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GANDHI AND AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON VILLAGE AND VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

¹Mridula Sharda and ²Mamta

¹Professor and ²Ph. D Research Scholar

^{1&2}Department of Political Science, Himachal Pradesh University
Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India

Abstract: Village is the basic unit of governance in India. Due to the illiteracy, ignorance and poverty rural society had followed many inconvenient traditions and customs which have created many disparities among the rural people such as caste-based stratification along with class character and gender disparities. Later, 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993, Panchayati Raj Institution (PRIs) have been introduced as the Constitutional governance system in the rural India. Which provides three tier representative system to expand democratic participation of PRIs as a medium for the effective involvement of the vulnerable sections of the rural society. Two most important personalities Mahatma Gandhi and Bhim Rao Ambedkar had diverse views on the institution of village and village government. Both of them agreed on the points such as upliftment of the last one, social justice, and equality and liberty for each one to participate in the political processes and institutions. Both had a different strategy. The present paper is focused on the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Bhim Rao Ambedkar on the village & village governance. 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993 has been evaluated in the context of the views of the two great personalities who exerted great impact on the Indian Constitutional perspective and practices.

Keywords: Gandhi and Ambedkar on Village, Panchayati raj Institution, Social Change, Vulnerable Section.

Introduction

According to Rig Veda Village was “a group of families living in a certain place”. A group of families known as (kula) was a village (gram). Thus, families were the primary unit of social organization. At the time of Vedic period large number of people used to live in Villages, those large villages were called the clan (Vis) and the larger organization than the clan was known as people (Jana) while the whole country was known as Rastra. Village was well organized in groups and administered by the gramni¹ with the help of village council. The administrative Institutions were democratic in nature while the members were not elected but they were nominated by different groups to ensure the representation of all people. The Ramayana and Mahabharata the great epics of Hindus had almost similar democratic administration and close to earlier periods. At the Mauryan period village administrative system was well organized and elaborated but due to the emergence of caste system it started to dominate the political system openly. In the early and later Muslim period, the special tax called zezia was imposed on non-Muslims but it was removed in the later Muslim period. It did not affect the administrative system of rural India so far. But during the British period the village council (Panchayats) get declined due to its replacement by revenue officials. After independence the village council get revived again to administer the villages (Shanker, 1988, Pp. 1-3)

United Nation Division of Public Administration defined local government as

“A political subdivision of nation (or, in a federal system, a state) which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the power to impose taxes on or to extract labour for prescribed purpose. The governing body of such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected...” (Cited in Jha & Mathur (Eds.), 1999, P. 58). It means local government is an institution which perform certain functions and responsibilities according to the certain laws.

Local Institutions are important connotation in the governance and democracy. Empowered local government create space for the democratic ways to manage the society. Masses get an opportunity to manage their affaires according to their needs and wishes. It also strengthens political democracy and it is a step forward in the field of social justice.

The fundamental task before the Constitution makers was the social revolution in the society. For that matter they needed such kind of cooperative structure which would help to bring social change. From this perspective Gandhian model of decentralisation was there to organise the society in such a way where village was the fulcrum of the Indian Society. Gandhi did not believe that “life in the India’s villages was ideal; he hoped that it would be reformed, medically, economically and socially”. He stated that villages should be stateless and classless. There would be no Prime Minister and Government (Austin, 1972, p, 35). Gandhi asserted that democracy should be based on decentralisation. For this purpose, village Panchayats were necessary to train the people in Government. On November, 1948 the Constituent Assembly made provisions under article 40 which comes under Directive Principles of State Policy that it is the responsibility of the state to organize the Village Panchayats (Austin, 1972, pp. 45).

¹. Gramini was the head of the village who used to administer the village with help of his council.



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Methodology

The present study is based on both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data is collected through the secondary sources like Books, Magazines, Articles, journals, newspapers and e-resources to understand the views and proposed models by both the leaders in addition to understand in depth the decentralisation in India. Quantitative data is collected through primary sources as, semi- structured questionnaire and participatory observation to evaluate empirically the decentralised model enacted by 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993. Data is analysed through objective content analysis and primary data explained through percentage method.

