
UNIT 4 IMPACT OF SCIENTIFIC CULTURE AND GLOBALIZATION ON THE DALITS

Contents

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Scientific World-View and Culture
- 4.3 The Challenge of Enlightenment
- 4.4 The Impact of Globalization on Dalits
- 4.5 Economic Globalization and India
- 4.6 Cultural Impact of Globalization on India
- 4.7 Education for the Dalits
- 4.8 Philosophy of Liberation
- 4.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.10 Key Words
- 4.11 Further Readings and References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To familiarise the students with the impact of scientific culture or temper and globalisation on the life of Dalits.
- To see the liberating potential in scientific way of life and globalisation as an economic and cultural phenomenon.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The word Dalit has been defined differently by different people. Normally non-Dalit writers and intellectuals have invented its root in Sanskrit and considered its meaning as broken, crack, split and as adjective, they have given this word the meanings of burst, split, broken or torn asunder, downtrodden, scattered, crushed, destroyed etc. But for Dalits the meaning of this word is qualitatively different. The word was popularised by the Dalit Panther Movement, when they adopted this term as an act of confident assertion, rejecting Mahatama Gandhi's nomenclature of Harijan, children of God. Dalit Panthers defined this word in their 1972 manifesto as: "A member of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, neo-Buddhist, the working-people, the land-less and poor peasants, women, and all those who are being exploited politically, economically, and in the name of religion." Noted Dalit Laureate Gangadhar Pantawane comments: "Dalit is not a caste, Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution. The Dalit believes in humanism." In this unit, we first see the scientific culture and then study the impact of globalization (including democracy and education) on the life of Dalits.

4.2 SCIENTIFIC WORLD-VIEW AND CULTURE

Our worldview can knit together various notions, and therefore understanding a worldview requires analysis of its component parts. Stripped to its minimum, a scientific worldview consists

strictly of falsifiable components. Such a worldview, based solely on ideas that can be tested with empirical observation, conforms to the highest levels of objectivity but is severely limited in utility. The limits arise for two reasons: first, many falsifiable ideas cannot be tested adequately until their repercussions already have been felt; second, the reach of science is limited, and ethics, which compose an inevitable part of any useful worldview, are largely unfalsifiable (AAAS 1990).

Seen thus it relieves people of the dogmatism and fundamentalism of organized religion or any other domineering system, which has traditionally played a central role in defining the status, role and dignity of human beings. The basic tenets of scientific culture are as follows: The World Is Understandable, Scientific Ideas Are Subject To Change, Scientific Knowledge Is Durable and Incomplete, Science Demands Evidence, Science Is a Blend of Logic and Imagination, Science Is Not Authoritarian, Science Is a Complex Social Activity, Generally Accepted Ethical Principles.

To conclude this section we may hold that scientific culture and temper enables one to respect humans as humans, irrespective of their origin, birth, religion and culture. In this sense, scientific temper has led to humanism and humanistic ideals, which does not allow any human being to be exploited on account of their class, caste or gender.

Check Your Progress I

Note: Use the space provided for your answer

1. Name three tenets of scientific world-view.

.....

2. What is meant by saying that “science is a complex social activity.”

.....

4.3 THE CHALLENGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

In our culture, the aftermath of the scientific revolution spilled over into a new movement known as the Enlightenment, centered particularly in France but with adherents throughout the Western world. Enlightenment thinkers continued to support scientific advance. The 18th-century Enlightenment may be represented as a new way of thinking about mankind and the environment. The main proponents of this intellectual movement, the philosophers, were primarily men of letters - men like Voltaire, John Locke, Denis Diderot, Barol de Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau - but their views can be traced back to the scientific revolution of the previous century. The discoveries of Galilee Galileo, Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton in

physics and cosmology revealed a universe that was infinite, yet governed by universal laws that could be discovered by the human intelligence.

