

Social Justice and How it works for Other Backward Classes in India?

Waheed Ahmad Ahanger*

Dr. Firdous Ahmad Sofal**

ABSTRACT

The government of India has identified Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe, and Other Backward Classes as three important categories that did not have equal representation in various areas like social, political, and economic aspects of life. However, the Constitution of India has made it mandatory to have justice in every aspect. Considering the concept of justice, various special provisions have been made to uplift the conditions of different underprivileged sections of society. In this paper, an attempt has been made to review the existing literature to examine the constitutional provisions made for the upliftment of OBCs. To know the status of India's other backward classes (OBCs), the government has announced two commissions, out of which Mandal Commission's recommendations which the government has wholeheartedly accepted under the leadership of V.P. Singh, and 27 percent reservation was implemented for OBCs of India.

Keywords: Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe, Other Backward Classes, Mandal Commission

Social Justice: what and why

While looking into the philosophical traces and different literature related to social justice, we can't ignore in this vein the most cited work of Iris Marion Young's (1990)

* Research Scholar, School of Education, Central University of Kashmir, Ganderbal.

** Assistant Professor, School of Education, Central University of Kashmir, Ganderbal.

“Justice and the Politics of Difference.” On the same theme, there have been a lot of social movements like empowering women, and providing rights to weaker sections, minorities etc which helped me in the basic understanding of justice. Young was always busy with the critical discourse of justice. Her philosophical approach to justice “clarifying the meaning of concepts and issues, describing and explaining social relations, and articulating and defending ideals and principles” (p. 5). Her focus was not on the principle of distribution, but her attention was on the ‘concept of domination and oppression,’ and she examined the issues related to the “decision making, division of labor, and culture that bear on social justice but are often ignored in philosophical discussions” (p.03). In this debate, we can’t exclude the different social groups which are existing in every society and these social groups have exhibited differences in structuring their social relations and oppression in our society; we have SCs/STs, OBCs, minorities, LGBTs, etc. She introduced the debate by challenging the distribution of justice by saying that we have structured inequalities within societies. In the book, she mentioned the five faces of oppression within the society: "exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence” (pp. 48-65). She pointed out that oppression can be found in politics, rules & regulations, and different institutions. She further argued in her book that the main causes of the oppression “are embedded in unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of following those rules” (p. 41).

A philosophical understanding of justice can be drawn from the number of classical philosophical discussions of different scholars concerned about justice, which has great significance in the contemporary educational scenario. In this debate, I would be restricted to a few scholars who have worked on the theme like Mill's utilitarianism, Kant's categorical imperative and Rawls' position on the same. Through their prism, we examined whether or not the different educational policies are working for justice. As pointed out by Rawls (1988), there are three broad philosophical approaches while looking into social justice first, liberal individualism, second market individualism and third-social democratic) (p. 48). As per Rawls (1972), there are two working principles in liberal individualism. First, every individual must have the same freedom as the other persons are enjoying their freedom and second, all social goods must be distributed in the society equally with every person. However, in market individualism both the above-mentioned principles are opposed to Rawl's liberal individualism and market individualism puts emphasis on individual efforts i.e., the more you work more you will earn. As Nozick's (1976) supported this aspect and argued that individual effort must be given due importance.

Similarly, Rizvi (1998) pointed out in the same perspective that "the justice of the competition that is, the way the competition was carried out and not its outcome - that counts" (p. 49). However, when we look into Marx's social democratic perspective, it can be concluded that justice is highly dependent on the needs of various individuals and it puts more emphasis on the cooperative vision and collective understanding of the society.

According to Hytten & Bettez (2011), there are four major aspects of justice, first is distribution, i.e. how we distribute equally the available resources within the society; second is recognition, i.e. how we treat the different cultures within the society; third, is opportunities, i.e. how we are providing and ensuring the equal opportunities within the society and finally outputs i.e. how we make and understand out of equal distribution that success or output is fairly within the society as per its current population (p. 11). Therefore it can be argued that the goal of justice is to make certain policies per society's needs so that every individual could have better access and utilization to the different resources available within the society. Justice is not limited to the resources availability and its output but it is applicable to all the different aspects within the society. To get a clear understanding related to it, we would quote a few examples as Lynch & Baker (2005) has argued that the principal of equality is one of the basic assumption and criteria to prevail justice in education and they have concluded these five basic dimensions of justice as: “resources; respect and recognition; love, care, and solidarity; power; and working and learning” (p. 132). Similarly, Bell (1997, p. 4) has offered important theoretical foundations for social justice education by looking into the aspects of oppression. She also provides “clear ways to define and analyze oppression so that we can understand how it operates at various individual, cultural, and institutional levels.”

