

Constitutional Provisions for Inclusive Development of SCs, STs and OBCs in India: An Assessment

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ABSTRACT:

The constitutional provisions and safeguards for SCs, STs and OBCs are evaluated in this article based on qualitative research. The issues of inequities based on gender, religion, region and caste were not properly addressed for the expansion of social and economic opportunities for women and weaker sections of Indian society. The rulers have not promptly implemented the constitutional provisions in education, social, economic and political sectors of national life. There are signs that our privileged classes are getting tired of the affirmative action provided by Constitutional provisions. The edifice of our democracy would be like a palace built on dung heap, as pointed out by Ambedkar. The other side of inclusive development in the wake of the economic liberalization in India is not properly understood by the stakeholders of development. Certain analytical and operational issues associated with inclusive development are not properly addressed by the stakeholders of development.

Preamble

The founders of independent India had dreamt of achieving social and economic democracy in the post-independence era. The Constitution of India was framed with a view to make India a true welfare state. Specific safeguards in the constitution were incorporated for the uplift of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) communities in India. The Central and State Governments have formulated specific policies and implemented several programmes to fulfill the constitutional obligations in free India in order to achieve inclusive development of SCs, STs, OBCs, minorities and other vulnerable sections. The Constituent Assembly passed some of the provisions and safeguards after series of debates and discussions for the empowerment of the disadvantaged Indians.

The Drafting Committee headed by great champion of social justice and economic democracy Baba Saheb Ambedkar had consciously drafted the Constitution of India which contains several provisions and safeguards for the welfare and progress of the weaker sections. The Constitution came into effect from the 26th January, 1950. The Constitution of India is the basic and supreme law of our country. It, however, governs almost all the aspects of our social life. It constitutes India into a sovereign socialist secular Democratic Republic and pledges to secure for the entire citizens, including SCs, STs and OBCs, justice, liberty

and equality. It is, therefore, certain measures in the form of Constitutional safeguards are enshrined in the Constitution of India for those who were deliberately deprived of justice, liberty and equality since time immemorial. The constitutional provisions and safeguards for SCs, STs and OBCs are evaluated in this article based on qualitative research.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR SCs, STs AND OBCs

Broadly speaking, the Indian Constitution contains several provisions for the development of SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities who constitute the community of marginalized sections of India. Prominent articles include - Article 340 for OBCs, Article 341 for SCs, Article 342 for STs, etc. Though the Constitution does not make specific provisions for OBCs, as per the Article 16(4), it empowers the State to make provisions for reservation in education and employment in favour of any backward class / classes of citizens of the country.

The founding fathers of the Constitution decided to secure social, economic and political justice for all citizens. They analyzed that the inequitable forces embedded in the socio-economic system and also political organizations, had resulted in deprivation and disadvantages for the poor and weaker sections of the society., like Article 46, which embodied the new policy, its messages of hope for millions of our citizens hitherto neglected. Out of Article 46 flow all safeguards or weaker sections including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Thorat, 2006:14).

Article 46: Promotion of educational and economic interests of SCs, STs and OBCs — The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

SOCIAL SAFEGUARDS

Equality before Law

The State shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

Article 15:

Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth—

- (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, .
- (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to—
 - (a) Access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or
 - (b) The use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of general public.
- (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.
- (4) Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes]

Article 16:

Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment—

- (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.
 - (2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State.
 - (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to class or classes of employment or appointment to an office [under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory] prior to such employment or appointment.
 - (4) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State
- 4(A) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which in the opinion of the States, are not adequately represented in the services under the State.
- (1) Nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination.

