

CHAPTER III

Review of Related Literature

(1) Introduction To the Constitution of India (Edition 2001) by Dr. D.D. Basu, published by Wadha and Company Law Publishers , New Delhi.

This is an authentic book on the Constitution of India. It traces the Constitutional History of India since Government of India Act, 1935. It gives an analysis of the provisions of the present Constitution and also an explanation of the interrelation between the diverse contents. It contains the chapters made by different Constitution Amendments up to 83rd Amendment, 2000. It has amply shed light on the philosophy and features of the Constitution and deals with the federal features Fundamental Rights , Fundamental Duties , Directive Principles of the State Policy , Government of the States , administration of Union Territories , the judicature, constitutional explanations of 42nd Amendment to the constitution and other important issues like the dilution of Right to Property Act and its conversion into a legal right from Fundamental Right , land acquisition policy of the then Central Government etc., in a scholarly way , The critical estimate of each topic is of immense value to the students of law and political science.

(2) Indian Government and Politics (1984), by A.T. Philips and K. Shivraj Rao ; Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi.

The book studies various aspects of Indian Government and the features of the Constitution of India . It gives a brief survey of the landmarks of constitutional developments and contains a detailed discussion on the formal structure of the Constitution. It also analysis the political system, and explores the role of the parties, the pressure groups. Casteism , regionalism and so on. It has also tried to reflect the developments and trends in politics and the roles of the government of India upto 1982.

(3) Political Theory and Constitution (1985) by S.D. Jathar and R. Rayaram, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd , New Delhi.

This is a book on political theories and institutions which have been clearly explained and adequately illustrated. It helps the readers to develop their concepts on various political theories and institutions. It gives a detailed and systematic analysis of various political theories and principles of constitution that helps the student of political science to conceptualize the subject. It is written in a very lucid style.

(4) Modern Indian Political Thought (1998) by Prakash Chandra. Vikash Publishing House, Private Ltd. Delhi.

The book is a record of political thoughts of the twentieth century of political thinkers who were very much critical of the British Rule in India, which is historically branded as a rule of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. It contains their ideals and aspirations for a new independent India which, they hope, will restore to the people of India freedom and rights which were denied by the British colonial rule. It also offers a critical and comparative domain of political, economic, and social spheres.

(5) Indian Government and Politics by D.C. Bhattacharya, Vijaya Publishing House Kolkata.

The book deals with government and politics in India and with the concepts and structures and the functioning of the political system. It discusses the institutional structures, the constitutional framework and political forces. It also contains some topics on Indian social, political and economic affairs. What is of immense importance of the book is that it offers a detailed analysis of the meaning, value and implication of Preamble, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. The striking feature of the book is the author's attempt to analyze constitutional amendments and opinions and verdicts of the Supreme Court of India upon the necessity of the implementation of the Directive Principles of the State Policy in order to ensure social justice to all.

(6) Democracy Without Associations, (1999) Pradeep K. Chibber , Vistar Publications, New Delhi.

The book offers some intriguing ideas about the role of the political parties in Indian Politics . It focuses on some social divisions that political parties in India creates. Indian political parties look different because some institutional difference . The role and structure of the state and the nature of social relation , constraint and Indian position. The book also deals with why religion and caste based political parties have come to disseminate the electoral landscape in the 1990s and why catchall parties have evolved.

(7) Constitutional Government in India (1984) by Dr. M.V. Pylee. Publisher, S. Chand and company limited, New Delhi.

This is an authoritative works in the constitution of India and the functioning of Government of India . It deals with complicated issues relating to constitutional government in the country. It contains very valuable common constitution .

(8) Indian politics and the 1998 Election (1999) by Ramashray Roy and paul Wallace . Sage Publications , New Delhi.

The book offers a critical analysis of General election held in 1998, in terms of changes in the party system and on the basis of social support. It deals with the emergence of a new formula of political alliance and gives stress on the importance of regionalism in Indian politics. The book also explores a wide range of important electoral role of social factors like caste , ethnicity. These constitute , as the book presents it , the main components of Indian politics.

(9) Indian Political parties (2006) Peter Ronald de Souza and E. Sreedharan , Sage Publications New Delhi.

The book gives an idea of a 'paralysis' democracy and discusses how the party system at both the national and regional level in India had evolved. It explores the character of parties on the basis of ideology , social base and organizational form and gives an assessment of parties and representation with special

reference to the idea of women. The book also provides an evaluation , the significance and defectives of a representative democracy.

(10) Towards Sociology of Dalits (2014) by Paranjit S. Dudje, Sage, New Delhi.

The book is a document of socio economic life of Dalits in Indian society. It focuses on an important point of the relation between the life of Dalits and casteism and the economy of Indian Society. It explores the origin of the practice of untouchability which was supported by tradition and religious ideology. It is also critical of the Indian tradition which is one of the factors for which Dalits in Indian Society are exploited.

(11) Sociological Probings in Rural Society (2014) by K.L. Sharma , Sage , New Delhi.

The book sheds light on the new era of rural urban relationship, social stratification in rural India and social change in rural India. It also deals with some critical issues relating to the socio economic life of rural people in independent India.

(12) The Exemptability of Directive Principle of State Policy by S. Karthikeyan , Advocate , High Court.

This is a computer generated article which shows how the Supreme Court directs the government to implement Directive Principle of State Policy to render social justice to Indian Citizens.

(13) Social Protection Floor in India (2011) by Sudha Pillai, Secretary of the Planning Commission of India.

The article deals with social protection being the core issue of social security and throws light on the government initiative and effort to improve living standards of the poor. It gives brief discussion of the programmes launched by the government to secure protection of rights and freedom, justice and equality to Indian citizens.

This is a study that deals with the relation between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principle of State Policy and throws light on judicial behavior and Public Interest Litigation (PIL) which plays an important role in the implementation of DPSP

(14) Nyaya Deep (2014), National Legal service Authority, New Delhi.

This volume begins with a project on the issue of manual scavenging deep rooted in Indian society which is denounced as a practice in violations of human rights and human dignity . The survey conducted in this regard emphasizes the abolition of this practice though there is legislation against it. The volume deals with issues that covers a wide area of question that necessitate the provisions of legal aid to the poor and other backward sections of the society. It also explores the cases of violation of human rights and dignity in different states in India and contains some reports on the successful organization of legal aid camps in the separate parts of the country. The volume reminds us that social justice will remain incomplete if the state does not provide for legal aid to ensure legal justice to deserving individuals.

(15) Eradication of Manual Scavenging in India – the adequacy of law Examined! 2014, K. Mayilsamy, Assist Professor, BMS College of Law, Bangalore, Naya Deep, New Delhi.

This is a study of overriding importance regarding the violation of human rights and derogation of human dignity. It studies manual scavenging which is a traditional occupation of a particular class of people which belongs to Dalits in India. Prof Mayilswamy denounces it as an inhuman practice and explores and examines how it has tarnished and is still tarnishing the Indian Social life. Manual scavenging is a national shame for India and the state is armed with laws which are adequate for doing away with inhuman practice is opposed to the spirit of the Indian constitution and the principle of welfare state. He warns that the continuation of such practices in Indian Society will lead to the widening of class discrimination and class division and strengthen class division social deprivation and exploitation . The study has been made to highlight how menial work or occupation deters our effort to ensure equality and justice. The entire

study is presented in simple and lucid language with ample illustrations and references.