The philosophers were convinced that all creation was similarly rational, so that it was possible for man to uncover laws which regulated society, politics, the economy, and even morality. Once understood these laws would teach mankind not only what we are, but what we ought to be and do. The Enlightenment tried to apply the scientific methods to the study of human society, sketching the modern social sciences. The basic idea here was that rational laws could describe social as well as physical behaviour, and that knowledge could be used to improve policy. More generally still, the Enlightenment produced a set of basic principles about human affairs. Human beings are naturally good and can be educated to be better. Reason was the key to truth, and religions that relied on blind faith or refused to tolerate diversity were wrong. Enlightenment thinkers attacked the Catholic church with particular vigour. Progress was possible, even inevitable, if people could be set free. Society's goals should center on improvements in material and social life. Enlightenment thinkers showed great interest in technological change, for greater prosperity was a valid and achievable goal. Coercion and cruelty could be corrected, for the Enlightenment encouraged a humanitarian outlook that was applied in condemnations of slavery and war.

The Enlightenment, summing up and extending earlier intellectual changes, became an important force for political and social reform. And it ushered in a new vision of the future, which forecast the end of absolute monarchy. Philosophers of the Enlightenment thought they had discovered a simple formula for perpetual human happiness. They sought to deliver individuals from restraints so that they could act freely in accordance with their natures. On the one hand, the formula promised that pursuit of self-interest would benefit society; on the other, it promised that a free human reason would produce sound moral judgments. In other words, individual freedom permitted the operation of natural laws. Believing they had learned these laws, eighteenth-century rationalists thought they had found the secret of never-ending progress.

Respect for rational philosophy was largely derived from the successes and popularity of science. The surprising discoveries of astronomers produced a new view of the individual's place in the universe; in his law of gravitation, Newton supplied mathematical evidence for their perspective. His laws, along with the other laws of science, suggested that human reason operated effectively only when it was interpreting sensory experience. Material reality was accepted as the only reality. Therefore, the natural laws affecting human society were also considered as basically materialistic (Lewis 1992). So the Enlightenment challenged the absolute domination of the human body, mind, and spirit of human beings (Lewis 1992).

From the evils of 'despotism, feudalism, clericalism' the main people of the Revolution adapted the watchword of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', drawing on notions from the Philosophers and the Enlightenment. Many important documents of the Revolution (The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1793, the short-lived French Constitution of 1791 and indirectly the Indian Constitution of 1950) owe debt to the enlightenment (ThinkQuest). Such a world-view that enlightenment definitely challenges the society to treat the Dalits with respect. Since enlightenment places the worth of human beings on his reason and not on their birth, it is easy to see how Dalits can benefit from such an attitude.

4.4 THE IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DALITS

Globalisation is the new buzzword that has come to dominate the world since the nineties of the last century with the end of the cold war and the break-up of the former Soviet Union and the global trend towards the rolling ball. The frontiers of the state with increased reliance on the market economy and renewed faith in the private capital and resources, a process of structural adjustment spurred by the studies and influences of the World Bank and other International organisations have started in many of the developing countries. Also Globalisation has brought in new opportunities to developing countries. Greater access to developed country markets and technology transfer hold out promise improved productivity and higher living standard. But globalisation has also thrown up new challenges like growing inequality across and within nations, volatility in financial market and environmental deteriorations. Another negative aspect of globalisation is that a great majority of developing countries remain removed from the process. Till the nineties the process of globalisation of the Indian economy was constrained by the barriers to trade and investment liberalisation of trade, investment and financial flows initiated in the nineties has progressively lowered the barriers to competition and hastened the pace of globalisation, which is both economic and cultural.

Check Your Progress II

Note: Use the space provided for your answer

1. Who were some of the pioneers of Enlightenment?

.....

.....

.....

2. Name some of the negative factors of globalization.

.....

.....

.....

