UNIT 4 CONTEMPORARY DALIT PHILOSOPHERS

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To realize the importance of the struggles of three eminent personalities, Ambedkar, Periyar and Kancha Illaiah
- To bring to awareness that Dalit philosophy is a philosophy of struggle
- To admit the fact that liberation of the oppressed can be derived only from praxis oriented philosophy
- To show the relevance of these three philosophers for the contemporary generation
- To remove the prejudice and suspicion associated with these revolutionary personalities
- To present the truth that Dalit philosophy is a type of philosophy which emerges from life situations, especially when the human mind, ego and body goes through trials, tragedies and oppressions from fellow human beings.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'Dalit' is used today to denote those people who are marginalized, oppressed and separated from the society's established welfare. In the context of traditional Hindu society, Dalit status has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure. The Dalits are discriminated against socially, religiously, politically, economically, and above all, ideologically. They are treated as polluted people destined to live in humiliation, pain and constant suffering.

Dalit philosophy is relatively a contemporary branch of philosophy emerging from the philosophizing of the 'wounded psyche'. It arises from the cries, sufferings and struggle of the oppressed. Rational thinkers from the non-brahminical strata of the Indian society are responsible for the evolution of such a philosophy. This philosophy is the war cry of the oppressed raised against the oppressing social structure of the Indian Hindu society.

4.2 DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: THE LIBERATOR OF THE DALITS

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (14 April 1891 — 06 December 1956) is a great example and a motivational factor to the downtrodden Dalit Indians. Though being born in the then untouchable caste known as the "Mahars", he achieved amazing heights in the areas of education and politics. Ambedkar was a versatile personality. All through his life he suffered discrimination at the hands of the upper castes. His life was devoted to the fight against *untouchability* and caste system.

The Philosophy of Ambedkar

Ambedkarian philosophy aims at giving life to those who are disowned, at elevating those who are suppressed, and ennobling those who are downtrodden, and granting liberty, equality, and justice to all irrespective of caste, creed, and gender. Ambedkar's focal point is always the oppressed and the depressed. Ambedkar knew that only through proper education one can climb up the social status, especially in an oppressing society in which religion (Hinduism) dictates the how of everything in relation to societal solidarity. He became a hardcore critic of the caste system. It was his firm belief that the caste system in Indian society is the base for all the atrocities being perpetrated on the Dalits in India. He had the view that only education can give self-respect to the wounded psyche of the downtrodden Dalits.

Ambedkar became a recognized leader for the oppressed. He motivated the oppressed to fight for self-elevation. Ambedkar can be counted among few Indians who struggled to restructure Indian society with humanitarian principles. He was an advocate of social and economic freedom. He struggled against the social discrimination and the economic exploitation faced by the oppressed community. Ambedkar felt that the eradication of the caste system will build unity in the segmented Indian society. Ambedkar believed that the untouchables, Dalits, and tribals should be considered as separate from the Hindu fold.

For Ambedkar, religion is an indefinite word with no fixed meaning. He also understood that religion, if it to survive, it must be in consonance with reason. True religion must uphold liberty, equality and fraternity. Further, the function of a true religion is to uplift the individual. He applied the test of justice and the test of social utility to assess the relevance of religion. He counted religion as a social force. He denied the infallibility of religious texts as sources of divine authority. He was much attracted to rationalistic godless religion.

Ambedkar renounced Hinduism because he thought it to be irrelevant for modern human society. Even as early as 1927, he burned the Manusmriti and denounced it as oppressive literature. This shows his courage and determination to fight against injustice even though it is considered to be divinely sanctioned. He was a vehement critic of Brahmanism. For him casteism is Brahmanism incarnate. Brahmanism is the poison which has spoiled Hinduism. To save Hinduism the only way is to kill Brahmanism. Ambedkar viewed the Hindu religion as a multitude of