(16) West Bengal Correctional Services Act, 1992 and Prison reform in West Bengal , 2014, Caeser Roy, Assistant Professor of Law, Midnapore Law College, Vidyasagar university, Paschim Midnapore, WB.

This is an analytical study of the meaning and implication of West Bengal Correctional Act, 1992 and focuses on the conditions of prisoners and prisons management in the state. This is a new law to provide democratic and human treatment to prisoners with the noble vision and mission to let them realize their crimes and to effect reforms in them. The study explores and examines some of the progressive provisions in consequence with the new correctional philosophy. It also deals with some practical problems of prison like overcrowding, delay in trial neglect of health and hygiene insufficient foods and inadequate cloth, deplorable conditions of prison staff and sheds light on the conditions of women prisoners and lack of legal aid to the prisoners. What is special about the study is that it traces the commendable role of the judiciary in bridging about prison reforms. Apart from these, Prof. Roy has appended in this study prison statistics in India and salient features of this Act and points out a few drawback of this Act. Finally he concludes that the prisons are like hospitals , prisoners are patients and the prison employees are doctors whose role may prove to be very in causing correction in them. The study is systematic and documentary.

(17)Democracy and Social change in India (1999) by Subrata K. Mitra and V.B.singh , Sage publications , New Delhi.

The book deals with the overlapping themes of modernization and democracy in India . Its narrative strategy gives light on specific puzzles on each chapter . The resilience of Indian democracy in the face of the problems of wide spread poverty , illiteracy and religious linguistic heterogeneity coupled with the challenges posed by modernization and accelerated social change , is explained in this book with reference to the cultural, institutional and social context of India's competitive free and fair electoral process. The book also gives an insightful account of how the citizens of India evaluate the structure and process

of Indian democracy. In the beginning of the book there is a theoretical introduction to major schools of thought in the areas of social change. An analysis of how Indians consider their state and their government in terms of reality of social competition for power follows this theoretical introduction. The authors of the book present an empirical analysis of a number of important issues associated with democracy and social change in India .

(18) Changing Caste: Ideology , Identity and Mobility: 2013 ed , Surinder S. Jodhka . Sage , New Delhi.

The volume (2) deals with different dimensions of the caste system in India . It discusses in details conceptual and theoretical issues and gives empirical account of different dimensions of castes and throws light on the continuous changes consecutive city life at a large population. The volume is the product of the author's , experiences about the community life which he has social mobility

It has also analyzed the pattern of social mobility among individual communities and sections of the population and focuses the different dimension of the political sociology of caste and identity politics.

(19) On the Margins: Tribes , castes and other Social categories 2013 , edited by Abhijit Dasgupta , Sage , New Delhi.

The volume (4) contains eleven essays . It investigates and explores different features of marginalization among the Scheduled castes , the Scheduled Tribes , the Backward Classes, Women workers , minorities and physically challenged persons and others . It discusses discriminations , deprivations and exploitation of which the poor , the weaker sections upon their plight and demonstrates how the deprived classes became active in their social protests and voice against discrimination and deprivation in different sphere of social life.

(20) Life As a Dalit ed. By Subhdra Uitra Channe (Scholar- in –Residence, University of South Carolina) and Jonn P. Mencher , Chair , The second Chance Foundation)

The volume depicts caste society and is based on the life of the Dalits. It focuses on their world view and critical appraisal of their own position and of the higher groups. It deals with caste discrimination in Indian Society, atrocities and alienation in the urban social structure, changes in the life of so called untouchable community . Caste identity , struggle of dalit women for social justice , the clashes between Dalits and the upper caste and the reservations and the new caste alliances in India. The volume is a study of dalit life beset with social injustice and social insecurity.

(21) Bridging the Social Gap - Perspective on Dalit Empowerment , 2014 , ed. Sukhdeo Thorat , Chairman , Indian Council of Social Science and Research , Nidhi sadan Sabharwal , Director , Indian Institute of Dalit Studies

The book deals with issues of inter social group inequalities in human development and social discrimination both governing the life of the backward people. It traces incidents of deprivation that characterizes the socially disadvantaged groups in Indian society. Which has been ignored in the National Human development Reports and the State Development Reports. The book throws light upon and explores exclusion linked deprivation of socially disadvantaged of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and captures inter social groups inequalities with respect to attainment of human development and human poverty . It analyses economic factors linked with high deprivation of the socially backward classes and finally examines the role of caste discrimination in civil and political spheres. The book criticizes denial of right to development of equal opportunities to the people of backward classes in Indian Society.

(22) Rescuing Railway Children : Families from Indian Railway Platforms , 2013 by Malco Harper and lilitha lyre , Sage , New Delhi.

The book is based on the plight of children in India , who run away from homes and catch trains . It presents the issues and challenges of reaching out to these 'railway children' while writing this book , the authors were inspired by the experiences of Sathi , an NGO based in Bengalooru which deserves credit

rescuing many such children with their families . The book deals with close to the stations . It examines carefully

(23) State of India's Livelihoods Report 2013 (2014), edited by ACCESS PUBLICATION, sage . New Delhi.

This is an annual publication and aims at documenting recent trends and issues connected with promotion of livelihood of the poor . It is a collection and combination of the experiences and challenges of the livelihood sector. It gives an analysis of case studies and reports of the progress of both government and privately agonized programmes. It causes the current state policy in India, the current economic scenario and employment prospect in 2013. It also explores the links to livelihood and behavior from social protection perspective.

(24) Women and Law :Critical Feminist Perspective, 2014, edited by Kalpana Kannibiram, Director Council for Social Development, Hyderabad, Sage, New Delhi.

The volume deals the problem of 'women and law' and examines women centered laws and their efficiency . It focuses on violence against society . It contains a range of concessions which includes domestic violence, empowerment and labour , anti discrimination jurisprudence , family laws and land rights , the right to health etc.,. It also examines the complexities in the intersection of women's rights with disability rights and women's experiences of repressive legislation such as TADA.

(25) 10 Judgments That Changed India¹⁸.

This is book written by Zia Mody creates enormous ripples among the legal fraternity and change seekers in our country.

Zia Mody, the daughter of former Attorney General , Soli Sorabjee , dissects and analyzes ten judgments which have had a significant impact on India. The forward of the book was written by Soli Sorabjee who says that 'Judiciary , at one

¹⁸ Computer generated material

time , was considered and projected to be the weakest branch of the state because it possessed neither power of the purse nor power of the sword. This myth has been abolished’.

Ten Judgments That Changed India has ten chapters , each dealing with a judgment, though it actually covers a number of judgments leading up to the title judgment and in many cases , follow on cases , which are equally important. Thus the chapter on Maneka Gandhi case also covers the ADM Jabalpur case where the Supreme Court ruled that a detenue could not file habeas corpus petition challenging the legality of his detention during an emergency. The chapter of Shah Banu Judgment also covers the Daniel Latifi case which succeeded it. Zia Mody says as much when she suggests that in Keshvananda Bhararti and Golaknath cases ‘the decisions were the kind where the judges primarily decided on the ends and then set out to discover the means to achieve those pre determined ends’. The verdict caused huge anger among the government officials.