4.5 ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION AND INDIA

India opened up the economy in the early nineties following a major crisis that led by a foreign exchange crunch that dragged the economy close to defaulting on loans. The response was a slew of Domestic and external sector policy measures partly prompted by the immediate needs and partly by the demand of the multilateral organisations. The new policy regime radically pushed forward in favour of a more open and market oriented economy (Balakrishnan 2004).

Major measures were initiated as a part of the liberalisation and globalisation strategy in the early nineties. It included scrapping of the industrial licensing regime, reduction in the number of areas reserved for the public sector, amendment of the monopolies and the restrictive trade practices act, start of the privatisation programme, reduction in tariff rates and change over to market determined exchange rates.

Over the years there has been a steady liberalisation of the current account transactions, more and more sectors opened up for foreign direct investments and portfolio investments facilitating entry of foreign investors in telecom, roads, ports, airports, insurance and other major sectors.

The liberalisation of the domestic economy and the increasing integration of India with the global economy have helped step up GDP growth rates, which picked up from 5.6% in 1990-91 to a peak level of 77.8% in 1996-97. Growth rates have slowed down since the country has still been able to achieve 5-6% growth rate in three of the last six years. Though growth rates has slumped to the lowest level 4.3% in 2002-03 mainly because of the worst droughts in two decades the growth rates are expected to go up close to 70% in 2003-04. A Global comparison shows that India is now the fastest growing economy just after China.

This is major improvement given that India's growth rate in the 1970's was very low at 3% and GDP growth in countries like Brazil, Indonesia, Korea, and Mexico was more than twice that of India. Though India's average annual growth rate almost doubled in the eighties to 5.9% it was still lower than the growth rate in China, Korea and Indonesia. The growth in GDP growth has helped improve India's global position. Consequently India's position in the global economy has improved from the 8th position in 1991 to 4th place in 2001 (Balakrishnan 2004).

Despite this progress, poverty remains one of the most serious international challenges we face. But the proportion of the world population living in poverty has been steadily declining and since 1980 the absolute number of poor people.

In short, economic globalisation has intensified interdependence and competition between economies in the world market. This is reflected in Interdependence in regard to trading in goods and services and in movement of capital. As a result domestic economic developments are not determined entirely by domestic policies and market conditions. Rather, they are influenced by both domestic and international policies and economic conditions. Therefore, economic globalisation is a two-edged sword: while it is beneficial sometimes, it can also cause devastating harm, particularly to the Dalits.

4.6 CULTURAL IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON INDIA

Democratic Spirit

One of the positive significant features of globalisation is the spread of democratic ideas, not merely in the running of the state, but also in daily activities. In general the term “democracy,” refers to a method of group decision making characterized by a kind of equality among the participants at an essential stage of the collective decision making. Truly, democracy concerns

collective decision making, by which decisions that are made for groups and that are binding on all the members of the group (Christiano 2006).

The equality required by the definition of democracy may be more or less deep. It may be the mere formal equality of one-person one-vote in an election for representatives to an assembly where there is competition among candidates for the position. Or it may be more robust, including equality in the processes of deliberation and coalition building. "Democracy" may refer to any of these political arrangements. It may involve direct participation of the members of a society in deciding on the laws and policies of the society or it may involve the participation of those members in selecting representatives to make the decisions.

Authority and equality are important in exercising democracy. It is assumed that failing to obey the decisions of a democratic assembly amounts to treating one's fellow citizens as inferiors. And this approach establishes the authority of democracy by claiming that the inequality involved in failing to obey the democratic assembly is the most important form of inequality. It is more important to treat persons as equals in political decision making on this account than it is to treat them as equals in the economic sphere. The idea is that citizens will disagree on how to treat each other as equals in the areas of substantive law and policy. It is the purpose of democracy to make decisions when these disagreements arise. Democracy realizes a kind of equality among persons that all can share allegiance to even when they disagree about many matters relating to substantive law and policy. Since democracy realizes equality in a highly public manner and publicity is a great and egalitarian value, the equality realized by democracy trumps other kinds of equality (Christiano 2006).