Article 17: Abolition of Untouchability

Abolition of Untouchability— Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

RIGHTS AGAINST EXPLOITATION

23(1) Traffic in human beings and beggary and other similar forms of forced labor are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

25(2)(b) Providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

UNTOUCHABILITY AND ATROCITIES

There was no uniform Central Act for this purpose for the country as a whole. In pursuance of Article 17 of the Constitution, the Untouchability (Offences) Act, was passed by the Parliament in 1955 which came into force with effect from 1st June, 1955 repealing all the State enactments. The Central Act prescribed punishment for the practice of 'Untouchability', for the enforcement of any disability arising there from and the matters connected therewith. Ever since it came into force, it was felt that the Act was not serving its purpose and the punishment provided in it was few and inadequate. Therefore, the Protection of Civil Rights

Act, 1955 was enacted in 1976 to re-name and amend the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 with comprehensive amendments by making the punishments under this Act more stringent and offences non-compoundable. The machinery for the enforcement of this Act has been suitably strengthened by the setting up of special cells, special courts, mobile squads, provision of legal aid etc.

The law to punish the untouchability offences as proclaimed under Article 17 of the Constitution took more than five years to arrive showing disregard to the urgency attached to it by the founding fathers of the Constitution. Even the amendments of the Act after a period of 17 years, are not exhaustive. It is not possible to exhaustively catalogue all instances, of behavior which come within the ambit of 'untouchability'. One of the innovations of the Act is that every year the Central Government is required to place on the table of each house of the Parliament, a report on the measures taken by itself and by the State Governments in pursuance of the mandate contained in section 15(A)2 and (3)

The enforcement of PCR Act in terms of cases registered, disposed of at different stages and levels from the police to the courts and convictions, is not adequate. Very few States have taken seriously the establishment of special courts as per clause (iii) of Section 15(A)(2), preferably mobile special courts. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 which was brought into force from 30.1.1990, is not very effective in spite of implementation machinery and special courts etc. This Act requires serious implementation including establishment of exclusive special courts with exclusive special judicial and investigative and prosecuting officers, all carefully selected for proven sensitivity to social justice and liberation from caste-based.

Bonded Labour

Article 23, prohibits traffic in human beings and beggar and other similar forms of forced labour. In pursuance of this provision the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 was enacted after a lapse of 26 years in 1976, with a view to abolishing this evil practice and making the offences under this Act punishable. Majority of the bonded labour belong to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities. Under Centrally Sponsored Programme launched in 1978-79 grants-in-aid is provided to the State Governments/U.T. Administration on matching (50:50) basis, for identification, liberation and rehabilitation of the bonded laborers. The scheme envisages provision of rehabilitation grant up to ceiling limit of Rs. 10,000 per freed bonded laborer, half of which is given as Central share. The State Governments have been advised to suitably dovetail, the Centrally Sponsored Scheme with other anti-poverty and employment generation programmes so as to pool the resources available under different schemes in order to ensure effective rehabilitation of released bonded laborers. This Act is not adequate enough to identify and liberate all bonded laborers in the country particularly in the tribal areas. The Act requires amendments so as to provide more stringent punishment for the offences.

EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC SAFEGUARDS FOR SCS, STS AND OBCS

The various safeguards under this head as contained in, Article 15(4), 16(1)(4)(4A), 29(2), 46 and 335 are discussed below:

15(4) Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.

16(4) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

29(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

SPECIAL GRANTS UNDER ARTICLE 275

Article 275(1) provides that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants-in-aid of the revenues of State such capital and recurring sum as may be necessary to enable that state to meet the cost of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the state with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of scheduled tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that state. During the Eighth Five Year Plan Rs.54,000 lakh was released to the State Governments under this provision. The amount released during 1997-98, 1998-99 and 1999-2000 (upto Jan., 2000) was Rs. 25,000 lakh. A similar provision exists in the Article for paying such special grants to the States covered under the Sixth Schedule of the Consolidated Fund of India'

OTHER SAFEGUARDS

Article 330

Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People—

(1) Seats will be reserved in the House of the People for—

(a) the Scheduled Castes;

(b) The Scheduled Tribes except the Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam; and

(c) The Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam.