commands and prohibitions. Spiritual principles which are truly universal, applicable to all races, to all countries, to all times, is not to be found in Hinduism exclaims Ambedkar. Hinduism through its various codes tends to deprive the moral life of freedom and spontaneity from its followers. The Varna system of the Hindu religion gave much discourage to Ambedkar. He felt it to be oppressive and inhuman. The Varna system isolates people. Isolation means want of sympathy, want of consideration and the want of fellowship. Ambedkar believed that the caste system is the cause of disunity among Indians which has led to foreign oppression. The abolition of caste was the only solution Ambedkar gave to achieve swaraj. Ambedkar believed that Hinduism is the root cause of this inhumane caste system. He wanted to promote inter-dining and inter-marriage in order to achieve his goal of caste abolition.

In his magnum opus, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, he highlights the central issues which concerned him all through his life. He not only promoted the teachings of Buddha but gave new interpretations suitable for the present context. His picture of Buddhism focused more on the social message of Buddha. Ambedkar preferred Buddhism over other religions because he found in Buddhist teachings: *prajna* (understanding against superstition and supernaturalism), *Karuna* (love), and *samata* (equality). Ambedkar chose Buddhism because he felt it to be a religion of liberation especially for the oppressed, down trodden and despised society. He felt that Buddha was satisfied to be the *margadata* (guide). He rejected Christianity chiefly because of the supernaturalism attached to it.

Ambedkar's philosophy of life reflected clearly in the Indian Constitution. According to Ambedkar, the ultimate goal of the Indian Constitution was to render political justice, social justice, and economic justice, equity of status and of opportunity to all, dignity of person, fraternity, unity and integrity of the nation. Ambedkar also thought that the Constitution should not tie down its people to live in a particular type of society. Freedom of choice is a must. The needs of the society must be readily met. The heart of the Indian Constitution is that fundamental rights are given to all citizens. The Constitution upheld the dignity of the human. Its focus is on creating a casteless, classless, homogenous society. The fundamental rights are designed with the chief objective of elimination and abolishing inequalities and prejudices. In this connection special mention may be made of Article 17 of the Constitution which abolishes the practice of untouchability in any form. In a simple and brief way this article abolished the age-old anachronism of Indian society. It seems that Ambedkar was predestinated to uplift the oppressed form the social evils they went through. By being the brain behind the Constitution of India, Ambedkar can be called the 'Manu' of the 20th century. The contrast is that Manu through his code of laws stood for a divided society based on caste and Varna. Ambedkar shines as a supreme social architect who stood for the establishment of integrated liberty, fraternity and justice. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar passed away on 16th December 1956. His demise was a great loss to India at large and particularity to the oppressed classes. They lost their champion. The whole country mourned the death of this great humanist. Ambedkar can be rightly portrayed as the greatest social reformer of modern India. Reform was in his blood. He was a protestant of Hindutva and its cold orthodoxy. He had really understood that rights of the oppressed cannot be gained without struggle. He upheld the view that caste-system killed the public spirit and castes are antinational. Ambedkar was a true patriot, a great visionary, a man of iron heart, great wisdom, huge foresight and hard endurance.

4.3 PHILOSOPHICALANALYSIS OF RELIGION

Dr. Ambedkar in his work, 'Philosophy of Hinduism' held, 'for Dalits, Religion is a live-wire'. He pointed out that for Dalits, religion as cultural phenomena is necessary; it is a social necessity to provide a moral unity. "Religion is a social force ... religion stands for a scheme of divine governance. The scheme becomes an ideal for the society to follow. The ideal may be non-existent in the sense that it is something, which is constructed. However, although non-existent, it is very ... it has full operative force, which is inherent in every ideal".