When Zia Mody’s narrative reaches the controversial waters of reservation ocean. There are sub headings such as “And Along came the Mandal Commission”, “The Mandal Challenge”, “off with the creamy layer”, etc. There is a nice and neat summary of the Indian caste system, the history of reservations in India, developments after India’s independence and then the grand arrival of the Mandal Commission. Zia Mody stays easy and neutral till the very end when she expresses her view on what she expects Indian policy makers to do regarding reservations.

26. A Tribute to Mr. M.K. Nambiar by Soli J Sorabjee , former Attorney General of India and Sr. advocate , Supreme Court of India .

This book by Soli J. Sorabjee is a valuable addition to the history of Indian Constitutional Law and contains a glowing tribute of the author to Mr. Melloth Krishna Nambiyar who began his career as district lawyer practising in a district court in Mangalore and reached the zenith of professional success in the Supreme Court of India by virtue of his incalculable contribution to the evolution and development of Indian Constitutional law , which led the Apex court to

overstep the literal meaning of the Articles 19, 21 and 22 of the Fundamental Rights and impelled it to give a broader reinterpretation of the Articles. The author became immensely impressed by Nambiyar's astoundingly rational approach to those Articles under Fundamental Rights that drew out wider implications therefrom.

In this book the author has chronologically pointed out the landmark cases in the Supreme Court which were deeply influenced by Nambiyar's pointed arguments in the A.K. Gopalan case. Nambiyar's pointed, rational arguments have given a new directions to the subsequent cases, that has ultimately led to the new interpretation of Fundamental Rights guaranteed in the Constitution of India. In the case A.K. Gopalan vs. State of Madras, his rational, sagacious and pointed argument led the Apex Court to be convinced of the fact that no law can influence the Fundamental Rights. The court later admitted the contention that the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, 1971 violated the right guaranteed by Art. 19 (1) d.

A.K. Gopalan case has a wide ranging impact upon the subsequent cases in the High Courts and Supreme Court. It has led to a healthy development of constitutional law, which has ultimately secured judicial acceptance by the Supreme Court. Mr. Nambiyar's arguments have been fully justified. The consequence of this historic case led the Supreme Court to declare section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act as unconstitutional on the ground of the section being in contravention of provisions of Article 22 (5) of the Constitution. Even the judges of the Supreme Court have several times praised Nambiyar for his inordinate and exceeding arguments in the A.K. Gopalan case. Keeping in view the immensely wide implications of Nambiyar's re interpretation of several Articles of Fundamental Rights Soli J Sorabjee's assessment of Nambiyar's contribution to India's constitutional law has been aptly made in simple lucid and unambiguous language.

(26) Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer on Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles by Shailja Chander. Deep and Deep Publications , New Delhi..

This is the most important and comprehensive book that I have come across in connection with Directive Principles and Social justice issues. Justice Iyer through his enormous acumen have developed the concept of justice. Mr. Iyer bases his notions of justice not only on Preamble but on other provisions of the Constitution as well . Article 39 amplifies the concept of justice by providing that the State direct its policy towards securing the objectives set out in clauses (a) to (f) of the Article. But Iyer's most profound contribution is to trace the history of evolution of Fundamental Rights and Directive principles with special reference to B. N. Rau's observation ; why Directive principles were made to be non justiciable , Shailja Chaunder with reference to Justice Iyer was beautifully given.

(27) Human Rights And Social Justice: Fundamental Rights Vis-A- Vis Directive Principles by Justice V.R. Krishna Ayer

The present book gives an universally applicable formula for the removal of various inconsistencies and dichotomies between fundamental rights and directive principles, and provides complete information and up-to-date law with regard to present study. The first part of this book deals with the historical background and present position. The second part comprises in itself the detailed study of each and every fundamental right vis-a-vis directive principles along with comparative table of relevant fundamental rights of foreign nations, constitutional positions of articles 31B and 31 C and inter se relations between fundamental rights and directive principles as a whole. The third part covers within its purview the basic and fundamental principles the social justice and the human rights and various impediments in the advancement of principles of social justice and human rights within the constitution.

The uniqueness of the book is that it has given enormous importance on Article 31C. social legislations including 24th Constitutional Amendment Act, 25th

Constitutional Amendment Acts, late Mrs. Indira Gandhi's 20 Point Programme hinge on article 31C and 9th Schedule of the Constitution of India .

Author wrote " Article 31B was first introduced by 1st Constitutional Amendment Act. It validated certain laws that without Article 31A none of the acts and regulations specified in 9th schedule or any provisions thereof shall be deemed to be void.

Although the constitutional validity of this provision was upheld continuously in Sajjan Singh, Shankari Prasad , Golaknath cases and Keshavananda Bharati case.

In the case of Minerva Mills Ltd., vs Union of India , it was told that Article 31B was conceived together with Article 31A as part of the same design adopted to give protection providing for acquisition or an estate or any rights therein. Modern Indian Political Thought , Vikash Publishing House,

(28) Coalition Politics in India: Problems and Prospects Mahendra Prasad Singh, Anil Mishra, Manohar, 2004

With the replacement of the dominant party system in India, minority and/or coalition governments in New Delhi have become the order of the day. Except for the Congress minority government of P.V. Narasimha Rao and National Democratic Alliance government of Atal Behari Vajpayee, all such governments since 1989 have been unstable. Yet instability apart, coalition governments have been effective in enhancing democratic legitimacy, representativeness and national unity. Major policy shifts like neo-liberal economic reforms, federal decentring, and grass roots decentralization, in theory or practice, are largely attributable to the onset of federal coalitional governance. Coalition governments in states and at the centre have also facilitated gradual transition of the Marxist-Left and the Hindu-Right into the political establishment, and thus contributed to the integration of the party system as well as the nation. The same major national parties which initially rejected the idea of coalition politics have today accepted it and are maturing into skilled and virtuoso performers at the game. In a rather short span of over a decade, India has witnessed coalition governments of three major muted hues: (a) middle-of-the-road Centrist Congress minority

government of P.V. Narasimha Rao, going against its Left of Centre reputation, initiated neo-liberal economic reforms in 1991; (b) three Left-of-Centre governments formed by the Janata Dal-led National/United Front; and (c) two Right-of-Centre coalition governments formed by the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance under Atal Behari Vajpayee, a votary of secular version of Hindu nationalism. In the wake of the decline of Congress dominance, the fragmentation of the national party system and the emergence of party systems at the regional level have turned India into a chequered federal chessboard. The past and likely future patterns of coalition governments in New Delhi are suggestive of at least three models of power sharing: (a) coalition of more or less equal partners, e.g. the National Front and the United Front, (b) coalition of relatively smaller parties led by a major party, e.g. National Democratic Alliance; and (c) coalition of relatively smaller parties facilitated but not necessarily led by a prime minister from the major parties formed in 2004 around the Indian National Congress, avowing secular Indian nationalism. The fifteen papers in this book analyse the various dimensions of coalition government at the Centre and in some of the states of the Indian federation against the background of a theoretical framework that seeks to integrate coalitions among parties, castes and communities and tribes, as well as classes at electoral, parliamentary, and cabinet levels. The fifteen papers in this book analyse the various dimensions of coalition government at the Centre and in some of the states of the Indian federation against the background of a theoretical framework that seeks to integrate coalitions among parties, castes and communities and tribes, as well as classes at electoral, parliamentary, and cabinet levels.