While looking into the classical literature of social justice, it provides us a greater understanding of the different aspects related to it and gives us a clear understanding of

different assumptions and what actual vision is behind it. Therefore, we can conclude that the philosophical work on social justice helps us understand the key terms and helps us conceptualize and articulate the different theories and practices related to it. However, philosophical knowledge related to the everyday issues and concerns faced by educational practitioners is tangible. When we saw the scholars who worked on the social justice had hardly entered the discourse and didn't work on the everyday lives and practices in the educational setup. In this paper, we examine the existing Constitutional provision made by the government of India to restore social justice for the other backward classes in India. In the last session of the Constitutional Assembly, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar noted, "On 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social-economic life, we will have inequality". The concept of inequality during the sessions in both houses didn't become so hot or debatable within and outside of Parliament. However, it was the Mandal Commission Report who raised contradictory questions about the principle of equality in front of ruling classes and raised some important queries related to the "social justice" in the notion of equality and pointed out:

Equality before law is a basic fundamental Right guaranteed under Article 14 of the Indian Constitution. But the principle of "equality" is a double-edged weapon. It places the strong and the handicapped on the same footing in the race of life. It is a dictum of social justice that there is equality only among equals. To treat unequals as equals is to perpetuate inequality. The humanness of society is

determined by the degree of protection it provides to its weaker, handicapped and less gifted members ... “Equality of Opportunity” and “equality of treatment” places the weak and the strong on par; to that extent, it amounts to denial of social justice. In fact, it is “equality of results” which is the acid test of society’s egalitarian pretensions. In a highly unequal society like ours, it is only by giving special protection and privileges to the under-privileged section of society that we can enable the weak to resist exploitation by the strong. **(Second Backward Classes Commission Report, 1980)**

Defining OBCs:

To fulfill the core objectives which are listed in Indian Constitution, it becomes imperative to frame the Constitution in such a way so that the objectives which are mentioned in it can be realized and for this purpose, it becomes crucial for the Constitutions makers to deal letter and spirit with it. For this purpose, Jawaharlal Nehru on 13 Dec 1946, presented the ‘Objectives resolutions’ in front of Constitution assembly in 8 comprehensive small paras. In the same resolution under para 6, which deals with the safeguards to backward social groups and backward areas runs thus: “(Para 6) Where adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward classes,” (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1990, p.15.). In the same Constitutional debate, the word “backward” was introduced under Article 16(4), but many hot and controversial arguments happened between the government and the opposition parties. Members of the Parliament like T.T. Krishnamachari felt very surprised and said why the word “backward” was used

and in response, the father of the Indian Constitution replied the same with these words;

If the honourable members understood this position that we have to safeguard two things namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time, satisfy the demand of communities which have not had, so far, representation in the State, then I am sure they will agree that unless you use some such qualifying phrase as 'Backward', the exception made in favour of reservation will ultimately eat up the rule altogether. Somebody asked me: 'What is a backward community?' Well, I think anyone who reads the language of the draft itself will find that we have left it to be determined by each local government. A backward community is a community which is backward in the opinion of the government. **(Anon, 1948)**

It was the first initial point of view of the government to define and declare a community as a backward class community but in reality government didn't define them operationally. The word "class" under Article 16(4) of the Indian Constitution was in a sense social class but it was not understood under the Marxist parlance of social justice and on the same, Justice Jeevan Reddy narrated as:

Backward class of citizens in Article 16(4) takes in scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and all other backward classes of citizens including the socially and educationally backward classes (SEBCs). Thus, certain classes which may not qualify for Article 15(4) may qualify for Article 16(4). They may not qualify for Article 15(4) but they may qualify as backward class of citizens for the purposes of

Article 16(4). It is equally relevant to notice that Article 340 does not expressly refer to services or to reservations in services under the State, though it may be that the Commission appointed there under may recommend reservation in appointments/posts in the services of the State as one of the steps for removing the difficulties under which SEBCs are labouring and for improving their conditions. Thus, SEBCs referred to in Article 340 is only one of the categories for whom Article 16(4) was enacted. Article 16(4) applies to a much larger class than the one contemplated by Article 340. It would, thus, be not correct to say that “backward class of citizens” in Article 16(4) are the same as the socially and educationally backward classes in Article 15(4). Saying so would mean and imply reading a limitation into a beneficial provision like Article 16(4). Moreover, when speaking of reservation in appointments/posts in the State services which may mean at any level whatsoever- insisting upon educational backwardness may not be quite appropriate.