In the process of his analysis of Hinduism, one could infer the truth that Ambedkar has developed his own theory of (indigenous) analysis of religion in his attempt to understand the nature of Hinduism and evaluate its social function. By specifically analyzing Hinduism as practiced in the Indian Society Ambedkar contributes to a critique of religion for societal liberation by developing a specific theory of analysis or a philosophy of religion in the contemporary Indian Socio-philosophical tradition. Ambedkar suggests that a 'philosophy of a religion must be judged, based on its "Revolution" because the mother of Philosophy is revolution. He says, "To me the best method to ascertain the criterion by which to judge the philosophy of Religion is to study the Revolutions which religion has undergone. That is the method I propose to adopt '. However, what does he mean by revolution should be clarified here in order to understand Ambedkar's philosophical analysis of religion. By revolution, he clarifies that it is meant to be both a conceptual or theoretical and social in nature. By social revolution he means alternative changes in structures of society towards an egalitarian social order. If any religion does not pass the test of 'such revolutions' both theoretical and social then, it tends to be not positivistic.

Ambedkar talks of two types of revolution: the external and the internal types of revolution. The external revolution refers to the factors responsible for conceptual changes in religion regarding its idea of God, morality and social order. The scientific factors like the Copernicus revolution, Darwin's ideas of evolution are cited as examples. The internal revolution refers to actual conceptual shifts in the understanding of religion as the result of its response to the challenges or revolt provided by scientific factors. That a true religion should undergo these changes in order to be relevant to contemporary needs of human society, is the point of insistence that Ambedkar brings home here. Ambedkar proceeds to spell out that the other norms or criterions to judge the authenticity of a religion are the concepts Social Utility, Justice and Equality.

Having pointed out the types of norms as to be adopted for a critique of religion, Ambedkar proceeds to adopt the norm of Justice to testify the truth of Hinduism both as religion and a social order. Because, according to him, Justice as a criterion is appropriate to the modern world in which the individual in the society is the end and the moral good of the society does justice to the individual. The norm or the criterion of judging the appropriateness of religion according to Ambedkar should not only be 'Godly' but also be earthly. These concepts of Ambedkar very well advocate that he is a lover of religion and not a denier of religion.

Ambedkar is not a denier of the need of religion. For him, religion is necessary; it is a social necessity to provide a moral unity. 'Religion is a social force ... religion stands for a scheme of divine governance. The scheme becomes an ideal for the society to follow. The ideal may be non-existent in the sense that it is

something, which is constructed. However, although non-existent, it is very ... it has full operative force, which is inherent in every ideal. The norm of utility in religion would promote unity of society as a whole. For Ambedkar, religion must progressively be secularized according to the dictates of the conceptual and scientific changes that occur in human society. He says that religious ideal has hold on humankind, irrespective of any early gain. Its power is to be extended to material benefits. Therefore, to ignore religion is to ignore a live-wire

According to Ambedkar, the Philosophy of Hinduism is neither based on the notion of revolution nor would allow the possibility of any revolution. Because of its insistence on the infallibility of Vedas as only revealed truth, Hinduism does not contain the possibility of accepting any criticism or theoretical revolution in its thought-pattern. In contrast to Hinduism, the very basis or the philosophical foundation of Buddhism lies on the acceptance of the reality of Change as the ultimate fact of reality. Ambedkar points out, "The Hindu is not prepared to face any inquiry" and the fact that he is not prepared to face any inquiry implies that he is not ready to change from his Vedic belief system. In short, the Hindu way of life is deterministic; it is against the principle of any change or revolution or freedom. He is enslaved to his thought-pattern and its resultant social system called Casteism. For Ambedkar, Religion being a social force, is an institution or an influence, which could either be oppressive or not conducive to the growth of the individual in the society. A religion could also be liberative. Whether a religion is oppressive or liberative is revealed only by a methodological rational analysis only and not by any unconditional acceptance of the dictates of that religion. Ambedkar says, "Religion (as) social institution and like all social influences ... may help or harm a society which is in its grip"