The conception of democracy as grounded in public equality provides some reason to think that democratic equality must have some pre-eminence over other kinds of equality. The idea is that public equality is the most important form of equality and that democracy, as well as some other principles such as liberal rights, are unique realizations of public equality. The other forms of equality in play in substantive disputes about law and policy are ones about which people can have reasonable disagreements. So the principle of public equality requires that one treat others publicly as equals and democracy is necessary to doing this. Since public equality has superiority over other forms of equality, citizens have obligations to abide by the democratic process even if their favored conceptions of equality are passed by in the decision making process.

Of course, there will be limits on what citizens must accept from a democratic assembly. And these limits, on the egalitarian account, must be understood as deriving from the fundamental value of equality. So, one might think that public equality also requires protection of liberal rights and perhaps even the provision of an economic minimum (Christiano 2006).

Globalization as a cultural phenomenon, we welcome, not as an economic exploitation. Another related byproduct of globalization is respect and tolerance of others in their own uniqueness. This is especially applicable to religion, where every religion is respected and none is considered superior. So applying the principles of free market, each one is encouraged to choose the religion of his or her choice. Such an approach respects religious freedom of both religions as well as the individuals.

4.7 EDUCATION FOR THE DALITS

One factor, connected with scientific culture and globalisation, which benefits Dalits is education. Some of those who study development see education as a means of improving social welfare through economic means. Education expands the knowledge of possibility to poor individuals, and is often a necessary factor in providing incentive to escape poverty and social oppression.

Development projects focused on increasing access to basic education, rather than ones that increase capital to improve current levels of education, ensure government is able to know that the benefits of these programs are experienced by all, rather than a select few. The rates of return for primary education exceed those of secondary and university levelled education. It is therefore of greater value for governments to focus first on increasing access to primary education before moving onto to increase levels of education. By focusing development on a human-capabilities approach, governments and aid organizations are able to increase the number of people with the fundamental skills of reading writing and arithmetic. Such skills allow individuals to communicate, argue, count, and problem solve so that they are able to become more aware and in control of their own lives. This allows them to better deal with problems in their everyday lives including taking a loan out from the bank, defending them in a court of law, escaping unhealthy personal relationships or avoiding jobs which would expose them to unsafe working conditions. Even the value of holding a basic education is in itself a frequently overlooked asset. Education has had an independent effect on life expectancy, increasing the age for educated individuals (Fraser 2010).

Need for Dalit Education

The 1991 census of India reported that Dalit communities were one of the least literate social groups in the country, with only 30% of Dalit children recognized to have basic reading and writing skills (Nambissan 1996). These high levels of illiteracy are a result of insufficient access to primary education. Reasons proposed for this low primary education rate amongst the Dalits have ranged from blaming family values to universal acceptance of social behaviour. In reality, it is a history of constant oppression and missing incentives that have been the reason why India's lowest caste has struggled to take advantage of public education programs.

For centuries, the Dalit population of India were forbidden from gaining access to education. Originally reserved for upper castes only, the denial of conventional education to Dalits was designed to prevent them from increasing their quality of life and to highlight caste divisions. Then, during the 1850s, the British began the long process of increasing the accessibility of education to all citizens on India (Fraser 2010).

Signed in April of 1850, the Caste Disabilities Removal Act theoretically abolished all Indian laws which challenge the rights of those who are members of any caste or religion. This was the first step towards social equality within India. It was also the beginning of a series of attempts to increase accessibility to education for members of the Dalit caste. To coincide with the signing of the act, the Indian education system became accessible to every member of society. However, one hundred and sixty years after the Dalits were granted permission to attend schools, the

primary education rates of the Dalit population compared to those of upper castes remain as low ever.