During this debar, we can't exclude the contributions of two most prominent scholars of this area like Marc Galanter, who wrote “Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India” in 1984, and Christophe Jaffrelot, who wrote “India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics” in 2003. The debate between the different scholars and academia was mostly around class and caste and all the politicians also think and debate around these two terms. However, the Marxist scholars and different activists saw “class” as a universal category and “caste” from the local perspective, which has emerged from the Hindu religious sanctions. Dr.

B.R. Ambedkar was on the same opinion about the caste by arguing that “caste being not merely ‘division of labor’ as we are made to believe but it was ‘division of laborers’ as well” (2007). But the debate between caste, class, and backwardness remains serious contestation in India. As I.P. Desai (1984) has argued on this:

The semantic equivalence between “class” and “caste” goes against the meanings of these two words in social sciences as well as in the language of educated Indians influenced by the language of social sciences. Of course, there is no unanimity about the meaning of the term “class” in social sciences. In particular, there are sharp differences between the Marxist and non-Marxist views. Nevertheless, any social scientist would hardly stretch the word “class” to mean “caste.” (Shah, 1997)

As Yadav (1994) explained it in a different way, he argued that: a caste can be and quite often is a social class in India. If it is socially backward, it would be a backward class for Article 16(4). Among non-Hindus, several occupational groups, sects and denominations are socially backward for historical reasons. They too, represent backward social collectivities for the purpose of Article 16(4) ... it is not correct to say that the backward class of citizens contemplated in Article 16(4) is the same as the socially and educationally backward classes referred to in Article 15(4). It is much wider. The accent in Article 16(4) is on backwardness. Of course, social, educational and economic backwardness are closely intertwined in the Indian context.

OBC as a category or an identity has always remained doubtful with the different academicians by knowing it in

different angles. As argued by Kumar (2022) government has created it as a category, but it is equally important to understand that this category and their identity is a long historical process in India and they are not come or created overnight but took a long shift in the past. Dalits in India have developed through the process of culture and have been identified as the most marginalized. From the historical point of view, “Shudra” is an appropriate aggregation to mean those caste groups which belong to the category called Other Backward Classes. This category has been made to be perceived mostly either to denote “votebank” or a “beneficiary of reservation” in popular parlance. OBCs, therefore, have ended up being more of a political category than a social or a cultural category” (Kumar, 2022 p.206). Similarly, the most prominent scholar on this aspect, Marc Galanter argued:

The term had never acquired a definitive meaning at the all-India level. There had been no attempt to define it or employ it on the national level and there were no nation-wide backward classes’ organizations or spokesmen. It had definitive meanings in local contexts, although these differed somewhat. After the listing of Scheduled Castes, the usage as a synonym for untouchables drops away. Two major species of usage emerge: (i) as the more inclusive group of all those who need special treatment; (ii) as a stratum higher than untouchables but nonetheless depressed. This double usage continues today: the former in the usage of backward classes in the wide sense (including scheduled castes and scheduled tribes); the latter in the usage as equivalent to “other backward classes.” (Galanter, 1978)

OBCs, Social Justice and Indian Constitution

According to the Preamble of the Indian Constitution:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a ¹[SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC] and to secure to all its citizens: **JUSTICE**, social, economic and political; **LIBERTY** of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; **EQUALITY** of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all **FRATERNITY** assuring the dignity of the individual and the ²[unity and integrity of the Nation];

The concept of Justice in the Indian Constitution is one of the comprehensive terms which had effectively worked for the different weaker sections in our country and it has covered all the important aspects like social, economic and political justice for different sections in our country. As per Murphy (1999), “social justice is one of “three powerful synthesizing paradigms” (p. 54). According to Bell (1997) social justice in education characterizes it as “both a process and a goal” with the ultimate aim being “full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs” (p. 3). Similarly, Hackman (2005) argued that “social justice education encourages students to take an active role in their own education and supports teachers in creating empowering, democratic, and critical educational environments” (p. 10).