(29) The Oxford Companion to Politics in India: Student Edition Paperback – 7 Oct 2011 by *Niraja Gopal Jayal (Author), Pratap Bhanu Mehta (Author)*

That a diverse country like India has succeeded for over half a century as a thriving democracy raises many questions about the relationship between cultural diversity and social and economic inequality; the robustness of some institutions and the weakness of others; the negotiation of political space, ideologies, and identities by the state, political parties, and civil society; the

capacity of the state to redistribute wealth and alleviate poverty; and the perceptions of India on the global stage. The Oxford Companion to Politics in India provides answers through the most comprehensive survey of the Indian political system till date. The depth and breadth of issues covered range from elections to economic reforms; business and politics to redistribution and social justice; coalition politics to judicial activism; and foreign policy. The 38 incisive essays, written by well-known experts, have proved to be invaluable to students and teachers of political science, sociology, journalism, history, and public administration, as well as general readers. This paperback edition, with a new Preface, revisits the enduring debates in Indian politics that will make this already popular text more accessible to students and scholars.

(30) Bharatiya Janata Party : Periphery to centre by C.P.Bhambri. Delhi : Shipra Publications, 2001

The central question of this book seeks to address is "how have the forces of Hindutva become powerful in the decades of 1980s and 1990s while they were always marginal during the 1950s, 1960s, and even in 1970s. Given the determinedly secular and quasi socialist policies that had emerged through the unraveling of what Rajni Kothari has called the congress system (with its skilled leadership, institutional resources, historical legitimacy, internal coalition, cross sectional mobilization, patron client arrangements, and agenda coherence), through factional infighting, defections, and policy failures. Some have looked at the rising tide of regionalism provoked by parochial parties courting ethnic, regional, primordial sentiments through traditional means. Others have examined the instabilities inherent in the post Congress "post charismatic anxieties". Other have looked at the world wide phenomena of religious fundamentalism skillfully orchestrated in India by a group of activities who were able to channel the myths, symbols, and shibboleths of Hinduism into a political message of chest thumping machismo, cultural pride and Aryan dynasty (quoted in the website)

(31) Rise of the Plebeians?: The Changing Face of the Indian Legislative Assemblies (Exploring the Political in South Asia), 9 Mar 2009

Christophe Jaffrelot (Editor), Sanjay Kumar(Editor)

The review of this book is written following Ajay K. Mehra (in UNDERSTANDING THE EMERGING CONTOURS OF INDIAN POLITICS , MAINSTREAM WEEKLY , OCTO. 2, 2010)

and is quoted freely by me .According to Mehra the book analyses the question of 'mirror representation' in the State Legislative Assemblies and whether (and if yes how and to what extent) it is changing the power balance and political equations in States. It also unravels the policy impact of the growing 'politics of presence' at a nodal point of democratisation of the Indian society and polity. Taking caste as the key variable, as compared especially with class, the book studies 'how India's caste-based social diversity translated into politics in a dynamic perspective, over more than 60 years, at the State level'. 'Mirror representation' is neither proportionate as yet, nor uniform across States, yet the rules of the political game are not the same now, they appear to have been changing since the 1970s and are decidedly different now, whether or not the 'plebeians', the phrase used by the editors to describe the rise of the 'lower castes', have wrested power. The 'politics of presence' has also visibly impacted the 'politics of accommodation', or Centrism, as the Rudolphs have termed it. The volume consisting of rich data and quantitative analysis indicates that the process of democratisation in India, though stable and functional, has also been slow and incremental.

This analytical narrative of the 'Rise of the Plebeians' in India brings out an uneven and unanticipated process through which the social (or caste) composition of the representatives to the Legislative Assemblies in States from various regions across the country is getting transformed. In the Hindi belt the focus is on Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar; Punjab, in the northwestern region; on Rajasthan and Gujarat; in the Deccan plateau on Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh; in the areas populated by the Adivasis such as Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh; the Communist-ruled States West Bengal and Kerala; Himachal Pradesh and the NCT of Delhi; and finally, Tamil Nadu where this transformation began early. Aside from analysing the data,

chapters focusing on each of the above mentioned States trace the trajectory of the historical development of caste dynamics in Legislative Assemblies. The emerging narrative brings out the interface between the 'upper castes', OBCs and the Dalits and maps the shift from the predominance of the upper castes to the newly emerging dominance of the OBCs and Dalits. The crucial element that emerges is a new pattern of a dynamic social coalition, wherein each coalitioning segment is crucial for the other in the new power game.

(32) A new phase of the polity (article) , The Hindu , 22 May 2014

In a series of articles over the next few days, The Hindu presents findings of the National Election Study 2014, a post-poll survey coordinated by Lokniti, Programme for Comparative Democracy at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi. The overview of the series by Suhas Palshikar talks about the five markers of this critical election

In this paper Prof. Suhash palshikar says that in the second decade of the post-Congress polity (1999-2009), elections at last began to produce majorities. The ruling coalitions remained comfortably in power for entire tenures, and by 2009, one of the two main contenders managed to inch ahead of the other in terms of seats and votes. Following that trend, Elections 2014 have firmly pushed the polity back into the era of single-party majority. The post-Congress polity has taken a firmly non-Congress route.

Second, the outcome of 2014 is likely to transform the terms of trade between "national" and State parties. Through the 1990s we witnessed the rewriting of the terms of power-sharing between the two larger parties on the one hand and the many State-level parties on the other. Except for their reach, the distinction between "regional" and "national" parties almost disappeared.

Palshikar further asks : Will that change now? Of course, there is a remarkable stability to the votes and seats shared by non-Congress and non-BJP parties amidst the political upheaval of 2014. However, the roles and leveraging capacity of the State parties will undergo a change. As the structure of competition gets transformed, State-level parties will face their biggest challenges in the coming

years. Some parties have emerged, if not stronger at least intact mostly thanks to their alliance with the BJP. Some others have withstood the rise of the BJP and held on to their own strength.

But it is clear that the ruling party will no more require a coalition arrangement to come to power, Palshikar thinks. In a sense, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) now becomes redundant. Sure enough, the BJP will not immediately dump its partners. But in the absence of their relevance for the survival of the government, NDA partners will have lost much of their shine.

Besides, State parties will now be pushed back to the corner of their respective States. None of them will have much of a say in the so-called national affairs of policy, or in power-sharing. Their assertiveness will be limited to the matter of Central aid to their respective States. This leaves a huge vacuum in terms of the oppositional space. But previously Palshikar along with Yogendra Yadav says that states and state politics now assume a more significant position in national politics.

THE emerging scenario of Indian politics has two variations in the context of social coalitions and the politics of the coalitioning social components. First, its political manifestation moderates political ideologies, facilitating alliances between contradictory and even conflicting social forces. Second, the rise of intermediary castes and classes creates a social class balance in the economic field as well as an economic dynamics that impacts political alliances and party programmes.