(1) The number of seats reserved in any State 6, or Union territory for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes under clause (1) shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats allotted to the States 6 or by the Constitution (Eighty-first Amendment) Act, 2000 Subs. by the Constitution (Fifty-first Amendment) Act, 1984, s. 2, for sub-clause (b) (w. e. f. 16-6-1986.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (2), the number of seats reserved in the House of the People for the Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam shall bear to the total number of seats allotted to that State a proportion not less than the population of Scheduled Tribes in the said autonomous districts bears to the total population of the State].

Article 332

Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States—

(1) Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, [except the Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam], in the Legislative Assembly of every State 10 (2) Seats shall be reserved also for the autonomous districts in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Assam. (3) The number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of any State under clause (1) shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats in the Assembly as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or part of the State, as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved, bears to the total population of the State.

The number of seats reserved for an autonomous district in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Assam shall bear to the total number of seats in that Assembly a proportion not less than the population of the district bears to the total population of the State. The constituencies for the seats reserved for any autonomous district of Assam shall not comprise any area outside that district¹³. No person who is not a member of a Scheduled Tribe of any autonomous district of the State of Assam shall be eligible for election to the Legislative Assembly of the State from any constituency of that district.

Article 334:

Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after 14[sixty years] Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, the provisions of this Constitution relating to—

- (a) the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States; and (b) the representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States by nomination, shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of 14[sixty years] from the commencement of this Constitution:
- (b) Provided that nothing in this Article shall affect any representation in the House of the People or in the Legislative Assembly of a State until the dissolution of the then existing House or Assembly, as the case may be.

Article 335:

Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts— The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State. Provided that nothing in this Article shall prevent in making of any provision in favour of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for relaxation in qualifying

Article 338:

National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Schedule Tribes— See the Constitution (Sixty-fifth Amendment) Act, 1990 under the heading Central Acts constituting National Commissions for Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Originally Article 338 of the Constitution (amended in 1990) provided for a Special Officer known as the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution and to report to the President on their working. It was felt that a high level five-member Commission under Article 338 will be a more effective arrangement in respect of the Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes than a single Special Officer.

Article 340:

Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of Backward Classes—

- (1) The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made, and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.
- (2) A Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.
- (3) The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of Parliament.

In the beginning, the term 'Backward Class' had included all backward class citizens i.e. SC.STs, OBCs. It was used subsequently at different levels to include backward castes that are entitled to protective discrimination policies and programmes. The implementation of the report of Mandal Commission by the Central Government headed by late V.P.Singh paved the way for 27% of reservations to OBCs in educational and economic sectors. Until 1985, the affairs of Backward Classes were looked after by the Backward Classes Cell (BCC) in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Supreme Court of India in Indira Sawhney and Others vs. Union of India (1992) gave a historical judgment and directed the Government of India, State Governments/ UT Administrations to constitute the National Commission of Backward Classes and provide 27 % reservation in services. The court also ordered that a permanent body should be established to draw up the list of backward communities and decide the quantum of reservations as per demographic notations. Accordingly, the National Commission of Backward Classes Act was enacted in 1992 and the commission was set up in 1993. Thus, after 46 years of independence of the country, the Backward Classes or OBCs got recognition as a Separate Class for the purpose of in the GOI and Public Sector Undertakings.

All these safeguards have, apparently, been provided to facilitate the implementation of the Directive Principle contained in Article 46 of the Constitution. The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The matters relating to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and Minorities were transferred to the new Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in 1998. The ministry also looks after matters relating to two institutions set up for the welfare of OBCs: National Backward Classes Finance and Development Corporation (NBCFDC) and the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC). The 73rd and 74th amendments gave reservation to women in Panchayat Raj. ‘Quota within Quota’ was given to Dalit, Adiwas, OBC, Muslims, and NT women. These constitutional safeguards have, apparently, been provided to facilitate the implementation of the Directive Principle contained in Article 46 of the Constitution. The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND PROVISIONS

The builders of Indian Republic and founding fathers of our Constitutions had considered it necessary to provide specific safeguards in the constitution for the uplift of SCs, STs and OBCs in India. Reservation is indeed the means of setting aside a certain percentage of seats vacancies in educational institutions, government institutions and legislative institutions for the members of weaker sections in modern times. The scholars and advocates have strongly advocated the need for protective discrimination as well as affirmative action. Studies have revealed that most of the constitutional safeguards and provisions are not promptly implemented through affirmative policies and actions in the post-independence era.