-
1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec. 2, for “SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REBUBLIC’ (w.e.f. 3.1.1977).
 2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec. 2 for “unity of the Nation” (w.e.f.3.1.1977)

As argued by Murrell (2006) that social justice involves “a disposition toward recognizing and eradicating all forms of oppression and differential treatment extant in the practices and policies of institutions, as well as a fealty to participatory democracy as the means of this action” (p. 81). Since the Constitution of India has identified the three major marginalized categories from the dawn of its independence, i.e. Schedule Caste (SC), Schedule Tribes (ST) and Other Backward Classes (OBC) and from time to time government has made a number of interventions for their upliftment. Very recently economically weaker sections (EWS) category was identified for by the Modi government in 2019. The exclusion and social segregation of SC/ST and OBC categories in Indian society were not natural but under the shadow of the society where people strongly believed in the caste system. The people belonging to these categories were subjected to the vulnerable to marginalization in Indian society even when the facilities like educational opportunities were made available by the government of India and even under British rule during the 19th century (Ratnam, 2015). From the Indian point of view justice is a very comprehensive concept and it covers the different areas related to Indian society whether it is educational or political or legal and even different social aspects of life. From the educational point of view, it deals with equal educational opportunities to all of its citizens; from the legal point of view, it deals with all rights of its different states and their prescribed procedures of appreciation or punishments; from the political point of view it concerns with the equal representation of different marginalized sections in its both houses of parliament (Lok

Sabha and Rajya Sabha); and finally, from the social point of view, it provides numerous affirmative action's to uplift the weaker sections of the society. Therefore, the concept of social justice from the Indian point of view can't be limited to any one aspect of life or society. According to Rao (2022) that "social justice is concerned with distribution of benefits and burdens throughout society, entitling every member of society to enjoy the same level of wellbeing as others" (p. 177). Social justice deals with providing equal opportunities to all citizens living within a society. Since Indian country is the second largest populated country in the world (Census, 2011) and people belong to different social groups like SC/ST and OBCs, therefore the concept of social justice is highly related so the discrimination which has faced by these different marginalized sections can be curtailed to the greater extend. Rao (2022, p. 178) argued that "the realization of social justice compels alteration of the basic structure of the society by ushering in a new legal order to harmonize the conflicting interests of different sections." From the Indian point of view that it is assumed that Indian society has a strong belief in its caste system and social justice has a strong influence due to the Hindu caste system. Our Constitution doesn't only emphasize justice, but it incorporates the other aspects related to it, i.e., social, economic and political aspects of justice. Indian constitutions made not only gave due importance to the concept of social justice but also strongly believed in it so that a socialist economy can make possible in India (Rao, 2022). The principle of social justice is reflected in our constitution, and it is found in parts III, IV, X, XVI,

Schedules V and VI of our preamble. In a nutshell, Indian Constitution has given numerous protective measures for the different marginalized sections in the following fields: educational protection, political protection, legal protection and social protection. All these protective measures were made to uplift marginalized sections.

Constitutional protection:

There are numerous constitutional protections for all the SC/ST and OBC people in Indian Constitution and as Article-46 of the Indian Constitution deals with the “Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections” and its status as *“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”*.

Articles 14 to 16 of the Indian Constitution deal with the principle of equality and also emphasizes the different affirmative actions for the various marginalized sections of Indian society under Clause (4) of both Article 14 and Article 16. Article-14 of the Indian Constitution reads as, *“The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India”* and Article-16 reads as *“Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment”* and its clause (4) reads as *“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". As in this Article-16 Clause (4) didn't provide any direction to the government regarding the reservation in the admissions in educational institutions. However, the case filed by the Champakam Dorairajan in Supreme Courts and the verdict made by the Supreme Court in the same case striking down the government order which was issued by the Madras government and with the verdict of Supreme Court in Article-15 a Clause (4) was introduced in order to provide the reservation for different Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and socially and educationally backward class in India. Article 23 and 24 provides protection against exploitation and prevents children from working in factories and industries. However, Articles 5 to 28 deal with the right to freedom of religion, and Articles like 29 and 30 provide the rights and protection to the different minorities in India. Article 38 to 48 of the Indian Constitution emphasizes the socioeconomic transformation within the society for all its sections.