Gandhi on Village and Village Panchayat

In Gandhi's views village is necessary for the formation of republican society which would be based on the Indian Civilisation. For Gandhi village is not only geographical territory where people used to live. Besides that, village is the essence of Indian civilisation (Chakrabarty, 2006, P. 104). Village civilisation is based on the handicraft and city civilisation is based on machinery. He said that we can be politically free after overthrowing the British rule but real Swaraj and home rule cannot be imagined without reviving the village civilisation and village communities. Although he was concerned about the situation of village like practice of untouchability and lack of hygiene and sanitation. Besides that, he reiterated the revival of village through handicraft and making people self-reliant². Village would be self-governed community and the government affair of the village would be conducted by establishing the Panchayat institution in which five people would be elected for the five years by the adult franchise (Jodhka, 2002, pp. 3346-3347).

Mahatma Gandhi criticised modern civilisation which is based on the modern machinery. He said in Indian civilisation plough is used to till the land. We used to live with cottage industry and we had our own indigenous education system. It was not that we were not aware with the invention of machinery. But the reason is that we don't want to become slave of the machinery. We are satisfied with the village life style where all individuals live independently and follow their agricultural occupation. These people are enjoying true Home Rule. If any part remained untouched by this modern civilisation it is village. He said that if we love to our mother land and want to know about the true India, he suggested that go to the interior of India which is far away from the polluted railways you will find true patriotism and Home Rule. For him real civilisation resides in villages (Gandhi, 1909, Pp. 54-55).

As villages remained the representative units of Indian society. Villages are not only the place to live for the people it also shows the fundamental values of Indian civilisation. As villages have remained the representative of 'real India' it needed transformation and liberation. As Mahatma Gandhi great advocator of village was very much concerned about the actual condition of village and reiterated ways and means for reforming the village (Jodhka, 2002, p. 3343).

He said village had suffered from many centuries, Independence should begin from the bottom where each and every village would have a Panchayat institution having full power. We are guilty for the suffering of villages for that matter we should work for the revival of village by encouraging them to revive their handicraft and arts. Mahatma Gandhi believed in the democratic decentralisation from the bottom in which state will be based on the foundation of "village Swaraj³." "The world Swaraj is sacred world, a Vedic word, meaning self- rule and self- restraint which Independence often means" (Gandhi, 1962, p.16). He said that his conception of village Swaraj can be achieved only through truth and non-violence alone. The real democracy or Swaraj cannot be achieved by untruthful and nonviolent means. Democratic decentralisation will provide a platform for the masses to participate in decision making and the execution of the decisions (Sharma, 1987, p.11). Decentralisation is also important for the economic sufficiency at the grass root level. The purpose was to eradicate the exploitation of the marginalised section of the society. So, Gandhi wanted the establishment of Panchayat institution to eliminate the exploitation and people will govern themselves cooperatively (Sharma, 1987, p. 45)

In Gandhian model of society, village is the basic unit of socio-economic and political life. He was against the centralisation and over state. He did not glorify the deformed village burdened with the practices like untouchability, gender discrimination and patriarchal practices along with feudal set up. He was aware of the need of reforming the village along with the de-construction of certain institutions and practices. He had the opinion of a 'New village' which is constructed on the values of non-violence, truth, trusteeship and fraternity could be a sound base for a republic. Economically as a unit practice the principle of production by masses could only be possible through cottage and small-scale industries based on the logical use of machines. Machines should not displace human resources. Politically village should be the base of organic unit of the power system. Decentralisation of powers and subsidiary principles should be followed. Each tier should perform according to their capacity.

²Self-reliant is a social and economic capability of an individual, household or a community to fulfil indispensable requirement like food, protection, water, shelter, health and education in a sustainable manner and nobility.