The economic incentives to accelerate the growth of the economy are not effective in view of inadequate public involvement in the provision of basic education, health care, social security and related fields. The fostering of fast and participatory economic growth requires some basic social changes which are not properly addressed by liberalization and economic incentives (Dreze and Sen, 1995:03). The issues of inequities based on gender, religion, region and caste were not properly addressed for the expansion of social and economic opportunities for women and weaker sections of Indian society.

The rulers have not promptly implemented the constitutional provisions in education, social, economic and political sectors of national life. They have made the lives of SCs, STs, OBCs, minorities, women, children and other marginalized sections of society highly miserable in the post-independence era. Former President of India Narayanan (2000:06) had called upon the policy makers and other stakeholders of national development to do serious introspection about the challenges that lie ahead of them. It reads: “Fifty years into our life in the Republic we find that Justice - social, economic and political - remains an unrealized dream for millions of our fellow citizens. The benefits of our economic growth are yet to reach them. We have one of the world’s largest reservoirs of technical personnel, but also the world’s

largest number of illiterates; the world's largest middle class, but also the largest number of people below the poverty line, and the largest number of children suffering from malnutrition. Our giant factories rise from out of squalor; our satellites shoot up from the midst of the hovels of the poor. Not surprisingly, there is sullen resentment among the masses against their condition erupting often in violent forms in several parts of the country. Tragically, the growth in our economy has not been uniform. It has been accompanied by great regional and social inequalities. Many a social upheaval can be traced to the neglect of the lowest tier of society, whose discontent moves towards the path of violence. Dalits and tribals are the worst affected by all this. In parts of rural India forms of sadism seem to be earmarked for Dalit women. From the time of Draupadi our womenfolk had been subjected to public disrobing and humiliation as a means of vendetta – individual, social or political. For Dalit women it has become a common experience in rural areas, but what is astounding is that it has been extended as one of the methods of ragging in our elite colleges and universities. We have to ponder over the condition of not only women in our society, but of the Dalits, the tribals and other weaker sections. Untouchability has been abolished by law but shades of it remain in the ingrained attitudes nurtured by the caste system. Though the constitutional provision of reservation in educational institutions and public services flow from our Constitution, these provisions remain unfulfilled through bureaucratic and administrative deformation or by narrow interpretations of these special provisions. It seems, in the social realm, some kind of a counter revolution is taking place in India. It is forgotten that these benefits have been provided not in the way of charity, but as human rights and as social justice to a section of society who constitute a big chunk of our population, and who actually contribute to our agriculture, industry and services as landless laborers, factory and municipal workers. There are signs that our privileged classes are getting tired of the affirmative action provided by Constitutional provisions. On this Golden Jubilee I would like to say that let us not get tired of what we have provided for our weaker sections, for otherwise as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out, the edifice of our democracy would be like a palace built on dung heap”.

The economic growth is more pro-poor in some states of Indian Republic. The country will witness greater landlessness which would entail the poor share less in the gains from economic growth. The peasants, workers and women are yet to become literate, healthy and well fed in order to be strong and energetic and enjoy the benefit of inclusive development. The suggestion given by World Bank remains on paper with respect to development of human capital and combining human resource development with policies promoting economic growth. The urban India is attracting the enterprises due to the new policy of economic liberalization, better infrastructure, civic amenities, local product markets, technological spillovers and other factors (Datt and Ravallion, 2000:02). There are more number of people who are below the poverty line in the rural India. The India of the privileged league (IPL) is shining but the India of the below the poverty line (BPL) is sinking because of the apathy of the ruling class and market forces towards the marginalized sections of India.