A historical back-drop of mistreatment and class hierarchies has provided little incentive for the Dalits to pursue education. Throughout the 1800s and into the mid 1940s, conditions for Dalit children within the Indian education system were very poor. Due to discrimination from higher castes, the Dalits did not feel comfortable attending schools. Dalit children were required to sit outside the school, listening on the veranda while those in higher castes would be taught inside. Teachers, who refused to touch the Dalit children even with sticks, would throw bamboo canes as undeserved punishment while children of other castes were permitted to throw mud. The Dalit children, who knew retaliation would result only in increased abuse, would be essentially scared into not attending school. Of the limited number of Dalit children who were attending school, the majority were male; a trait which continues even today (Fraser 2010).

The 1948 independence of India prompted an increase in responsibility for the government to promote the economic and educational interests of the lower castes and to protect the Dalits from social injustices and exploitations. The 1950s saw improvements in the number of schools being built in India, as well as the amount of money being allocated towards primary education programs. The efforts being put forward by the government lost momentum over the next few decades however, as the rate of primary schools being constructed slipped from 5.8% in the 1960s, to 2.1% during the 1970s, and eventually down to only 1.3% through the 1980s (Nambissan 1996). This was complemented by a shift in funding from primary school education to middle school education.

Between 1983 and 2000, improvements in access to education for all of India have been made, although the difference between education rates for Dalits, especially females, and those in higher castes remained constant. In the seventeen year period, enrolment rates for Dalit boys grew from only 47.7% to a meagre 63.25%. When compared to those males in upper castes, enrolments jumped from an already relatively impressive 73.22% to 82.92%. Even poorer results were observed when looking at the female Dalit enrolment rate, which inched from 15.72% to 32.61%, when compared to their upper-caste counterparts whose enrolment climbed from 43.56% to 59.15% (Desai & Kulkarni). The education gap can also be understood to translate through the entire schooling system, with the proportion of Dalit to non-Dalit success remaining at a constant low rate through primary, secondary, and post-secondary schooling. Although large improvements have been made to increase enrolment rates in India, statistics show that there has been little progress in decreasing the education gap between castes.

Development Programs for Education

When discussing methods which seek to improve enrolment rates, it is important to analyze which circumstances prevent Dalit children from attending school. A family's financial situation plays a role in whether or not they are able to afford to send a child to school. This is a major contributor to low Dalit enrolment rates since Dalits have considerably lower incomes than those in upper castes, and therefore have a hard time paying the basic fees for education. Distance also plays a key role in determining a child's ability to attend school. Because Dalit homes are often located outside of a village, it is more dangerous for Dalit children to travel to and from school

by themselves without risking assault, sexual abuse or abduction. Moreover, teachers at the schools are often members of upper castes who set low expectations for the Dalit children and rarely seek to provide them with a positive learning environment. There are many factors that act as obstacles for Dalits attempting to gain a primary education, and which many development methods have attempted to overcome.

The Indian Government has attempted many different strategies to help increase the incentive to receive education for Dalit children. Earlier strategies focused on finding ways to give Dalit children an education without exposing them to the harshness of upper castes. As time progressed and the caste system began to weaken in India, there was a greater shift towards equalizing society so as to provide safer and more positive learning environments. Since gaining its independence, the Indian government has continued to make progress on improving the quality of life for India's lowest caste.

Often, governments try to bring in international assistance in dealing with a national crisis like severely low primary enrolment rates. Prescribed to the Indian government by the World Bank, the District Primary Education Program (DPEP) was designed to increase primary enrolment rates within India. The goal of the program is to reduce differences in enrolment between gender and social standing to 5%, and to decrease the dropout rate to 10%. The DPEP receives the majority of its funding from the World Bank. It envisages the formation of local committees that oversee the hiring and management of Para-teachers. These Para-teachers are trained teachers hired by the DPEP program to fill growing vacancies in primary schools. They are hired on a short term basis but are offered extended terms as an incentive to perform well. They are a low-cost alternative to permanent teaching staff and their performance is often higher due to increased incentives (Fraser 2010).