³According to Gandhi Home Rule means Self-Rule and Self- Control. Home rule is not only the withering away the foreigner but actual home rule is self- control.



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Ambedkar views on village and Village Institution

Besides Mahatma Gandhi B.R Ambedkar had a very different view regarding village and village Institutions. Ambedkar's village represents a model of Hindu social order. Ambedkar said that untouchables did not live together with the touchable in the same village. It means untouchable used to live outside on the border of village as a separate group (Ambedkar, 1946. P. 31). As an untouchable he faced various discriminatory practices in his childhood as well as in his professional life. He said that village in India is an image of conservative India.

Ambedkar replied against those who considered village as fundamental part of Indian Civilization that "I hold that these village republics have been the ruin of India What is the village, but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism" (Jodhka, 2002, p. 3343)?

Ambedkar opposed the conventional village system and did not speak very much in the Constituent Assembly debates. He showed his views regarding Panchayat Institution during the Bombay Legislative Debates in 1932-33. His major concern was the position of the depressed class in new Panchayat legislation. He recommended the representation of marginalised section in the village Panchayat (Aryan, 2007, p. 213).

Indeed, he did not oppose the very concept of decentralisation of power but he was worried that village community had a great social, economic, and cultural differences. There is a division between touchable and untouchables Hindu, minority, and landless labour etc. In his opinion it would be impossible for caste Hindu to accept the representation of untouchables. He denied the introduction of Panchayat on the basis that villages are conservative in nature and traditional villages are dominated by the privileged class. He was worried that the conventional dominating class would use the political Institution of village Panchayat to sustain their privileged position in the society (Aryan, 2007, pp. 215-216).

Regarding Self- government Ambedkar said, "unless I am satisfied that every self-governing institution has provision in it which give the depressed classes special representation in order to protect their rights and until that is not done, I am afraid it will not be possible for me to assent to the first part of the bill," (Moon, 1979, p. 107).

When the legislative council had a debate over the power of Panchas through a village Panchayat Bill Ambedkar violently said, "A population which is hidebound by caste; a population which flouts equality of status; and is dominated by notion of gradation in life; a population which thinks that some are very high and some are low. Can be expected to have the right notion even to discharge bare justice? Sir, I deny that proposition and I submit that it is not proper to expect us to submit our life, and our liberty, and our property to the hands of these Panchas" (Moon, 1979, p. 109). Endogamy⁴ is the basic feature of the caste system prevailed in Hindu social order which originated from the Brahmin caste then imitated by all the non- Brahmin classes. It had created differentiation and sub-divisions in the society which came in the form of castes (Moon, 1979, p. 18).

In November, 1948, the Constitution draft was introduced and there was no provision regarding the Gandhian concept of Democratic decentralisation and Panchayati Raj. As many Gandhian supporter of village Swaraj criticised the final draft of the Constitution. Ambedkar while replying to the criticism referred Charles Metcalfe who said "dynasty after dynasty tumbles down. Revolution succeeded revolution. Hindu. Pathan, Mughals, Maratha, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn but the village communities remain the same. In times of trouble, they arm and fortify themselves. A hostile army passes through the country. The village communities collect their little cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked" (Sharma, 1987, p.103).

Gandhian way of social reform is based on that each group, that each person must make demands for their upliftment by themselves. It should not be done by others it should be done by themselves. Another hand Ambedkar said that there should be change in the environment which consist two things. First thing he said "struggles" which would ensure the civil rights for the untouchables. Second, he demanded "equality of opportunity" for the schedule castes. Which later can be seen in the form of reservations. He said Indian societies are in the hand of Brahmin class only adult franchise cannot ease their grip. Ambedkar went to such an extent that there should be the separate settlement across the country, where they will be free to conduct their affaires in these settlements (Shourie, 1997, Pp.364-367).

⁴The world Endogamy means getting married in once own community or group. Ambedkar considered endogamy as an important factor for the sustainability of the caste system in Indian Society.