Under Article-340 of the Constitution, "the President of India has the powers to constitute a commission to examine the existing status of the other backward classes and make necessary recommendations and possible grants for their upliftment across the different states of India." Till date, the government has appointed two important commissions for their upliftment. On 29 January 1953, under Presidential order of India appointed the first commission, known as Kalelkar Commission or First Backward Classes Commission, under the chairmanship of Kakasaheb Kalelkar and commission submitted its report in 1955;

however, it ended as a fiasco as the government rejected the report on the grounds that “the commission had not applied any objective tests for identifying the backward classes” (Rao, 2022 p. 179). It took almost 23 years for the government to constitute the second commission to examine the conditions of the other backward classes in India. In 1978, under Article- 340, the President of India appointed a second commission, also known as Mandal Commission. The commission was headed by B.P. Mandal and submitted its report on December 31, 1980. It took ten years to think about the Mandal Commission recommendations by the government. It was under Prime Minister-ship of Morarji Desai who support the recommendations of the Mandal. V.P. Singh headed it in the Parliament to pass the order dated August 13, 1990 in favor of 27 percent reservation in central government jobs for the other backward classes of India. Due to the implementation of the OBC reservation, a series of protests had witnessed across the states and the same reservation faced many petitions in Supreme Court. In the “*Indra Sawhney vs Union of India (AIR 1993 SC 477)*” case Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy made a historical judgment. In the same judgment, out of nine judges, six stack down the ten percent reservation idea proposed for the economically backward classes. However, Justice Pandian agreed with the majority of the judges but pointed out a question “of excluding affluent sections among the backward classes for the benefits under Articles 15(4) and 16(4)” (Rao, 2022 p. 179). It has been keenly observed by Rao (2022) and argued that:

The backwardness contemplated under Article 16(4) is mainly social backwardness which leads to educational and economic backwardness. If some members of any backward caste are far too advanced socially, they must be excluded. The economic advancement for such exclusion should be so high that it necessarily means social advancement. To qualify for a backward class, caste need not be similar to scheduled caste or scheduled tribe (p. 179)

In the earlier ‘Balaji vs. State of Mysore’ judgment of the Supreme Court, it was pointed out that to determine whether a community is backward or not, it was assumed that the backwardness of the community must be same or similar w.r.t schedule caste and it was argued by the majority in the judgment that “Such a test would practically nullify the provision for reservation for socially and educationally backward classes other than scheduled castes or scheduled tribes.” Therefore, the majority in the ‘Indra Sawhney vs. Union of India’ was of the argument that the “classification of backward classes depending upon the degree of backwardness, and the extent of the reservation should be proportionate to the population of each class” and made ceiling that reservations must not cross the fifty percent criteria. However, in the same judgment, it was most significant in front of the majority “that the upper layer among the backward classes must be kept out of the protective umbrella of Articles 15(4) and 16(4)”. Justice Sawant in the same judgment, was not in favor of the majority:

The correct criteria for judging the forwardness of the forwards among the backward classes is to measure their capacity not in terms of the capacity of others in their class,

but in terms of the capacity of the members of the forward classes. (*Mulchand, 2008*)

From time to time, the government of India reviews the annual income ceiling. It increased this aspect so that the family who cross the set annual income can be excluded from receiving OBC reservation benefits. Earlier, it was Rs 4.5 Lakhs, then Rs 6 Lakhs, and now it is 8.5 Lakhs annual income criteria for the exclusion of the benefits of it were set by different governments. As a matter of practice, under Article 15(4) and 15(5) in Indra Sawhney Case, power was provided to draw separate OBC lists by the Central each state concerned. As you may be aware, OBC reservation has been implemented across the country as per recommendation of Mandal Commission and the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC) was not constitutional. In 2018, the government of India made a Constitution 102nd Amendment Act, 2018 which gives constitutional status to the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC) under which Articles 338B and Article 342B were added. With the help of these amendments, structure, duties and powers were constitutionalized for the National Commission for backward classes (NCBC). As per Article 342A, “The President may with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the socially and educationally backward classes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be socially and educationally backward classes in relation to that State or Union territory, as the case may be”, further it reads that “Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the

