

Ambedkar's Vision of Democracy and Its Role in Inclusive Governance

Tutumani Kalita,

*Research scholar, Barpeta Deptt. of Political Science, Krishnaguru Adhyatmik
Visvavidyalaya*

Abstract

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a key architect of the Indian Constitution, envisioned democracy not merely as a system of governance but as a way of life that promotes social, economic, and political justice. His approach to democracy extended beyond the procedural aspects of elections and representation to include the dismantling of systemic inequalities, particularly those rooted in the caste system. Grounded in the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, Ambedkar's vision aimed to create an inclusive governance framework that ensures the empowerment of marginalized communities. This paper critically examines the theoretical foundations of Ambedkar's concept of democracy, its incorporation into the Indian Constitution, and its practical implications in fostering inclusive governance. It also explores contemporary challenges such as caste-based discrimination, economic inequality, and political polarization that hinder the realization of Ambedkar's ideals in modern India. The study concludes by offering recommendations to address these challenges and highlights the continued relevance of Ambedkar's vision in achieving a just and equitable society.

Keywords

Ambedkar, democracy, inclusive governance, liberty, equality, fraternity, social justice

Introduction

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision of democracy goes beyond the traditional understanding of governance as a mere political mechanism. Ambedkar viewed democracy as a powerful means to create a society founded on justice, equality, and fraternity. He described democracy not just as a system of governance, but as a way of collective living, where individuals share and experience life together (Ambedkar, 1942). This definition highlights the relational and ethical dimensions of democracy, wherein mutual respect and the recognition of individual dignity are foundational.

Ambedkar's democratic ideals were deeply influenced by his lived experiences as a member of the Dalit community, historically marginalized under the caste system. His critique of the caste hierarchy exposed its incompatibility with democratic principles, which he argued must be grounded in liberty, equality, and fraternity. In his seminal work, *Annihilation of Caste*, Ambedkar (1936) asserted that "Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy," further explaining that social democracy entails the principles of justice in all forms of human interaction. Ambedkar thus saw democracy not only as a political process but as a comprehensive framework for social transformation and human dignity.

The Indian Constitution, shaped significantly by Ambedkar, embodies these democratic principles. The inclusion of provisions such as Article 14 (equality before the law), Article 15 (prohibition of discrimination), and Article 17 (abolition of untouchability) reflects his commitment to ensuring the legal and institutional basis for an inclusive society (Austin, 1999). However, Ambedkar was keenly aware of the limitations of political democracy if not complemented by social and economic democracy. In his speech to the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar cautioned against the risks of such an imbalance, noting that while political equality would be achieved, inequality would persist in social and economic spheres. He questioned how long the nation could continue to endure such contradictions (Ambedkar, 1949).

This paper critically analyzes Ambedkar's vision of democracy as a multidimensional concept that integrates political, social, and economic aspects. It examines the theoretical underpinnings of his democratic ideals, their application in governance, and the challenges to their realization in contemporary Indian society. By revisiting Ambedkar's insights, this study underscores their enduring relevance in addressing systemic inequalities and fostering inclusive governance in modern India.

Objectives

1. To critically examine Ambedkar's concept of democracy, emphasizing its theoretical foundations and philosophical underpinnings.
2. To evaluate the extent to which inclusive governance has been implemented in India, with

reference to Ambedkar's vision.

3. To identify the key barriers and challenges in realizing Ambedkar's democratic ideals in the context of contemporary Indian society.
4. To provide actionable recommendations for enhancing inclusive governance in alignment with Ambedkar's principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research approach, relying on secondary data from a range of academic and historical sources, including books, journal articles, speeches, and policy reports. Central to the analysis are Ambedkar's seminal works, such as *Annihilation of Caste* (1936), which outlines his critique of the caste system, and his speeches in the Constituent Assembly, where he articulated his vision for a democratic India. These primary texts provide the theoretical foundation for understanding Ambedkar's conceptualization of democracy. Additionally, the study incorporates contemporary literature to evaluate the relevance and application of his ideas in addressing issues of governance and inclusion in modern India. This methodological framework facilitates a critical exploration of the intersection between Ambedkar's democratic ideals and contemporary challenges in the Indian polity (Rodrigues, 2002; Austin, 1999).