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Gandhi and Ambedkar

Both the national leaders were sensitive towards the marginalised sections of the Indian societies. Both intended to evolve a society which would be based on social justice. According to two, women, Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes are the marginalised group of the Indian society without recognising their status in the Indian society, an Independent India would not be able to realise the true democracy. Both were aware about the mal-practices, superstitions and stigma attached to the vulnerable sections of the society. Schedule caste, Schedule Tribe and women are treated differently in the society based on the caste, patriarchy and class. Both were agreed on the point that social change in reference to the democratic values should be the primary concern of the Independent India. Gandhi as political strategist and leader of pre- independent India believed in the evolutionary change and had modernist approach to deal with the contemporary situations. He had faith in ancient knowledge, scriptures and institutions. He always tried to assimilate present with past, and east with west. His belief in the village as a unit of the Indian society is based on the concept of “reform and change”. He was aware of the drawbacks of the village social, economic and political situations. Through his concept of village Swaraj and critical appraisal of Western Industrial society, he tried to build a village society. His model of village society was based on the concept of flexibility of profession, inter-caste relationship, trusteeship, fraternity.

Empowered village would be antithesis to the drawbacks of centralised elite-democracy. Mass participation in the governance and production of goods would lead to the economic and political democracy. Strength of the local institutions and participation of the vulnerable sections would melt the hierarchical order of the society. Ambedkar a person of logical mind with good understanding of vulnerability and psychology of those who were not treated well. He was himself victim of the order of the Indian society. In his vision Indian Village’s demographic patterns, behaviour patterns, formal and informal power system is dominated by traditional institutions and psyche which was deep rooted with the discriminatory attitude. Ambedkar during his stay in England influenced by the socio-economic and political practices of that society. During the evolution of his thought in pre- Independence days, his primary concern was the “Social Change”. Social Change refer to “Change that are significant, which alter the underlying structure of an object and situation over a period of time. Thus, social change does not include any and all change, but only big ones, changes which transform things fundamentally. The bigness of change is measured not only by how much change it brings about but also by the scale of change, that is by how large a section of society it affects” (Reddy, 2011, p. 245). He had a faith that without deconstructing the caste institutions and evolving awareness among the marginalised sections the political Independence would be meaningless. He said that “political reform cannot with impunity take precedence over social reform in the sense of reconstruction of society is a thesis. Which, I am sure cannot be controverted” (Ambedkar, 1936, p. 26). He adopted various strategies those including Constitutional measures to highlight the discriminatory actions. In Pre- Independence almost 85 per cent of the population was residing in the villages. Endogamy, untouchability and mal-treatment were the common practices in the rural system in India. Ambedkar’s belief was that village as a demographic and social unit is dominated by the Brahminical order. Established practices in the rural societies were not easy to be deconstruct to give space to the marginalised sections⁵ of the rural society. His preference was to transform the Indian society through assertion by the deprived sections of the society. According to Ambedkar “The assertion by the individual of his own opinion and beliefs, his own Independence and interest as over against group interest is beginning of all social reform” (Ambedkar.1936, p. 56). A Good example of this practice was an incident of Mahad Satyagraha on March 20, 1927 and Kala Ram temple entry in Nasik on March 2, 1930. Unlike Gandhi he never believed in decentralisation of power without bringing change in the social system in rural India. Against the Gandhian model based on moral and ideal responsibility of the higher caste and elite section of the society Ambedkar believed in the legislative measures and awareness of those who are deprived. Many provisions of the Indian Constitution such as:

- Preamble: “Justice- Social, Economic and Political”;
- Fundamental Rights (Art. 12 to 32);
- Directive Principles of State Policy (Art. 36 to 51);
- Reservation provision for jobs and representation for the SCs and STs in Parliament and State legislative Assembly;
- Constitutional supremacy and special provisions for the protection of vulnerable section clearly indicate the intention of the B.R Ambedkar.

⁵Marginalized sections are those sections of society who remained unrecognized and deprived from the centuries a. Here the term marginalized section denotes the SCs, STs, and women of the Indian Society.