4.4 QUOTES OF AMBEDKAR

- 1. My final words of advice to you are educate, agitate and organize; have faith in yourself. With justice on our side I do not see how we can loose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle not for wealth or for power. It is battle for freedom. It is the battle of reclamation of human personality.
- 2. Freedom of mind is the real freedom. A person whose mind is not free though he may not be in chains, is a slave, not a free man. One whose mind is not free, though he may not be in prison, is a prisoner and not a free man. One whose mind is not free though alive, is no better than dead. Freedom of mind is the proof of one's existence.
- 3. Caste cannot be abolished by inter caste dinners or stray instances of inter caste marriages. Caste is a state of mind. It is a disease of mind. The teachings of the Hindu religion are the root cause of this disease. We practice casteism and we observe Untouchability because we are enjoined to do so by the Hindu religion. A bitter thing cannot be made sweet. The taste of anything can be changed. But poison cannot be changed into nectar.
- 4. I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved.
- 5. So long as you do not achieve social liberty, whatever freedom is provided by the law is of no avail to you.

- 6. The basis of my politics lies in the proposition that the Untouchables are not a sub-division or sub-section of Hindus, and that they are a separate and distinct element in the national life of India.
- 7. Cultivation of mind should be the ultimate aim of human existence.
- 8. The sovereignty of scriptures of all religions must come to an end if we want to have a united integrated modern India
- 9. What are we having this liberty for? We are having this liberty in order to reform our social system, which is full of inequality, discrimination and other things, which conflict with our fundamental rights.
- 10. A people and their religion must be judged by social standards based on social ethics. No other standard would have any meaning if religion is held to be necessary good for the well-being of the people.

4.5 E. V. R. PERIYAR: THE TAMIL RATIONALIST

E. V. Ramasamy (1879-1973) is popularly known as Periyar (great soul). Periyar was a rationalist par excellence. He stood against all exploits made in the name of religion. Periyar exposed the false religiosity of the Brahmins. Periyar said, "The Brahmins are making you fools in the name of God. They make you have faith in superstitions. They lead a very comfortable life while condemning you as untouchable. They bargain with you to offer prayers to God on your behalf. I strongly condemn this brokerage business and warn you not to believe such Brahmins anymore." As a polemic against Brahminism Periyar developed atheism. His boldly asserted, "There is no god. There is no god at all. He who created god is a fool. He who propagates god is a rogue. He who worships god is a barbarian." He is rightly called as the father of Dravidian rationalism.

Periyar had the habit of questioning the mythologies and superstitious beliefs from a relatively young age. Periyar even from his early days mixed with children of other castes. He also from childhood began abhorring castes and questioning religious discriminations, superstitious beliefs and rituals and spoke of the equality of the people. Rationalism according to Periyar was, "the critical analysis of all things pertaining to the functioning of the human mind and not take anything for granted. Rationalism is not just atheism but the questioning of assumptions and certainties that had been handed down to us from ages past."

Later in his political career Periyar adopted methods like agitation, opposition and criticism to create awareness among the masses. He also started journals in Tamil: *Kudiarasu* (People's government), *Puratchi* (Revolt), *Pakutharivu* (Discernment), and *Viduthalai* (Liberty). Periyar from this time started to wear black shirt to symbolically announce the degraded situation of the Dravidians. Periyar stressed that the Dravidians are in a, "compelling need to preserve the self-respect of their race, language, and culture which had been degraded by the brahminical dominance through their caste-system and superstitions of the Hindu religion." The Self-Respect Movement initiated by Periyar stood against "Brahmin supremacy and domination of certain castes in the name of religion... It demanded the abandonment of caste bigotry and intellectual arrogance". It was a rationalist movement launched, "to liberate people from theological thinking and to secure for all people equality in life irrespective of sex and status." The entire agenda of the Self-Respect Movement rested on five pillars: "(1) No God, (2) No Religion, (3) No Gandhi, (4) No Congress, and (5) No Brahmins." When Periyar held the first Self-

Respect Provincial Conference at Chengalpet, several resolutions such as, "eradication of untouchablity, encouraging of inter-caste marriages, boycott of *purohits* (priests), dropping of caste suffixes to personal names, ensuring equality to women with property rights, widow remarriage, etc, were passed." Periyar's Self-respect Movement was without doubt a barricade for the Hindutva ideologies and a barrier for the vested interest of the Brahmins. The downtrodden were highly guided and enlightened by the various speeches Periyar and his associates delivered. In south India, we can say that Periyar literally brought self-awareness and self-respect among the then subjugated masses. He taught self-esteem and helped millions to come out of their inferiority complex and slave mentalities infused for centuries by the Brahmin overlords.