Jaffrelot underlines the pattern in the Hindi belt in a well-articulated Introduction: 'In all these States, the proportion of the upper-caste MLAs has steadily declined from about 40-55 per cent in the 1950s to about 25-35 per cent today whereas the share of the OBC grew from 10-20 per cent to about 20-40 per cent.' The rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has signalled the meteoric rise in the representation for the Dalits. However, there has been a significant change in the assertive Dalit-bahujan alliance. While in 1993 there were no upper-caste MLAs in the BSP, by 1998 15 per cent of the party's MLAs were from the 'upper castes' including Brahmins, and in 2007, which is not covered in this volume, the

BSP supremo transformed the bahujan into sarvajan with great effect. Jasmine Zérinini notes in the chapter on UP: 'The rise in the upper-caste MLAs had been achieved at the expense of SCs whose share in the party's representation in the Assembly had gone down to 30 per cent.' This is what I have referred to as the shift to 'sarvajan'. However, it is still unclear as to whether it is a strategic election-driven shift or an ideological one replacing the BSP's anti-Brahmin rhetoric expressed in the 'bahujan' slogan.

The Deccan Plateau has had a different political dynamics from the Gangetic plain. It has observed the 'unchallenged rule of dominant castes' who have been the rich farmer class. No wonder the emergence of regional parties with their support, such as the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in Andhra Pradesh, has led to investment of the agricultural surplus in the new emerging avenues in the film, hospitality and construction industries rather than the old established sectors of industries. The TDP could thus forge an alliance between the upwardly mobile backward castes (40-50 per cent of the State's population) and the dominant kamma caste to great effect till the 2004 elections.

(32) Indian Politics and Society since Independence: Events, Processes and Ideology , Bidyut Chakrabarty , Routledge, 2008

ISBN0415408679

Focusing on politics and society in India, this book explores new areas enmeshed in the complex social, economic and political processes in the country. Linking the structural characteristics with the broader sociological context, the book emphasizes the strong influence of sociological issues on politics, such as social milieu shaping and the articulation of the political in day-to-day events. Political events are connected with the ever-changing social, economic and political processes in order to provide an analytical framework to explain 'peculiarities' of Indian politics. Bidyut Chakrabarty argues that three major ideological influences of colonialism, nationalism and democracy have provided the foundational values of Indian politics.

Structured thematically and chronologically, this work is a useful resource for students of political science, sociology and South Asian studies

(quoted in the website)

(33) India Today: Economy, Politics and Society (Politics Today) Hardcover- 26 Oct 2012

by Stuart Corbridge(Author), John Harriss

Twenty years ago India was still generally thought of as an archetypal developing country, home to the largest number of poor people of any country in the world, and beset by problems of low economic growth, casteism and violent religious conflict. Now India is being feted as an economic power-house which might well become the second largest economy in the world before the middle of this century. Its democratic traditions, moreover, remain broadly intact.

How and why has this historic transformation come about? And what are its implications for the people of India, for Indian society and politics? These are the big questions addressed in this book by three scholars who have lived and researched in different parts of India during the period of this great transformation. Each of the 13 chapters seeks to answer a particular question: When and why did India take off? How did a weak state promote audacious reform? Is government in India becoming more responsive (and to whom)? Does India have a civil society? Does caste still matter? Why is India threatened by a Maoist insurgency? In addressing these and other pressing questions, the authors take full account of vibrant new scholarship that has emerged over the past decade or so, both from Indian writers and India specialists, and from social scientists who have studied India in a comparative context.

India Today is a comprehensive and compelling text for students of South Asia, political economy, development and comparative politics as well as anyone interested in the future of the world's largest democracy.

When India was invented as a "modern" country in the years after Independence in 1947 it styled itself as a secular, federal, democratic Republic committed to an ideology of development. Nehru's India never quite fulfilled this promise, but more recently his vision of India has been challenged by two "revolts of the elites": those of economic liberalization and Hindu nationalism. These revolts have been challenged, in turn, by various movements, including those of India's "Backward Classes". These movements have exploited the democratic spaces of India both to challenge for power and to contest prevailing accounts of politics, the state and modernity.

Reinventing India offers an analytical account of the history of modern India and of its contemporary reinvention. Part One traces India's transformation under colonial rule, and the ideas and social forces which underlay the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly in 1946 to consider the shaping of the post-colonial state. Part Two then narrates the story of the making and unmaking of this modern India in the period from 1950 to the present day. It pays attention to both economic and political developments, and engages with the interpretations of India's recent history through key writers such as Francine Frankel, Sudipta Kaviraj and Partha Chatterjee. Part Three consists of chapters on the dialectics of economic reform, religion, the politics of Hindu nationalism, and on popular democracy. These chapters articulate a distinct position on the state and society in India at the end of the century, and they allow the authors to engage with the key debates which concern public intellectuals in contemporary India.

Reinventing India is a lucid and eminently readable account of the transformations which are shaking India more than fifty years after Independence. It will be welcomed by all students of South Asia, and will be of interest to students of comparative politics and development studies.

(34) Coalition Types and Economic Reform in UPIASI Web site
India in Transition
2010 Center for the Advanced Study of India and the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

About IIT

India in Transition (IIT), allows scholars from all over the world, the opportunity to exchange various analyses and innovative ideas about India's current status and growth. A complete archive of issues is maintained here.

IIT presents brief, analytical perspectives on the ongoing transformations in contemporary India based on cutting-edge research in the areas of economy, environment, foreign policy and security, human capital, science and technology, and society and culture. A Hindi translation accompanies each published article and can be found on CASI's Web site along with related online resources.

Coalition Types and Economic Reform E. Sridharan (Article)

October 9, 2012

Sridharan raises a pertinent question : Can coalition governments in India be stable? And if so, can they undertake economic reforms and, more generically, policies that have short-term political costs but only long-term benefits? And if they do so, can they remain stable? The withdrawal from the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition government of its second-largest constituent, the Trinamul Congress of West Bengal led by Mamata Banerjee, in September 2012, over policy announcements of reduction of fuel subsidies to tackle the fiscal deficit and liberalization of foreign direct investment, sharply poses these questions.

Sridharan remains concerned about stability of the coalition government. On coalition government stability in general and in India, the literature indicates that on average, the more the number of parties and the less their ideological connectedness, the less stable the coalition. By type of coalition, single-party majority governments are more durable than minority and/or coalition governments on average (and/or since coalition governments can be minority governments too). If we disaggregate by type of minority and/or coalition government, single-party majority governments are on average the most stable, worldwide, followed by majority coalitions, more so than minority governments,

whether coalition or single party. Within majority coalitions, minimal winning coalitions – those that have the minimum necessary number of parties, not necessarily legislators, for a majority – are found to be more stable than surplus majority coalitions, or those that have more parties than necessary for a majority. However, if one changes the literature's standard definition to one in which the exit of entry of parties does not change the coalition if the leading party remains the same, then surplus majority coalitions would be more stable on average.