The downtrodden sections of society are deprived of social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity as enshrined in the Constitution of India mainly due to

the political conspiracy hatched by the dominant powers in the country after independence (Srivastava, 2000:10).

The prevalence of large scale differences has arisen from caste, ethnicity, religion and other group identities. The state shall pay the social debt by designing appropriate remedial policies through better understanding of various forms of discrimination in multiple spheres and their consequences (Thorat, 2006:14).

The other side of inclusive development in the wake of the economic liberalization in India is not properly understood by the stakeholders of development. A huge gap between the privileged and under-privileged sections of society in respect of production, income, and consumption distribution patterns still exists (Suryanarayana, 2008:13). The state, judiciary and civil society have failed to facilitate inclusive development of backward sections of the society. The dominant judicial opinion is based itself on the premises which are not in accord with the principles of justice (Srivastava, 2008:09).

Certain analytical and operational issues associated with inclusive development are not properly addressed by the stakeholders of development. The poverty alleviation, employment generation and development of social capital are far below the expectations (Rauniyar and Kanbur, 2010:08). The state has failed to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India in order to facilitate their inclusive development (Kethineni and Humiston, 2010:05). The economic power rests with a precious few who control the national economy by virtue of caste power and cash power in the post-independence era. The demographic dividend that the country can reap would become a demographic liability (Baranwal, 2012:01). The privileged minority which comprises about 15% of national population controls 85% of national wealth which demands re-distribution of power and resources for inclusive development. The scholar cautioned that the

The governments regardless of political affiliations have failed to ensure their social, educational and economic development (Sudrania, 2012:11). The failure of trickle down argument has envisaged that the fruits of development will automatically reach to the lowest rung of ladder i.e. weaker and vulnerable sections of society (Verma and Singh, 2012:15). The country has achieved commendable progress economically but failed to achieve inclusive development of the marginalized sections of society. The agriculture is extremely important for inclusive growth, since a large majority of the Indian population is dependent on farming (Nehal, 2013:07).

The efforts of government to ensure reduction of poverty, creation of employment opportunities, access to civic amenities and empowerment of weaker sections have not succeeded due to absence of good governance and prompt implementation of development programmes across the country (Thorat and Dubey, 2013:15). The participation of SCs, STs and OBCs in production (employment), income generation and consumption expenditure is not encouraging. The extent of mainstream inclusiveness is less than that of the subgroup for the STs, SCs and the OBCs in India. The inclusiveness of the poorest in the Indian mainstream growth process is still a forlorn hope. The post-reform growth has not led to a relative betterment of the deprived sections of the society due to non-compliance with the

constitutional provisions and international guidelines of inclusive development (Suryanarayana and Das, 2014:12).

In India, certain social groups such as the SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities have historically been remained as disadvantaged and vulnerable. The Constitution of India contains several safeguards, provisions and methods for the inclusive development of all sections of the society including the marginalized sections in India. The inclusive development demands that all social groups have equal access to the services provided by the State and equal opportunity for upward economic and social mobility. It is also necessary to ensure that there is no discrimination against any section of our society. But the question is how to make the safeguards and provisions effective in order to bring the SCs, STs and OBCs to the level of other sections of society (Guru et. al, 2015:04).

CONCLUSION

The constitutional provisions are not translated into realities in the post-independence era mainly due to lack of organized struggle by Dalits and absence of political will on the part of the dominant powers which rule the country. A case for Bhim Rajya is emphasized by progressive Dalit thinkers and activists in India. The dream of establishment of welfare society and achievement of inclusive development of SCs, STs and OBCs cannot be actualized if the constitutional provisions are not implemented by all the stakeholders of social justice, economic equity and inclusive development in India.

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