Theoretical Perspective of the study

Ambedkar's philosophy of democracy reflects a synthesis of his engagement with Western liberal thought and his critical analysis of India's entrenched caste system. Influenced by thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Ambedkar expanded the concept of democracy beyond its political and institutional dimensions to include social and economic justice. According to Ambedkar, democracy should embody three fundamental principles:

- * **Liberty:** The right to freedom of thought, expression, and belief, which he argued was essential for individual dignity and collective progress (Ambedkar, 1942).
- * **Equality:** Social and economic parity, which he considered the foundation for genuine political equality. Ambedkar emphasized that "equality is the soul of democracy," without which political structures become mere facades (Ambedkar, 1949).

*** Fraternity:** A sense of solidarity and mutual respect among citizens, aimed at overcoming social divisions, particularly those perpetuated by caste and communalism. He asserted that fraternity was the “principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life” (Ambedkar, 1949).

Ambedkar’s interpretation of democracy was not confined to electoral politics or the functioning of institutions. Instead, he viewed democracy as a way of life, advocating for an egalitarian society free from systemic oppression and social stratification. His focus on liberty, equality, and fraternity as interdependent values reflects his holistic approach to democracy, where political rights are meaningless without social and economic justice (Jaffrelot, 2019; Rodrigues, 2002).

Main Discussion Body

*** Ambedkar’s Vision of Democracy:**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s conception of democracy transcended the narrow confines of electoral politics, embracing a broader social and economic dimension. He famously defined democracy as “a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience” (Ambedkar, 1942). For Ambedkar, democracy was not merely a form of government but a way of life aimed at fostering social justice, equality, and fraternity. His vision comprised two key elements:

1. Political Democracy: Ambedkar stressed the need for equal representation through universal adult suffrage and argued that political democracy, though vital, alone was not enough. He cautioned that without social and economic democracy, political democracy would be meaningless (Ambedkar, 1949). For democracy to be meaningful, political equality must be accompanied by social and economic justice, ensuring that all citizens have the opportunity to participate fully in public life.

2. Social and Economic Democracy: Ambedkar was acutely aware that India’s entrenched caste system perpetuated inequality and exclusion, making social and economic democracy indispensable. He argued for the redistribution of resources and the abolition of caste hierarchies as necessary steps to create a just society. In *Annihilation of Caste* (1936), Ambedkar argued that the foundation of democracy lies in the social relationships and the

collective life shared by members of society. He believed that for a society to be truly democratic, it was essential to eliminate the structural inequalities that oppressed significant segments of the population

Inclusive Governance in Ambedkar's thought

Ambedkar's vision of democracy was deeply rooted in the idea of inclusive governance. He believed that the success of a democratic system depended on its ability to provide representation and voice to all sections of society, particularly those historically excluded. To achieve this, Ambedkar championed affirmative action policies, including reservations for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), to address centuries of discrimination and systemic exclusion.

Ambedkar believed that these actions were crucial for ensuring equal opportunities and promoting social mobility. He emphasized that political power should not be concentrated in the hands of a few but must be distributed among all citizens (Ambedkar, 1942). The system of reservations in legislatures, educational institutions, and public employment was designed not only as a compensatory mechanism but also as a transformative tool to empower marginalized communities and enable their active participation in governance. Ambedkar's emphasis on representation remains a cornerstone of India's democratic framework and a key instrument for promoting inclusion (Rodrigues, 2002).

Ambedkar's Democratic Ideals in the Indian Constitution

Ambedkar's vision of democracy found concrete expression in the Indian Constitution, which he helped draft as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. The Constitution incorporates several provisions that reflect his commitment to justice, equality, and fraternity:

1. Article 14 – Equality before the Law: This article guarantees equality for all citizens, irrespective of caste, religion, gender, or other factors. It directly challenges the caste-based hierarchies that Ambedkar sought to dismantle.

2. Article 15 – Prohibition of Discrimination: Prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, this article aligns with Ambedkar's belief that democracy must ensure social equality as a prerequisite for political equality.

3. Article 17 – Abolition of Untouchability: This provision criminalizes untouchability, addressing one of the most dehumanizing practices in Indian society. Ambedkar viewed the abolition of untouchability as a fundamental step toward achieving social justice.