(35) Coalition Politics in India

Selected Issues at the Centre and the States

E. Sridharan (Ed.)

Publisher:

Academic Foundation

India is in an era of coalition politics in which state politics plays a major role. This compact book breaks new ground in empirical discoveries about the basis of stable coalitions in Indian states, and also theorises the viability of multi-party coalition governments at the national level in comparative perspective, and examines the dynamics of competition and coalition formation. It consists of two chapters on national-level coalitions and five chapters on states that have had significant experience of coalition politics—West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab, Maharashtra and Bihar. All chapters are based on extensive data collection and interview-based fieldwork with political actors. The key findings are summarised in the concluding chapter, that is, there is a clear pattern across states to the stability of coalitions at the state level over time, and consists of two central factors—stable pre-electoral seat-sharing and portfolio-sharing arrangements.(quoted from website)

(36) Why the Rise of Regional Parties Isn't So Bad

Adam Ziegfeld

October 11, 2010 **India in Transition 2010**, Center for the Advanced Study of India and the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

Over the past fifteen years, the rise of regional political parties has been one of the most important trends in India's electoral politics. Whereas, thirty years ago, these parties were marginal players on the national scene, today, they are fixtures in national-level governments. Most observers have greeted the rise of regional parties with suspicion; one source of concern is the belief that regional parties reflect narrow regional identities that threaten the integrity of the Indian state. A second concern is that regional parties are thought to bring about instability. However, the evidence in support of both claims is slim, suggesting that the negative influence of regional parties may be overstated.

Regional parties are, furthermore, not to blame for ushering in the coalition era. Congress' decline and the fracturing of the old Janata Party ensured that no single party could win a majority on its own. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the beneficiaries of Congress' electoral losses were national parties, the BJP and Janata Dal, not regional parties. The rise of regional parties in the 1990s did not truly begin until well after Congress' decline and the advent of the coalition era. Though coalition politics has certainly benefited regional parties, they were not the ones to bring it about.

Coalition government is not inherently destabilizing. Multi-party coalitions offer stable governance in a number of countries; however, in many of these countries, ideological considerations keep instability at bay. For instance, a conservative religious party is unlikely to bring down a center-right government since the party's voters might punish it for joining a center-left coalition or for helping to bring such a government to power. In India – where personalism, caste loyalties, patronage, and vote-buying often figure into elections – such ideological considerations are rarely at play. As a result, parties can credibly threaten to quit one alliance and join hands with another without fear that the electorate will

punish them for their ideological inconstancy. Parties have no reason not to foment instability since they rarely pay a price at election time. Thus, the sources of India's instability, particularly in the 1990s, have not been regional parties, but rather coalition politics in a context in which policy debates and ideological considerations do not drive electoral politics. Regional parties are not responsible for this state of affairs; they have simply exploited it.

(37) The making of a 'neo-Hindu' democracy

SUHAS PALSHIKAR

Here Palshikar contrasts the dominant two party system in two decades. Actually Jeffrelot, Yogendra Yadav, Sanjay Kumar, Irfan nooruddin, Vora, Zoya Hassan, belong to same genre. While they have interpreted BJP's Hindutva politics differently, but the contents and tenor are basically same.

The following footnotes given in this article "The making of a neo Hindu democracy", i.e.,

1. Suhas Palshikar, 'The Defeat of the Congress', *Economic and Political Weekly* 49(39), 27 September 2014, pp. 57-63.
2. Suhas Palshikar and K.C. Suri, 'India's 2014 Lok Sabha Elections: Critical Shifts in the Long Term, Caution in the Short Term', *Economic and Political Weekly* 49(39), 27 September 2014, pp. 39-49.
3. Yogendra Yadav, 'The Elusive Mandate', *Economic and Political Weekly* 39(51), 18 December 2004, pp. 5383-98 and Suhas Palshikar, 'Majoritarian Middle Ground?', *Economic and Political Weekly* 39(51), 18 December 2004, pp. 5426-30.
4. S. Palshikar, *ibid.*, p. 5427.
5. Pradeep Chibber and Rahul Verma, 'The BJP's 2014 "Modi Wave": An Ideological Consolidation of the Right', *Economic and Political Weekly* 49(39), 27 September 2014, pp. 50-56.

6. Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar, 'From Hegemony to Convergence: Party System and Electoral Politics in the Indian States, 1952-2002', *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy* 15(1&2), 2003, pp.5-44.
7. Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, 'Neo-Hinduism: Case of Distorted Consciousness', in Jayant Lele and Rajendra Vora (eds.), *State and Society in India*. Chanakya, Delhi, 1990, pp. 213-243.
8. Suhas Palshikar, 'Cleansing Gandhi of Radicalism', *Indian Express*, 7 October 2014, <http://epaper.indianexpress.com/351651/Indian-Express/07-October-2014#page/11/2> etc., **amply corroborates my contention .**

He first looked at the election outcome. Three things strike even a casual observer. One, ever since the Congress party government of Rajiv Gandhi was defeated, a single party majority government has come to power for the first time. Two, even if, as is often the case under the first past the post (FPTP) system, the BJP got 'only' 31 per cent of the votes, this is the highest any party has polled after 1991. Three, and perhaps most crucially, the main opposition of the BJP, the Congress, finds itself hopelessly marginalized and demoralized. Together, these three features make the outcome of the 16th Lok Sabha election not only dramatic but full of possibilities. On the one hand, they indicate the arrival of a political dispensation that may become the new centre of competitive politics. On the other, they suggest that the nature of political competition itself will change. But just as these two developments craft a dominant party system once again, they also contain a possibility that the nature of India's democracy would alter in a major way.

Traditional wisdom about India's politics revolved around the Congress party; even the political strategy of most parties invariably centred on that party. This is best evidenced by the long life of the politics of 'non-Congressism', which emerged originally in the sixties and continued in the seventies. Much of the coalition making since 1989 to 1999, too, was a continuation of non-Congressism. That Congress-centric political calculation and political analysis is now likely to get a burial. In this sense, the outcome of the general election of 2014 has inaugurated a new phase of Indian politics.

For some time now, analysts have written about the decline of the Congress and the halting rise of a 'post-Congress' polity. That process of change has now culminated in the rise of the BJP. Ironically, this is not so much because the BJP won the election (which it indeed did), but more the manner in which the Congress lost! Going down to a historic low in terms of both seats and votes (44 and 19 per cent respectively) and getting wiped out in most states (including even seemingly invincible strong-holds like Andhra and Maharashtra), the defeat of the Congress marks a paradigmatic change in India's politics.¹

These developments have given rise to a new centre of competitive politics – the BJP. Before we turn to the question of just how durable the BJP victory may be, we need to appreciate that all assembly elections following the parliamentary election of April-May 2014 are likely to have the BJP as a central factor. Assembly elections in both Haryana and Maharashtra in October 2014 have indicated this trend. In Jharkhand and Bihar, the BJP is already a major player, and looks forward to gaining power on its own. In Jammu and Kashmir too, the BJP is set to replace the Congress and, thereby, change the inter-community and inter-region balance in the state.

The real weak spot of the BJP, traditionally, has been its rather narrow catchment area, garnering votes mainly from the upper castes and some OBC sections. This was already attended to in the last general election. Despite the huge upper caste support that the BJP received in the 2014 election, it would be incorrect to accuse the party of being 'a party of *only* upper caste/class' voters. Its support was rather impressively spread across the OBCs, adivasis and scheduled caste voters, and also across the lower income groups.² So, in all likelihood, the BJP will occupy a central place in competitive politics, smaller parties would gravitate towards it, state parties would not be willing and/or able to put up a real alternative and the fragmented and disunited opposition is likely to further magnify the dominance of the BJP.