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73rd Constitutional Amendment Act

Although initially, Indian Constitution had many provisions to ensure social change and social justice (like article 14, 15, 15(4), 15 (5), 16, 16(4), 16 (4A) 17, 29&30, 38 and 46)

Article 14: It has two provisions equality before law and equal protection of law for all individuals;

Article 15: It prohibit any discrimination on the bases of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or any of them;

Article 15(4): Positive discrimination for SCs /STs and;

Art. 16: Provision of equal opportunity in public employment;

Art.16 (4A): This permitted state to provide reservation for SCs and STs in promotion;

Art.17: Abolition of Untouchability;

Art. 29&30 guarantee cultural and educational rights;

Art.38: State to secure a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people;

Art.46: Promotion of educational and economic interest of SCs, STs and other weaker sections.

With the passage of time many legislations and Amendments have been enacted to strengthen the edifice of the democracy by empowering those who were deprived and secluded in the society. Acts like Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe (prevention of Atrocities) act, 1989, 73rd Amendment Act, 1993, Panchayat extension to the Schedule Areas (PESA Act, 1996), Right to Information Act, 2005 and Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 and MGNREGA. Out of all these acts 73rd Amendment Act, was passed after forty-three years of enactment of the Indian Constitution. After Independence elected, bodies were only confined to the national and state level till the Constitutional Amendment Act, 73rd & 74th and below the state and village level was the negligible elected bodies. In some of the states, Panchayats were constituted on village level. But power system on village level was controlled by the traditional power holders. Caste, class and patriarchy was dominating features of the village system. Marginalised section remained on the margin. They were not able to locate at large in the democratic India. Centralisation and lack of effective representative bodies became major constrain for realising the dream of Gandhi and Ambedkar. 73rd Amendment with extensive provisions of reservation for the marginalised section of society and decentralisation of power to the village level is a historic step in Constitutional history. It was a stepping stone to revive the rural society in which traditional practices and institutions be deconstructed in favour of social justice and social change.

73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993 enacted after a long process. At the beginning the Panchayati Raj bill was introduced by Rajiv Gandhi government in 1989 but failed. After that V.P sikh Government tried again to enact the Panchayati Raj Institution Act, but it was lapsed due do the fall of union government. Finally, Rao Government introduced it in 1991 with modification. Panchayati Raj Bill was passed by the Parliament in 1992 and after the ratification of 17 states it came into form on April 24th, 1993. It provided reservation for the SCs and STs in the Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs) according to the proportion of their population and 1/3 reservation for the women in the Panchayati Raj Institutions. It attempts to provide the reservation on the rotation bases in each level at every Panchayat (Singh, 1994, pp. 823-824).

So here Gandhian perspective of decentralisation and participation of people in decision making has been fulfilled into some extent. And on another side provision of the reservation for SCs, STs, and women in Panchayati Raj Institution was the idea of Ambedkar. So, 73rd amendment can be seen as the synthesis of the ideas of B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi. Although there are many flaws in the system the country has not been able to achieve their dream completely. But the country is moving ahead and things are changing gradually.

Mandatory provisions of seats for the vulnerable sections paved the way for the deep-rooted democracy. A large number of masses got chance in democratic journey of the country. Ambedkar and Gandhi both were agreed for the decentralisation of powers with certain riders. Both were of the strong opinion that village society should be reformed in favour of social justice, harmony, fraternity, gender equality and social equality should be the guiding principles of the rural society. Such as healthy society should be empowered to manage their affairs. Decentralisation of power through 73rd Amendment empowers the Panchayats for the preparations of plans for socio-economic development of the village. Twenty-nine subjects listed in the eleventh schedule to the PRIs can be helpful in realising the Gandhi's principles of subsidiaries. Ambedkar's concern was just share of power to those who were discriminated on the ground of man-made disparities. He was not against the decentralisation. His basic motive was the socio-economic and political equality. He wanted transformed society based on the principles of equality. 73rd Amendment has its correlation to the Ambedkar's idea of equality. Reservation as a medium can be a source for the social change.