4. Directive Principles of State Policy: These principles reflect Ambedkar's vision of a welfare state committed to reducing inequalities in wealth, status, and opportunities. Although non-justiciable, these principles guide the state in promoting social and economic welfare, essential for realizing Ambedkar's ideals of democracy (Austin, 1999).

Ambedkar envisioned the Constitution as a transformative document capable of addressing systemic inequities and promoting an egalitarian society. However, he also cautioned against the perils of ignoring the social and economic dimensions of democracy. In his address to the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar expressed concern over the paradoxical situation India would face, stating that while political equality would be established, inequality would persist in social and economic spheres. He questioned how long the country would endure such contradictions (Ambedkar, 1949). This warning remains highly relevant, as India continues to grapple with challenges such as caste-based discrimination and economic disparities.

Challenges in Contemporary Indian Society

*** Caste-Based Discrimination:** Despite the constitutional abolition of untouchability (Article 17) and legal safeguards against caste-based discrimination, the persistence of caste-based inequality remains a profound challenge to Ambedkar's vision of a democratic and egalitarian society. Caste continues to shape access to education, employment, and social services, especially in rural India, where traditional practices are deeply ingrained. Jaffrelot (2019) highlights that caste-based discrimination is still prevalent in daily life, ranging from segregation in schools and workplaces to violence against Dalits and other marginalized groups. Ambedkar (1949) foresaw that legal measures alone would not suffice to address caste discrimination, emphasizing the necessity for social transformation to dismantle caste-based oppression. He argued that the full realization of democracy required not only legal equality but also a moral and cultural shift toward genuine social equality. The continued existence of caste-based exclusion directly contradicts the democratic values of liberty,

equality, and fraternity that Ambedkar envisioned for India.

*** Economic Inequality:** Economic inequality remains a significant barrier to realizing Ambedkar's democratic vision. While India has witnessed impressive economic growth, the benefits have largely been unevenly distributed. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, with marginalized groups, particularly Dalits, Adivasis, and other backward classes, disproportionately affected by poverty and lack of access to resources. Ambedkar (1936) argued that "Democracy cannot function in an economically unequal society," highlighting the need for economic redistribution to achieve social and political equality. Despite the introduction of welfare programs, many marginalized communities continue to face systemic barriers to economic participation, such as limited access to quality education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. Dreze and Sen (2013) emphasize that economic inequality exacerbates social divisions and undermines the potential for upward mobility, preventing marginalized groups from fully engaging in democratic processes and realizing their rights.

*** Political Polarization:** Political polarization, particularly along caste, religious, and regional lines, remains a significant challenge to Ambedkar's vision of fraternity and national unity. The rise of identity-based politics has increasingly dominated India's political landscape, with political parties mobilizing voters along caste and religious identities rather than promoting common democratic ideals. Jaffrelot (2019) notes that this trend of communal and caste-based politics has created social fragmentation, undermining Ambedkar's vision of a unified, democratic society where fraternity transcends individual identities. As Ambedkar (1949) warned, democracy is only sustainable when citizens are bound together by a sense of shared belonging, irrespective of their caste or religious affiliation. The increasing trend of polarization thus poses a significant threat to social cohesion and to the realization of Ambedkar's ideal of an inclusive, cohesive society.

*** Underrepresentation of Marginalized Communities:** While affirmative action policies such as reservations have helped increase political representation for marginalized communities, significant underrepresentation persists in higher levels of governance. Dalits, Adivasis, and women continue to face systemic barriers to attaining leadership positions in

politics, the judiciary, and the private sector. Ambedkar believed that democracy required not only political equality but also the active participation of all sections of society in governance. However, as Thorat (2017) argues, despite the presence of reservation policies, the political elite remains largely dominated by upper-caste groups, and marginalized communities remain underrepresented in decision-making bodies. This underrepresentation leads to a disconnect between the policies created at the top and the needs of marginalized communities at the grassroots level, further entrenching social and political exclusion. Ambedkar's democratic vision cannot be fully realized unless all sections of society are adequately represented in key decision-making institutions.