A smaller scale, and more capital based approach to development and increasing primary enrolment rates is the allocation of additional textbooks to a community. In developing countries, textbooks are often the only basis for a curriculum in a subject. If a school is not able to purchase its own textbooks, then knowledge resources will be limited. By increasing the amount of textbooks, development projects are attempting to increase the ability of schools to take in more students and they hope that additional resources so that performance in school will increase. Increasing access to text books has assisted in increasing the quality of education despite having little or no impact on enrolment rates.

As Fraser (2010) reminds us, there have been many attempts over the past one hundred and fifty years to help increase the quality of life for the Dalits of India through development focused on enrolment in primary education. Education provides individuals with the means to increase their income and to engage in economic activities. In addition, it can help empower individuals to lobby for social change through political activism. The lack of incentives to pursue education for the Dalits of India can be traced back to a long history of mistreatment and oppression. Still occurring today, caste harassment makes teaching environments unstable for caste children, it places caste homes on the outskirts of towns so that children have greater distances to walk to school, and it economically suppresses the Dalits so that they are unable to pay for their children's education.

Many suggestions, both traditional and modern, have arisen on how to go about resolving issues surrounding Dalit primary enrolment. Night classes and all-Dalit schools provided a safer learning environment for the Dalits, but did not address any issues of caste conflict. Twentieth century policies helped officially decrease some of the animosity and inequality between groups so that the Indian government could have a greater focus on national primary enrolment rates. Larger operations, including the DPEP cooperative project with The World Bank failed to resolve some of the grass-root issues which discouraged Dalits from attending school. Funding increasing supplies of textbooks to Indian schools do not address any of the core reasons as to why dalits are not attending school. Instead of increasing enrolment, additional textbooks only had an effect on increased performance levels. Providing free deworming medication at school has proven successful both in increasing the health of children which prevents absenteeism, and in increasing enrolment levels. Minor increases in incentives for Dalits to pursue primary education have been beneficial, but not sufficient in equalizing the enrolment gap between the Dalits and others. In order for significant progress to be made in increasing the primary enrolment rates of Dalit children, development organizations must continue to explore varying levels of incentives and pursue national social equality in India.

English Education

India is often touted as a “knowledge power.” The role of English education popularised by Lord Macaulay (1800-1859) has significantly contributed to the education of Indians in general and Dalits in particular. English education was introduced by the British with the twin purpose of impressing upon the natives the value of western thought and of preparing them for taking up jobs to assist in the administration of the country. The first protégés were Hindus and there developed a Hindu middle class (Rajesh Kochhar). Moreover, the Indian economy and culture of today is significantly influenced by the English that the British has introduced and which Indians have adopted. It is hoped that English will further contribution to the development of Dalits, since it acts as a means of getting out of their own culture and milieu.

4.8 PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERATION

For the Dalits a philosophy or way of life that promotes respect for human dignity and enhances over all liberation is worth pursuing. Such a philosophy can work miracles in the self-concept of Dalits and the larger Indian population. It may be easier to start our reflection on philosophy of liberation, based on “Liberation Theology,” a movement in the South America around 1950s, interpreting the Christian scriptures through the plight of the poor with Marxist principles. Slowly, Liberation Theology has moved from the poor peasants in South America to the poor blacks in North America. We now have Black Liberation Theology being preached in the black community. It is the same revolutionary, humanistic philosophy found in South American Liberation Theology and has no more claim for a scriptural basis than the South American model has. False doctrine is still false, no matter how it is dressed up or what fancy name is attached to it. In the same way that revolutionary fervour was stirred up in South America, Liberation Theology is now trying to stir up fervour among blacks in America. Coming to the Indian Dalit Christians, some of them have formulated a Dalit theology as a theological reflection rooted in the understanding that God is struggling with the Dalits for their liberation, that He is on their side. It seeks to instill a sense of pride in their identity. (Ambrose Pinto).