The emergence of such a dominant force does not merely signify the changing nature of competitive politics, it also indicates that the emerging political dominance is likely to be based on more durable changes in the normative basis

of politics. While the failings of the UPA government and the Congress party contributed to the 2014 outcome, the BJP victory is indicative of long-term processes rather than merely contingent factors. In a sense, the interregnum of around twenty-five years since 1990 is the period during which many characteristics of the earlier Congress system were displaced and a new consensus shaped.

The nineties witnessed intense contestation over three issues. One was the claim of the backward classes to power, another was the shift towards a more market oriented economy, and the third was the issue of religio-cultural basis of national identity. Of these three, the issue of economy was rather quietly set aside as most parties chose to adopt the same approach to economic policy during that period, the difference being one of scale, style and emphasis rather than the basic approach. On the other hand, the issue of OBC claims proved to be more durable and complicated.

Over the years, the meaning of democracy has shifted from a consensual and accommodative approach to an exclusionary and militant assertiveness. Compared to 2004, a substantially larger population has tilted towards a majoritarian position today. In 2004, 35 per cent respondents could be identified as majoritarian⁴ while in 2014 it has gone up to 52 per cent (author's calculation based on data from NES 2014, CSDS Data Unit). Though there is a sizable presence of majoritarian voters among Congress too, the BJP attracts a greater proportion of majoritarian voters. It has also been argued that socially conservative voters are more likely to vote for the BJP.

More substantively, the new normative regime is poised to popularize a political imagination that would have a majoritarian emphasis as its basis. The majoritarian shift we mentioned above is relevant in this respect. The Jan Sangh always nursed the ambition to shape India's political personality around such majoritarianism. Its ideological position was characterized by two dimensions – one, a deep-seated suspicion of diversity and minorities and two, a fluctuating belief in conservative Hindu tradition as the ideological basis for Indian nationalism. Precisely the same claims are now emanating, not so much through

formal efforts by the party and government but through scattered initiatives emanating from outside. Already, in the short time since the last parliamentary elections, claims have been made about 'all residents of India' being Hindus, and yet it has been argued that non-Hindus should not be allowed to participate in the Navaratri celebrations. Above all, we see the unleashing of a harsh rhetoric on inter-religious marriages. Such signals about boundary maintenance and a majoritarian construction of culture and nation intimate the arrival of a new hegemony.

These are all symptoms of a neo-Hindu ideological manoeuvre. It is 'neo-Hindu' in the sense that it does not always follow religious orthodoxy but nevertheless resorts to it occasionally; it conveniently draws on Hindu religious tradition and symbolism, but moves away from the traditional culture and religiosity if tactically required. Rather than following only Guruji Golwalkar, it draws heavily on the nationalist vision of Savarkar. It is also neo-Hindu in the sense that its main votaries are the non-Brahmanical castes – mostly the OBCs. It mixes the modern nationalist imagination with popular belief in a glorious past and in Hindu mythology, and it adopts a militant, confrontationist posture vis-à-vis perceived adversaries of Hindu nationalism.

For decades, India has been a conservative democracy governed by the upper caste notables coming from the urban bourgeoisie, the landowning aristocracy and the intelligentsia. The democratisation of the 'world's largest democracy' started with the rise of peasants' parties and the politicisation of the lower castes who voted their own representatives to power as soon as they emancipated themselves from the elite's domination. In Indian state politics, caste plays a major role and this book successfully studies how this caste-based social diversity gets translated into politics.

This is the first comprehensive study of the sociological profile of Indian political personnel at the state level. It examines the individual trajectory of 16 states, from the 1950s to 2000s, according to one dominant parameter—the evolution of the caste background of their elected representatives known as Members of

the Legislative Assembly, or MLAs. The study also takes into account other variables like occupation, gender, age, caste, voting pattern, voting behavior, historical trends of voting, over and above the coalition governments.

As stated, I have made use of a number of sources while preparing the research methodology for the study: (i) reference literature; (ii) research periodicals; (iii) abstracts; (iv) government documents; (iv) monographs; (vii) newspapers and (viii) computer generated reference materials for the identification, selection and cultivation of related literature.

I have studied a number of research periodicals and journals which have provided in-depth ideas about recent developments in the socio-political situation of our country. These are dependable sources for reports on recent research studies. In India many periodicals are published by some authors and institutions which have provided wide circulation of researches in political science and exchange of experience among research scholars, teachers and others interested on Indian politics and Constitution of India. Abstracts have provided me brief summaries of the contents of the research studies or articles and serves one of the most useful reference guides for me and keep me abreast of the work being done related my field of research. Many professional journals, research surveys, news papers and pamphlets published in India and abroad have provided me excellent sources of information about my research. Government documents and monographs are also major sources of information. They include official records, court judgments and legislative decisions.

In the dissertation, **Coalition Politics and the Issues of Social Justice**.... I have made use of maximum references of news papers, magazines and periodicals. I found **The Hindu Businessline** very useful in studying coalition politics although this is basically and economic new paper. Also I have made use of a number of sources while preparing the research methodology for the study: (i) reference literature; (ii) research periodicals; (iii) abstracts; (iv) government documents; (iv) monographs; (vii) newspapers and (viii) computer generated reference materials for the identification, selection and cultivation of related literature.

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3.1 Importance of Survey and Review of Related literature

The review of related literature has acquainted me with the current knowledge of the field in which I have conducted the research. It has provided me the theoretical and empirical framework from which the topic of my study has been derived. The review has eliminated the risk of duplication of what has been done. It has helped me as a researcher to define the scope of the study and limit it. The study of research literature has updated my knowledge on the results of the work. This background information has enabled me to state and formulate the objectives and hypotheses of research study. The comprehensive review of the related literature has given me a scope to investigate the role of coalition politics in India since 1977 in terms of the governments initiative to implement the "Directive Principles of State Policy " so as to do full social justice to each individual of India. The study of related literature has given me an understanding leading to the research methodology.

A careful review of the related literature reflected in research journals, books, dissertations, theses, newspapers and other sources of information on the topic of the research study to be investigated is one of the important steps in the

planning of my research study. It would have not been possible for me to plan my research study if I failed to study and review the books and articles related to it.

3.2 Meaning and importance of Hypothesis

Hypothesis is the presumptive state of a proposition or an intelligent guess, based on the available evidence, which researcher seeks to prove through a study or investigation that the ensuring study may lead either to its rejection. The hypothesis is precisely defined as a tentative or working proposition suggested as a solution to a problem.

Hypothesis is formulated only as a suggested solution to the problems with the objective that the ensuring study may lead either to its rejection or to its retention. It helps us to locate and identify the variable involved in the study and suggest me to do logical procedures that are to be employed in the conduct of the study.

The role of hypothesis is consisted to be utmost importance. It provides direction to the research. It helps us in realizing the objective of study and also in determining type of the data needed in the conduct of research. It helps us to relate relevant facts and variables that we need in the study. Hypothesis provides a basis for selecting the research design and data analysis techniques. It also helps us to delimit the study with respect to number of variable and area of investigation.

Hypothesis provides rational statements, which guide us in the tentative explanation of facts and phenomena. "Such explanations lead to generalizations if held valid after testing". Hypothesis helps us provide basis for reporting the conclusion of the study. Hypothesis are the product of considerable speculation and imaginative guess work based on available literature, experience, and research evidence. Hypothesis should be formulated that it can be tested or verified. Such a hypothesis enables us to determine whether those consequences that are derived deductively, actually occur or not. If the hypothesis is not

testable or verifiable, it would be impossible either to contradict it and hence it help us to draw conclusions.