*** Weak Implementation of Policies:** Although India has a robust legal framework aimed at promoting social justice, the weak implementation of policies remains a critical issue in the realization of Ambedkar's democratic ideals. Despite constitutional provisions and policies such as affirmative action, the lack of efficient enforcement, corruption, and bureaucratic inefficiency often hampers the success of these measures. Ambedkar (1949) was acutely aware that a law or policy, no matter how well-intentioned, would be ineffective unless backed by robust implementation mechanisms. The failure to effectively enforce policies designed to uplift marginalized communities means that the goals of social and economic equality remain elusive for many. As the Planning Commission (2014) highlights, the disconnect between policy design and implementation is one of the key reasons why affirmative action and social justice programs fail to bring about the desired outcomes, especially in rural areas where marginalized communities face the greatest challenges.

*** Educational Inequality:** Educational inequality continues to undermine the principles of social democracy that Ambedkar advocated. While Ambedkar viewed education as the key to social mobility, access to quality education remains highly stratified in India. Despite affirmative action policies in education, caste-based disparities persist, with Dalit and Adivasi children facing lower quality schooling, discriminatory practices, and higher dropout rates. Desai (2017) underscores that while enrollment rates for marginalized groups have increased, these groups continue to face challenges in accessing higher education and professional opportunities. Ambedkar (1936) believed that education was the tool to

eradicate caste-based discrimination, yet the continued educational inequality poses a significant obstacle to achieving the social mobility and empowerment he envisioned for India's marginalized communities. Furthermore, the increasing privatization of education has exacerbated inequalities, as quality education becomes increasingly inaccessible to economically disadvantaged families.

*** Gender Inequality:** Although Ambedkar was a vocal advocate for women's rights, especially concerning marriage, property rights, and education, gender inequality remains a persistent issue in contemporary India. Women, particularly from marginalized communities, continue to face discrimination in education, employment, and political representation. Kabeer (2017) argues that while India has made some progress in improving gender parity in education and health, entrenched patriarchal norms and social practices limit women's participation in decision-making processes and restrict their access to resources. Ambedkar's vision of a just society included the empowerment of women, recognizing that gender equality was an essential aspect of social justice. Yet, despite legal reforms such as the Dowry Prohibition Act and the Domestic Violence Act, women continue to face violence, unequal pay, and limited political representation. The continued marginalization of women, especially in rural areas, obstructs the realization of a fully inclusive democracy, as Ambedkar envisioned.

Recommendations

*** Strengthening Education:** Ambedkar's vision for social justice places immense importance on education as a tool for dismantling caste-based hierarchies and fostering an egalitarian society. Ambedkar (1936) emphasized, "Educate, Agitate, Organize," underscoring the transformative power of education in challenging social oppression. To align with Ambedkar's ideals, it is imperative to reform educational curricula at all levels to include the history of caste, the principles of social equality, and the contributions of marginalized communities. By incorporating Ambedkar's works into school and university syllabi, India can foster a culture of equality, justice, and fraternity. Dreze and Sen (2013) argue that education is a central pillar for combating poverty and inequality, suggesting that greater emphasis on education for marginalized groups—particularly in rural areas—could

empower them to participate more actively in democratic processes. Additionally, investing in teacher training programs that address caste-based biases and promote inclusive pedagogies would ensure that educational spaces are not sites of discrimination but of empowerment for all communities.

*** Economic Empowerment:** Ambedkar's concept of economic justice emphasized that social democracy could not flourish in the presence of widespread economic disparities. He asserted that political democracy would be meaningless without economic equality (Ambedkar, 1936). To address this, targeted policies for the economic empowerment of marginalized groups are essential. This includes increasing access to credit, land, and financial resources for Dalits, Adivasis, and other backward classes, alongside providing support for small businesses and entrepreneurship. Thorat (2017) highlights that while reservation policies in education and employment have contributed to some progress, economic exclusion remains entrenched. Policymakers must focus on creating employment opportunities, fostering skill development, and ensuring that marginalized communities have equal access to state resources. By focusing on economic upliftment through affirmative action, the government can create a more equitable society where economic opportunities are accessible to all, thus aligning with Ambedkar's vision of economic democracy.

