...Rs.476600/-
9. FINAL EXPENDITURE ...Rs.222509/-
10. TITLE OF THE PROJECT ... DALITS IN NEHRUVIAN ERA(1950-1964): A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NORTH INDIA
1. OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT ... To enrich the knowledge about the processes involved in social in social inclusion/exclusion in the Nehruvian Period



2. To enrich the understanding of the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru to empowerment of excluded groups and deepening of democracy in India.
3. To contribute to the development of the contemporary History as distinct field of study (distinct from Ancient History, Modern History etc)
4. To further enrich the concept/theory of Social Exclusion in the light of Indian Experience
5. To tap and enrich the use of archival material in knowledge – building in Social Sciences

11. WHETHER OBJECTIVES WERE ACHIEVED ... Yes.

### 13. ACHIEVEMENTS FROM THE PROJECT

The findings enrich the knowledge about the processes involved in social inclusion/exclusion in the Nehruvian Period. The findings enrich the understanding of the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru to empowerment of excluded groups and deepening of democracy in India. Indirectly, the implication of the study contributes to the development of the Contemporary Indian History as distinct field of study. The findings enrich the concept/theory of Social Exclusion especially the concept of Capability Approach of Amartya Sen in the light of Indian experience. They highlight the preservation and the use of archival material in knowledge – building in Social Sciences especially in the writing of Contemporary Indian History.

### 14. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS ...

1. Many of Nehru's ideas on Caste- based exclusion overlap with those of his far more radical contemporary Ambedkar though his attempt at finding the solutions to problem was in tune with Gandhi.
2. Contrary to the conventional understanding which is based on *a priori*, stereotypical, and, ahistorical perception given by many scholars and writers, Nehru was neither blind to Caste-based social exclusion or nor underplayed its dysfunctional impact on India's modernization project.
3. The social exclusion and inclusive policies of Nehruvian state for Dalits at the time of Independence should be seen against the backdrop the Colonial rule wherein there seems to have occurred greater exclusion and stigmatization of this group as comparison to pre-colonial period. This complicated the task of social inclusion of Dalits in the Nehruvian Era.
4. In spite of very radical views and a commitment for Social Inclusion of Dalits under Nehru their educational inclusion at the level of implementation at grass roots level did not make much progress. An undue priority to higher education was accorded at the heavy cost of stagnation in elementary education. The elementary education was rendered a state subject in the Constitutional scheme even though Nehru emphasized the 'revolutionization' of education. In this scheme of education of Dalits was subsidiary to general educational development; no



significant or special efforts of the State were specifically dedicated for the educational development of the Dalits.

5. Amartya Sen's Capability Approach (CA) is certainly a step in the right direction for addressing the inequality in education it is far from comprehensive in analyzing and addressing caste-based discrimination especially one faced by the Dalits in schools. Thus, the CA of Amartya Sen offers a good and genuine starting point to evaluate societies for the degree of the human development. However, due to the neglect of historical-structural dimension of Caste in India and especially the subtle forms in which it operates, it needs to be drastically modified for any kind of policy analysis or policy recommendation

#### 15. CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIETY ...

Apart from the publications mentioned in column 17 the project has enabled the PI to share knowledge of the findings with the society as evident from the following:

1. The PI gave talk on Nehruvian Modernization on All India Radio, Prayagraj( Annexure 1 (a))
2. The PI was took lecture on Use of Archives in Dalit Studies at BHU, Varanasi( Annexure 1 (b))
3. The PI presented papers on aspects of the research findings at IIAS, Shimla( Annexure 1 (c))
4. The PI was course Co-Cordinator of a the Refresher Course on Human Rights organized by Law Department in November, 2018.
5. The PI was Organizing Secretary of two day National Seminar on "Problems of Caste" at University of Allahabad( Annexure 1 (d))
6. The PI has started teaching a new course at the P.G. level on Contemporary India which covers some significant aspects of themes covered in the project. ( Annexure 1 (e))
7. Based on the experience gained in the use of archival sources during the project the PI highlighted the relevance of Archival and Public Records in Research Methodology to Phd research scholars in the pre-Doctoral programme at the University of Allahabad.

16. WHETHER ANY PH.D. ENROLLED/PRODUCED OUT OF THE PROJECT.....No

17. NO. OF PUBLICATIONS OUT OF THE PROJECT ... ( the See attached list)

(PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR)

17/11/2020  
(REGISTRAR/PRINCIPAL)  
Registrar  
University of Allahabad  
Allahabad

Prof. Yogeshwar Tewari  
Head  
Department of History & M.A. History  
University of Allahabad