3.3 Hypothesis Formulated on the Research Study

(a) The British Colonial Rule in India was one of exploitation and oppression. The people of India were ruthlessly exploited and inhuman treated. They were denied even minimum rights to live in their own lands as human beings. They were hated as inferior to the Europeans and never treated on a footing of equality. The British colonialism had a damaging impact on Indian traditional social and educational system. It appeared to the Indians not only economically ruinous but also politically unjust. The Indian political thinkers during the British rule in India voiced against ruthless British exploitation. They called for country's freedom from the colonial rule to secure justice to Indians.

(b) The Preamble to the Indian Constitution is the declaration of the framers of the constitution to continue the country's sustained effort to secure to all Indians social, economic and political justice to uproot equality through socialism, to preclude discrimination on the religious ground through secularism and to establish democracy through unrestricted people's participation in politics. We should not stick to the view that the Preamble is a mere borrowing from the Irish Constitution into the Constitution of India because every Constitution begins with a Preamble. The Preamble is added to our constitution with definite aims and objectives to ensure social justice to Indians which they were deprived by the British imperialism. It is regarded as the key to unlock the minds of the framers of the Constitution and is expressive of the dreams of a new order they had been dreamt of for years. Hence the Preamble is a very significant part of the Constitution of India.

(c) The 'Directive Principles of State Policy', though not enforceable in the court of law is considered to be fundamental as guiding principles for making and administering laws. The principles as enunciated in the Directive Principles are regarded as the ideal or goal of free India and aim at combining political justice with economic and social justice. This combination will pave the way for India to

secure an egalitarian society. The “Directive Principles of State Policy” constitutes very comprehensive political, social and economic programmes for India. The Central government and the state governments have taken various measures to implement a large number of the Directive Principles and much remains to be done to establish a social order based on social and economic justice.

(d) The Constitution of India upholds the dignity of the individual by guaranteeing certain fundamental rights to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed, religion, sex, etc. The Fundamental Rights have helped to a great extent, in the consolidation of democratic principles and roused the political consciousness of the people.

(e) Public Interest Litigation, a distinctive innovation by the Supreme Court, aims at ensuring social justice. It has been playing significant roles in protecting the rights of the individual against the executive and against oppressive legislation. Hence PIL is intended to ensure basic human rights, constitutional as well as legal to those who are in a socially and economically disadvantaged position on account of poverty, disability or other special economic impediments. On the basis of PIL the area of judicial intervention has been immensely widened.

(f) Free Legal aid Services constitute a very effective way to the guarantee of legal justice to the poor, helpless women and other eligible persons of India. This provision aims at legal justice as a step towards social justice.

(g) Coalition politics has introduced a new political situation—a situation to secure political, social and economic justice to people. Over the last two decades the coalition government has launched several programmes which aim at keeping directly the problems of poverty, unemployment, disease and illiteracy. If coalition politics succeeds in consolidating its political ground, many more directive principles are expected to be implemented as the attempt to ensure social justice to people. Coalition politics, despite its weakening impact on the stability of government has acted as positive force leading the Union government to implement a large list of Directive Principles.

Hypotheses on the Study :

- 1) The Directive Principles of State Policy as enunciated in our Constitution are designed to promote all- round welfare of the people of India , especially of women , farmers , daily wagers. The programmes and schemes already launched in India aim at poverty alleviation , women empowerment, health security, social security and social justice.
- 2) Several programmes launched and introduced by the Central Government as well as by state governments since the dawn of coalition politics in India have substantially contributed to the social and economic development of people especially of those who are socially, educationally and economically backward.
- 3) Pro- people programmes introduced and being implemented draw their inspiration from the Directive Principles of State Policies. Coalition Politics in India may be called a significant event in the line with the government's special emphasis on socio -economic , socio cultural and socio - educational uplift of the weaker sections in the country.
- 4) Coalition Politics led and is also leading the central as well as the state governments to adopt programmes from time to time with the aim to remove inequalities from our social life and thus to ensure social justice to all.
- 5) Many schemes launched by the Central Government as well as by the state governments have paved the way for the guarantee of people's basic rights of which a section of people have long been deprived.
- 6) There have been some schemes and programmes already implemented , which provide legal justice to people who were otherwise unable to get justice from the court of law.
- 7) Many programmes and schemes which have already been announced by the Central Government as well as the state governments are welcomed and greatly appreciated because those

will , if properly implemented , usher in a new era of equality and justice in our social and political life.

- 8) Almost all welfare programmes and schemes which are implemented , being implemented and announced are based on the Directive Principles of State Policies. They have strengthened human rights and given many articles of the directive principles legal validity and constitutional status.
- 9) The implementation of many articles of the Directive Principles through the government's programmes and schemes directed towards social welfare leads to the solidification of Indian socialism and the removal and banishment of many social evils like casteism , racialism , communalism, etc from our society.
- 10) The Government has already introduced a number of programmes and schemes for minorities which have strengthened secularism and the secular character of the country.
- 11) Some programmes to combat illiteracy and to provide , compulsory education to all children not only increased the rate literacy but also ensures education to all. This has been stated in our Directive Principles.
- 12) The programmes already introduced need to be kept from the ambit of narrow politics.

3. 4 Data Collection and Data Analysis

Data collection is an indispensable of the researcher. He is to collect data or evidences from reliable sources. The information or materials which the researcher collects are correctly structured. They need to be analyzed and validated to establish the hypothesis.

As a researcher, I have collected relevant books from libraries , materials from reliable sources like magazines and research journals on economic , sociology , political science and laws , news papers and studied those carefully to strengthen and update my knowledge of the area of research study.

Besides government documents and reports , judgments of Supreme Court , views of judges of the Supreme Court on the meaning , implication, role , importance and value of the Preamble to the Constitution, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy in redressing social, political, human and economic justice to the people of India. The Constitution of India under the headings of Preamble, the Fundamental Rights, and the Directive Principles of State Policy has laid emphasis on building up an egalitarian society and on the concept of socio economic justice and also on minimization of social disparity among people of all classes and communities. The materials which I have so far collected and studied validate that important social security , poverty alleviation and social welfare measures which are being implemented by various Ministries and Departments of Government of India , state government and civil society.

The data or evidences which I have collected shed light on the poor and pitiable conditions of children and women in the Indian society. In the words of Ram Ahuja –“ Women in India have been victims of humiliation , torture and exploitation for as long as we have written records of social organization and family life”. This is the real picture of the condition of our women in society. The government of India has made laws to ban torture on and social injustice to women.

Law has been framed to proscribe child labour and enactment has been made to provide education free of cost to all children of India. Sarva Siksha Mission (SSA= Education for All) is a national programme intended to provide education to all children . The Right to Education (RTE) Act, enacted in 2009 gave a statutory base for providing education. Many other welfare programmes to render social justice to all have been launched as parts of the implementation of the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Indian National Food security Act 2013 is an important implementation of Directive Principles to ensure the provision of subsidized food grains and the Supreme Courts’ recognition of the transgender as the third gender) April 15, 2014) is one of the most remarkable judicial decisions to protect their rights as human beings. I have discussed this in details in separate chapters in this research study.