*** Enhanced Representation:** Ambedkar's advocacy for the political representation of marginalized communities is foundational to his vision of inclusive governance. He stressed that "In a democracy, the underprivileged and oppressed must be given a voice" (Ambedkar, 1949). While reservation policies in legislatures and educational institutions have led to increased representation, marginalized communities remain underrepresented in positions of political power, particularly at higher levels of governance. Jaffrelot (2019) argues that despite the positive impact of reservations, political power is still largely concentrated in the hands of upper-caste elites, which undermines the true spirit of democracy. To address this imbalance, there is a need for policies that ensure proportional representation of Dalits, Adivasis, and women in all levels of government, including the judiciary, executive, and legislative branches. Measures such as increasing political education and leadership training for marginalized groups, alongside reforming political party structures to prioritize inclusive

candidate selection, could help empower these communities to participate more fully in governance. Strengthening political representation will ensure that the diverse voices of India are heard in the policymaking process, reinforcing the democratic values of equality and fraternity.

*** Awareness Campaigns:** One of the key recommendations to advance Ambedkar's vision is the initiation of widespread awareness campaigns aimed at eliminating caste-based prejudices. As Ambedkar (1949) stated, while untouchability was abolished in law, "The battle is not yet won; the people must be made to see the importance of social equality." Awareness campaigns should aim to educate the public about the detrimental effects of caste discrimination and the need for social transformation. These campaigns can leverage media platforms, including television, radio, and social media, to reach a broad audience, including those in rural and marginalized communities. Jaffrelot (2019) asserts that the legal abolition of untouchability does not automatically erase deeply entrenched caste prejudices, and that cultural change must accompany legal reform. Public campaigns should be designed not only to inform but also to challenge existing caste-based biases and foster a sense of solidarity among all Indians. This would promote Ambedkar's vision of a society based on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

*** Judicial Reforms:** Ambedkar's philosophy of justice envisioned a judiciary that was fair, accessible, and sensitive to caste-based discrimination. He believed that a robust legal framework was essential for ensuring equality, stating, "The law must be the bulwark of the rights of the oppressed" (Ambedkar, 1949). However, despite constitutional safeguards, the judicial system often fails to provide timely justice to marginalized groups due to delays, corruption, and insensitivity to caste-related issues. Reforms are needed to ensure that cases involving caste-based violence and discrimination are expedited and addressed with the seriousness they deserve. Thorat (2017) notes that the failure of legal mechanisms, such as the Prevention of Atrocities Act, to provide timely justice perpetuates the systemic oppression of Dalits and Adivasis. Training judges, police officers, and law enforcement personnel on caste-based issues, ensuring the prompt registration of cases, and strengthening legal aid services for the economically disadvantaged can help mitigate these barriers.

Reforming the judiciary to make it more responsive and accessible will enable marginalized communities to seek redress for injustices, thereby advancing Ambedkar's ideals of justice and equality.

*** Strengthening Local Governance and Decentralization:** Ambedkar's vision of democracy emphasized the importance of empowering local communities and decentralizing political power. He believed that democracy must be rooted in local governance to be truly inclusive. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments, which introduced reservations for marginalized groups in local bodies, were a significant step forward. However, there is a need for further strengthening of Panchayats and Municipalities by providing them with more financial autonomy, political power, and capacity-building support. According to the Ministry of Panchayati Raj (2020), decentralization ensures that governance is more responsive to local needs, particularly those of marginalized communities. Ensuring that local bodies have the resources and authority to address issues such as caste-based discrimination, economic exclusion, and inadequate healthcare can help promote more inclusive development. Empowering local governments to create tailored solutions for local problems will contribute to the realization of Ambedkar's vision of a democratic society where power is distributed more equitably.

*** Affirmative Action in the Private Sector:** While affirmative action in the public sector has helped enhance the representation of marginalized groups in education and employment, the private sector remains largely dominated by upper-caste elites. Ambedkar (1949) believed that the fight for social justice should extend to all spheres of society, including the private sector. Affirmative action policies in the private sector should be introduced to encourage diversity and ensure equal opportunities in hiring, promotions, and leadership roles. Such policies could include caste-based quotas, mentorship programs for marginalized groups, and measures to eliminate caste discrimination in recruitment practices. As Thorat (2017) argues, ensuring that private enterprises hire from a diverse pool of candidates will help break the barriers of economic exclusion and foster a more inclusive society. By extending affirmative action into the private sector, India can make further strides toward realizing Ambedkar's vision of economic and social democracy.