Central List of socially and educationally backward classes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any socially and educationally backward class, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification”. In 1992 under the Prime Ministership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, many serious constitutional amendments (like 73rd Amendment and 74th Amendment) Acts were made to make their representation in the political offices and with these amendments, states were given the power to provide the presentation to OBCs in the local panchayats and municipalities. However, in Krishna Murthy vs. Union of India (2010) case, the Supreme Court of India took a different note and said, “the principles that have been evolved in relation to reservation of posts under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) cannot be readily applied in the context of local self-government”. According to the scholars like Deshpande & Sundar (1998); Kumar & Asha (2000); Misra, (2007); Sofal & Ahanger (2022) that OBCs were always excluded from the census and caste-related data in India and with the result Mandal Commission found numerous difficulties in fulfilling its duties and responsibilities related to the OBCs in India. Very recently, another amendment was made in the Indian Constitution, i.e., the Constitution 127th Amendment Bill, 2021, where states and UT were given the power to identify the OBCs within a state and It amended “clauses 1 and 2 of Article 342A and also introduced a new clause 3 and the bill will also amend Articles 366 (26c) and 338B (9)” respectively. Now the 127th Amendment bill is designed to clarify that the states can maintain the “state list” of OBCs as was the

system prior to the Supreme Court judgment. The state the list will now be completely taken out of the President's ambit and notified by the state Assembly as per the bill.

Conclusion:

To ensure social justice for OBCs in India, the government from time to time, amended the Constitution and has made numerous interventions for their upliftment so that they can come forward on the mainstream. It took too long for the government to implement the reservation for the actual OBC beneficiary. To check the status of the OBC in India, government made two important commissions, i.e., Kalelkar Commission (1953) and Mandal Commission (1978). It was the Mandal Commission recommendations that were accepted by the government, which was headed by V.P. Singh and provided the 27 percent reservation in government jobs in 1990 and in 2006 to make social justice more inclusive for OBCs in India. However, the reservation system for OBCs in India is not uniform across the country as the reservation quota varies from one state to another and from one institution to other.

References:

- Anon (1948). Constituent assembly debates, Vol. 7. New Delhi: Government of India, 701–702.
- B. R. Ambedkar, (2007) *Annihilation of Caste*, Critical Quest, New Delhi
- Bell, L. A. (1997). Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social*

justice: A sourcebook (pp. 3-15). New York: Routledge

Deshpande, S., & Sundar, N. (1998). Caste and the Census: Implications for Society and the Social Sciences. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33(32), 2157–2159. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4407069>

Galanter, M., (1978). Who are the other backward classes: an introduction to a constitutional puzzle. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1812.

Government of India (1956). Report of the Backward Classes Commission. New Delhi: Government of India, 2–3.

Government of India Press (1983). Report on Minorities of High Power Panel on Minorities, SC, ST and Other Weaker Sections, New Delhi. June 14.

Hytten, K. (2006). Education for social justice: Provocations and challenges. *Educational Theory*, 56(2), 221-236.

Jaffrelot, C., (2003). India's silent revolution: the rise of the low castes in north Indian politics. New Delhi: *Permanent Black*, 364–65

Krishna kumar, Asha (2000): 'Caste and the Census', *Frontline*, Vol 17, No 18, September 2-15.

Lynch, K., & Baker, J. (2005). Equality in education: An equality of condition perspective. *Theory and Research in Education*, 3(2), 131-164

Ministry of External Affairs, (1982). Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: writings and speeches, Vol. 2. New Delhi: Government of India, 506.

- Ministry of External Affairs, (1989). Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: writings and speeches, Vol. 5. New Delhi: Government of India, 170.
- Misra, P. K. (2007). Backward Castes Census: An Outmoded Idea. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(24), 2245–2247. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4419704>
- Mulchand, R.S., (2008) Reservations in India: myths and realities. New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 193
- Nozick, R. (1976). Anarchy, state and utopia. Oxford, UK: Blackwell
- Ratnam, T. (2015), "Pedagogies of Social Justice: An Indian Case", *International Teacher Education: Promising Pedagogies (Part B) (Advances in Research on Teaching, Vol. 22B)*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Bingley, pp. 253-282. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-36872015000025040>
- Rawls, J. (1972). A theory of justice. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
- Rizvi, F. (1998). Some thoughts on contemporary theories of social justice. In B. Atweh, S. Kemmis, & P. Weeks (Eds.), *Action research in practice: Partnerships for social justice in education* (pp. 47-56). London, UK: Routledge.
- Shah, A.M., (1997). The judicial and sociological view of other backward classes. In: M.N. Srinivas, ed., *Caste: its twentieth century avatar*, New Delhi: Penguin, 175.

Sofal, F. A., & Ahanger, W. A. (2022). Exclusion or ignorance: Indian census without any data of other backward classes. *Towards Excellence*, 14(1).

Yadav, K.C., 1994. India's unequal citizens: a study of other backward classes. New Delhi: Manohar, 6.

Young, I. M. (1990). Justice and the politics of difference. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press