4.6 CRITIQUE OF RELIGION

In the eyes of the general public, Periyar is seen as an avowed atheist. Though Periyar was an atheist, promoting atheism was not his principal task. Periyar's chief agenda was to democratize the Dravidian society. When he saw that Brahminism was the chief opposing force which hindered him to achieve his goal, Periyar turned against Brahminism by using atheism and rationalism as his two cardinal weapons. Periyar was motivated by a reconstructive vision. He wanted to rouse the Dravidian society from its dogmatic slumber and cleanse their minds the incredulity perpetuated by Brahminism. Periyar was much critical of the notion of God. He says, "of all the foolish notions which ruined the human race on earth, it is the thought of god that is of foremost significance. Periyar was too bold for his day when he declared that 'god' is a myth. For the followers of Periyar, to believe in God is, "to believe in irrational beings who exercise autocratic powers over the destiny of man and the world of nature. Perivar feels that the concept of god is in itself humanity's projection of its own desired self-perfection. God is seen as perfect or privileged 'HUMAN'. So humans see their god in anthropomorphic expressions. The god of a particular people reflects their particular characteristics.

Anita Diehl a researcher on 'Periyar's thoughts' has analyzed many anti-religious sayings of Periyar. She has said that, "the religion Periyar repudiates is the religion which according to him, upholds and gives sanction to religious, social, and economic injustice." Periyar's objective in promoting atheism was not to make a anti-god society. Periyar aimed more on the, "reformation of religion from its superstitious and irrational divine elements. The society in which he lived makes it clear why Periyar did not accept God. We can say "if he accepted God, he had to accept Hindu religion. If he accepted Hindu religion, he had to naturally accept the tie, i.e. *Varnasrama Dharma*, the high and low birth etc. So as a rationalist, Periyar was not prepared to compromise even a bit with the God or Godhead."

4.7 QUOTES OF PERIYAR

- 1. If god is the root cause for our degradations destroy that god. If it is religion destroy it. If it is Manu Darma, Gita, or any other Mythology (Purana), burn them to ashes. If it is temple, tank, or festival, boycott them. Finally if it is our politics, come forward to declare it openly.
- 2. Our country would be considered to have gained independence only when the villagers are completely rid of god, religion, castes, and blind beliefs.

- 3. If we can divert the wealth of the temples and the income accruing to the temples, to start new industries there will be no beggar, no uneducated man, and no man with a low status. There will be a socialist society with perfect equality.
- 4. Wisdom lies in thinking. The spear-head of thinking is rationalism.
- 5. Devotion is nothing but one's private asset. But morality is a public asset. If there is no devotion nothing is lost. But if there is no morality everything is lost.
- 6. It is the duty and responsibility of a rationalist to think freely using intellectual faculty, without any attachments to the terms of 'country,' 'language', 'god',' religion', 'caste' etc., but attached to the humanity, before he/she engages in any activity.
- 7. I am a plain person. I have merely spoken out my mind. I do not say you should believe what I have said because it alone is certain. Accept such ideas as can be accepted, with the help of your reason, after a sound enquiry. Reject the rest.
- 8. Everyone has the right to refute any opinion. But no one has the right to prevent its expression.
- 9. The very word, 'caste', '*Jathi*', is from Sanskrit. In Tamil there is no word to describe caste. It is customary in Tamil, to ask for one's 'sect', or 'class'. Birth is not conditioned by caste distinctions and caste marks. There cannot be any caste among mankind. To speak of 'caste', differences among us who are of the same country, is sheer mischief.
- He, who does not care for dignity, is no better than to a prostitute, however highly educated he is. His education will only endanger those that care for dignity.