Conclusion

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision of democracy is grounded in the principles of social, political, and economic equality, which he saw as inextricably linked to the creation of an inclusive society. His call for a democracy that ensures liberty, equality, and fraternity, not just as abstract ideals but as practical imperatives for the marginalized, remains a critical framework for addressing the entrenched social hierarchies in India. Ambedkar's work, particularly his critique of the caste system and advocacy for structural reforms, provides a blueprint for dismantling the barriers of inequality that continue to pervade Indian society. His assertion that political democracy without social and economic equality is "a mockery" (Ambedkar, 1936) underscores the need for systemic change beyond mere formal participation in governance.

Despite the constitutional provisions designed to protect the rights of marginalized communities, India continues to grapple with the persistence of caste-based discrimination, economic inequality, and social exclusion. As this paper demonstrates, while legal safeguards such as affirmative action and the abolition of untouchability have led to some progress, the reality remains that deep-seated inequalities endure in both rural and urban contexts. Economic disparities, political underrepresentation, and caste-based violence remain major obstacles to achieving the democratic ideals that Ambedkar envisioned. The ongoing marginalization of Dalits, Adivasis, and other vulnerable groups, particularly in the realms of education, employment, and political participation, reflects the limitations of current policies and their uneven implementation.

Ambedkar's philosophy offers vital insights into how India can confront these persistent challenges. His emphasis on economic empowerment, social justice, and the need for inclusive governance is particularly relevant today. The persistence of economic inequality, particularly in the wake of neoliberal reforms, exacerbates social divisions and undermines Ambedkar's vision of an egalitarian society. Moreover, political polarization and identity-based politics threaten the unity and fraternity that Ambedkar believed were essential for a functioning democracy. Thus, the task of realizing Ambedkar's democratic ideals is not simply one of legal or political reform but involves addressing the deep-rooted social and

economic inequities that continue to plague Indian society.

In contemporary India, Ambedkar's vision is more pertinent than ever. The continued marginalization of historically oppressed communities in both economic and political spheres underscores the gap between the constitutional promises of equality and the lived realities of these communities. Ambedkar's framework for inclusive governance, which calls for the active participation of marginalized groups in all aspects of societal life, remains a powerful tool for addressing these inequities. His assertion that "the progress of any society depends on the kind of justice it provides to the oppressed" (Ambedkar, 1949) highlights the urgency of implementing his ideals in the present day.

Therefore, realizing Ambedkar's vision in today's India requires a renewed commitment to the principles of social, economic, and political justice. This involves strengthening the mechanisms of affirmative action, expanding economic opportunities for marginalized groups, ensuring better representation in political decision-making, and fostering a culture of social solidarity. Only through such comprehensive reforms can India hope to create a democracy that is genuinely inclusive and reflective of Ambedkar's ideals. Ambedkar's vision of democracy is not a static historical achievement but a dynamic and ongoing project that requires constant vigilance and commitment to social justice, equality, and fraternity in the face of persistent inequalities.

References

1. Ambedkar, B. R. (1936). *Annihilation of caste*. Retrieved from <https://drarnbedkarwritings.gov.in>
2. Ambedkar, B. R. (1942). *Thoughts on linguistic states*. Retrieved from <https://drarnbedkarwritings.gov.in>
3. Ambedkar, B. R. (1949). *Speech in the Constituent Assembly*. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Volume XI. Retrieved from <https://cadindia.clpr.org.in>
4. Austin, G. (1999). *The Indian constitution: Cornerstone of a nation*. Oxford University Press.
5. Desai, M. (2017). *Educational inequality in India: Issues and policy approaches*. Cambridge University Press.

6. Dreze, J., & Sen, A. (2013). *An uncertain glory: India and its contradictions*. Princeton University Press.
7. Jaffrelot, C. (2019). *Dr. Ambedkar and untouchability: Fighting the Indian caste system*. Columbia University Press.
8. Kabeer, N. (2017). *Gender, poverty, and social exclusion in India: A study of social mobility*. Oxford University Press.
9. Ministry of Panchayati Raj. (2020). *Report on decentralization and local governance*. Government of India.
10. Planning Commission of India. (2014). *Report on the implementation of social justice policies*. Government of India.
11. Rodrigues, V. (Ed.). (2002). *The essential writings of B.R. Ambedkar*. Oxford University Press.
12. Thorat, S. (2017). *Social exclusion and inclusion in India: Issues and perspectives*. Sage Publications.
13. Zelliott, E. (2005). *From untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar movement*. Manohar Publishers.