Since Liberation and Dalit Theologies can be applied only to Christian communities, some thinkers are focusing on evolving a Philosophy of Liberation, which may be applied all people, irrespective of religions. It stresses on the uniqueness and dignity of human beings, irrespective of their religious background. It also asserts that every social structure, including religion, can have a liberative or enslaving effects on us. It is up to us to discover the liberative potential and to reject the dehumanizing effects of social structures.

Check Your Progress III

Note: Use the space provided for your answer

1. Which was the first step towards social equality in India?

.....

2. What was the purpose of English education in India? Who introduced it?

.....

4.9 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have studied the impact of scientific culture (including enlightenment) and globalisation (democracy, education, etc.) on Dalits.

4.10 KEY WORDS

Globalisation: globalization is the tendency of businesses, technologies, or philosophies to spread throughout the world, or the process of making this happen.

Enlightenment: A philosophical movement of the 18th century that emphasized the use of reason to criticise previously accepted doctrines and traditions and that brought about many humanitarian reforms. Closely connected to humanism and science.

4.11 FURTHER READINGS AND REFERENCES

AAAS "The Nature of Science," Science for all Americans Online accessed from <http://www.project2061.org/publications/sfaa/online/sfaatoc.htm>, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1990.

Balakrishnan, Chandrasekaran. "Impact of Globalisation on Developing Countries and India. For The 2004 Moffatt Prize in Economics" About.com Economics, <http://economics.about.com/od/globalizationtrade/l/aaglobalization.htm>, 2004, accessed December 14, 2010.

- Bob, Clifford. "'Dalit Rights are Human Rights': Caste Discrimination, International Activism, and the 'Changing Educational Inequalities in India in the Context of Affirmative Action.'" *Demography* 45.2 (2008): 245-270.
- Christiano, Tom, "Democracy," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/democracy/>. Accessed Dec 01, 2010.
- Desai, Sonalde, and Veena Kulkarni. "Changing Educational Inequalities in India in the Context of Affirmative Action." *Demography* 45.2 (2008): 245-270.
- Fraser, Erik. "The Dalits of India: Education and Development" 2010 E-international Relations, <http://www.e-ir.info/?p=4474>
- Freeman, James M. *Untouchable: An Indian Life History*. illustrated edition. Stanford University Press, 1982.
- Ilaiah, K. *Buffalo Nationalism : A Critique of Spiritual Fascism*. Kolkata, Mumbai: Samya ; Distributed by Popular Prakashan, 2004.
- Ilaiah, K. *Why I Am Not a Hindu : A Sudra Critique of Hindutva, Philosophy, Culture, and Political Economy*. Calcutta Bombay: Samya ; Distributed by Bhatkal Books International, 1996.
- Ilaiah, K., and Durgabai Vyam. *Turning the Pot, Tilling the Land : Dignity of Labour in Our Times*. Pondicherry: Navayana Pub. : Distributed by IPD Alternatives, Delhi and WestLand Books, Chennai, 2007.
- Kumar, Krishna, Manisha Priyam, and Sadhna Saxena. "Looking beyond the Smokescreen: DPEP and Primary Education in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 36.7 (2001): 560-568
- Lewis, Hackett. "The Age of Enlightenment: The European Dream Of Progress And Enlightenment," http://history-world.org/age_of_enlightenment.htm. 1992. Accessed December 12, 2010.
- Nambissan, Geetha B. "Equity in Education? Schooling of Dalit Children in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 31.16/17 (1996): 1011-1024.
- Psacharopoulos, George. "Education and Development: A Review." *The World Bank Research Observer* 3.1 (1988): 99-116.
- Simon Wigley, and Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley. "Human Capabilities versus Human Capital: Gauging the Value of Education in Developing Countries." *Social Indicators Research* 78.2 (2006): 287-304.