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Empirical study of correlation between 73rd Amendment as well as Gandhi and Ambedkar’s Ideas.

After more than twenty-five years of the effective implementation of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment act it is important to evaluate the Amendment on the ground that how far its implementations transformed the rural society in accordance to the vision of Gandhi and Ambedkar. In this section empirically an effort is made to evaluate 73rd Amendment on the scale of Gandhi and Ambedkar’s concept of social change and social justice.

Study was conducted during the Panchayat Election 2021 in District Shimla, Himachal Pradesh. Three villages were taken as a sample from the three Panchayats two Panchayats come under the Rampur Block and Thaili Chakti Panchayat comes under the Nankhari Block of District Shimla. These three villages were Kasha pat village which comes under the kasha pat Panchayats, Chakti village come under the Thaili Chakti Panchayat and Sarpara village comes under Sarpara Panchayat at District Shimla in Himachal Pradesh. The total number of the respondents were 30. According to the 2011 census the Population of Kasha village is 609 in which 306 are males while 303 are females and the population of Pat village is 684. The population of Chakti village is 291 in which 142 are males while 149 are females. The population of Sarpara village is 605 out of which 317 are males while 288 are females.

Table 1. Profile of the selected Village

Sr. No.		Kasha Village	Chakti Village	Sarpara Village
1	Population	306(males)/303(females)	142(males)/149(females)	317(males)/288(females)
2	Literacy Rate	68.58%	69.14%	66.67%
3	Schedule caste	240 (39.4%)	233 (80%)	229 (37%)

Source: 2011 census.

Table 2. Respondents Profile and Opinion

Sr. No	Issues		Number/ Percentage%
1	Educational Qualification	Primary:	4 (13.3%)
		Secondary	19 (63.3%)
		Higher Education	7 (23.3%)
2	Weather Contested Election of previous Panchayat?	Yes	10 (34%)
		No	20 (66%)
3	Do you belong to any political party?	Yes	10 (33.3%)
		No	20 (66.6%)
4	Did your family member contest the Panchayat election before?	Yes	9 (26.6%)
		No	21 (73.3%)
5	Did you contest the election on reserved seat?	Yes	10 (33%)
		No	20 (67%)
6	Will you contest election in the future?	Yes	26 (90%)
		No	4 (10%)
7	Was this your decision to contest election?	Own choice	23 (76.6%)
		Desire of your family and relatives	7 (23.3%)
8	Do you feel that all the sections get representation in your Panchayat	Yes	28 (96%)
		No	2 (4%)

Source: Compiled by the researcher on the basis of field experiences.



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Table shows the profile of the respondents. Educational qualification of the respondents shows that 63.3 per cent respondents had qualified their secondary education while 23.3 per cent respondents were above it. This shows that educated people are contesting election at the Panchayat level. 66 per cent respondents are contesting election first time. That means new people are entering in the Panchayat election. 66.6 per cent respondents do not belong to any political party while only 30 percent belongs to political party. 67 per cent respondents did not contested election on reserved seat and 90 per cent respondents intended to contest election in future.76.6 per cent respondents contested election on their own choice. 96 per cent respondents feels that there is representation of all the section of society in the village Panchayat.

Changed position of the Panchayats indicate the change in the village level political dimension. Now the young educated strata also take part in the political activities at the ground level. Local level Institutions have become viable third tier of the power system in India. Officials cannot ignore the representation of village communities. At the national level and in the most of the state's local elections attracted more the masses. In Himachal Pradesh in 2021 PRIs election more than 80.40 per cent voters participated in the elections. Electoral politics indicates the importance of local bodies.

Contrary to the pre, 1993 local politics, local bodies are becoming nurseries for the grooming of the leaders. Given data indicates that youngsters are the symbols of social change. Neither they are dependent on patriarchy nor do they beg to the political parties. They are visionaries who are interested to change in the rural map.

Observation and analysis

1. Women participation in three villages is not limited just to cast the votes but they are also taking part in door-to-door campaigning. Researcher observed that the SC women are also contesting the election in general open women seat. Researcher found that besides their weak political and economic background they are contesting the election.
2. Level of the awareness among three Panchayats is different. Researcher observed that people of village Sarpara and village Chakti are more aware about the different government policies and schemes they are getting more benefit from it although the majority population is SCs in Chakti village which is 80 per cent. But the people of Kasha village are not very much aware about these things. The reason of the difference might be its geographical location and poor connectivity. Development issues were dominating in the Panchayat elections.
3. It is observed that new faces and youths are contesting in the Panchayat elections. Age group of the contestants was 21 to 40 years. It implies that youth participation in local government has increased.

The traditional variations in the society are melting. Rural society is moving towards social change. Ambedkar and Gandhian vision for social justice can be achieved through legislative measures and mass efforts.

Findings and Discussions

Believers of flexibility and Evolution

Mahatma Gandhi is flexible in nature which can be seen in various forms like his views about the Varna system, he believes in the Varna System which is described in the "Vedas" based on the occupation of individual. Besides that, he was against the untouchability and endogamy. Apart from him Ambedkar was also liberal and flexible in nature. For example, reform in Hindu Code Bill he just intended to reform those laws which were against the social equality like he demanded right to property for women.

Modern

It is felt that Gandhi is against the modernisation and Modern Technology. But as he stated in the Hind Swaraj that he is not against the modern technology he against that modern technology which will make individual slave and create unemployment. Mahatma Gandhi believes in the inter-dining and intermarriage but for him it is subjective in nature, he supported the entry of untouchables in the temples. His conception of Village Swaraj. In his Ram Rajya everyone would be equal there will be no poverty and enmity. So, he was talking about equality and fraternity which was also the concern of Ambedkar. These ideas show the modernity in their behaviour. Apart from him Ambedkar was great supporter of industrialisation and modernity. He said that industries should be established and people should move from villages to cities where they will not face any kind of cast-based discrimination. He believed in democracy which would be based on liberty, Equality and fraternity.

Gandhi believes in the integration while Ambedkar believes in communitarian upliftment

Gandhi believes in the integration of society and the very example of integration can be found when he opposed the separate electorate for the untouchable (1932, Poona pact). While Ambedkar had a different view, he found that society which was based on the inequalities where one section of the society was deprived should have provision of special assistance. Which later came into the form



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of reservation also called as positive discrimination. His approach is communitarian in nature when he said that there should be the provision of separate settlements across the country where untouchables would be able to govern themselves independently. Therefore, the untouchable where they will have their own representation and also govern themselves.

Reformation of Society

Both Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar wants to bring the change in the society. Their goal to reform the society is same but the methods to achieve that goal are different to some extent. Mahatma Gandhi wanted the revival of society by promoting cottage industries and making village self-reliant. For that matter village Panchayat should be formed which will be governed by the people themselves cooperatively. In that village everybody would be equal and there will be no division on the bases of caste and class. This society will be stateless society. While Ambedkar said that villages are based on Hindu social order which is based on caste system. He argued that society cannot be revived until or unless that caste system is not annihilated. He said that transformation and change should happen democratically. The common thing between the two is that both believes in the non-violent methods and truth.

Conclusion

On the bases of the comparative analysis of both the personalities it is concluded that both leaders were aware about the socio-economic and political situations of Indian society. Both had followed their own strategies to reform the Indian society. The strategies followed by them were different but the end goal was same. Both believes in the peaceful and non-violent methods to bring transformation in the society. Both were concerned about the situation of the vulnerable section of the society. 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, have become a milestone to implement the vision of Gandhi and Ambedkar. Decentralization with special representation for the marginalised sections of the society in the decision making brought a big change in the Indian rural system. As per the above conducted study it shows that after implementations of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1993, PRIs as an Institution provided an opportunity for the people to participate in decision making which also leads to the strengthening of the democracy at the root level.

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