4.8 KANSHI RAM (1934-2006): DALIT POLITICAL ICON

He was born in Punjab with Dalit Raidasia Sikh background. His parents were Bishan Kaur and Hari Singh. He completed his Bachelor's degree in science. He joined the Defence Research and Development Organization. During his career in that organization he joined the agitation by Scheduled Caste Employees of Government of India. In 1984, he founded a political party called Bahujan Samaj Part (BSP) as a political party with the stated goal of serving the traditionally lower castes and those who were considered as untouchables. His political vision of empowering the Dalit had got realized under the leadership of Mayawati who became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Kanshiram himself was elected as Member of Parliament. As an author Kanshiram wrote two books, namely, *An Era of the Stooges (Chamcha Age)* and *New Hope.* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kanshi_Ram/ accessed on 8th Feb, 2011.)

4.9 KANCHA ILAIAH: SOCIO-POLITICAL CRITIC

Kancha Ilaiah (1952-) is an Indian activist and passionate writer. He often writes related to contemporary Indian society, religious fundamentalism, Dalitbahujan ideology and condition. He is a very famous Indian political philosopher with much controversies attached to him. He is counted as a hardcore critic against the

Hindutva movement. He advocates the "Dalitization" of Indian culture. Ilaiah is one of the key figures in the international movement for Dalit emancipation from caste oppression - often described as a 'hidden apartheid', due to the caste segregation throughout Indian society.

Kancha Ilaiah is a powerful writer, teacher, social activist and a visionary for the Dalit bahujans in Contemporary India. He is avowed critique of Hindutva, Brahmanical power structures, Spiritual fascism. He is a great motivating factor today in the ideological movement against caste system that perpetuated oppression in this country. His polemic writings have great impact on anti-Hindu sentiments. Along with severe criticism on Brahamical hegemony, he goes deeper into the Dalit life-world and brings out ideological layers embedded in Dalit civil society. His recent work, *The Post-Hindu India*, brings out the Dalit intellectual, cultural and communitarian ethics, engineering and spirituality. Being born in a Kuruma Golla caste which is scheduled as Other Backward Caste, OBC, in Andhra Pradesh, he earned his doctorate degree in political science based on his thesis on Gautama's political philosophy. His famous works are *Why I am not a Hindu – A Critique of Hinduutva from a Dalit-Bahujan Perspective, God as Political Philosopher: Buddha's Challenge to Brahminism, Buffalo Nationalism: A Critique of Spiritual Fascism* and *The Post-Hindu India*. (Wikipedia 2010)

In his writings, especially in *Why I am not a Hindu* he emphatically proposes Dalitization of Indian culture. Dalit philosophy is productive oriented economy and culture in contrast to 'leisure' culture and ideological frame work of brahmanical philosophy. This he believes would pose a radical change in ideological shift in societal thinking. It would enable India to become a more prosperous and egalitarian society. He internalizes the issue of Dalits and is critical of existing untouchability. His critique of *Namaste* in Hindu practice of welcoming a person is an indicator of social inequality persisting still in India. By folding the hands to greet someone it remains a powerful symbolic statement of expressing that one recognizes the other but does not touch the other, since one is not sure of the caste of the other. (Wikipedia 2010)

In his *Buffalo Nationalism*, he strongly advocates the Dalitization of Indian society which would undo the spiritual fascism. He recommends the positive values of the buffalo as productive animal epitomizing the qualities of Dalit-Bahujans. The tackles the issues of right to conversion, role of OBCs providing muscle power to the Hindutva, spread of English language and education among all, reservation quotas in education and employment, globalization and gender. His writings possess intellectual rigour as they present his vision of a more just society.

One of the reasons for lack of concerted efforts on part of the Dalits to build a casteless society is lack of credible leaders who could lead them to liberation and freedom. By and large, they are reduced to be the sheep without a shepherd. Not to say that there are no leaders among Dalits in history but mostly they are unsung heroes. In general, leadership is defined from the dominant perspectives in history. Leadership is associated with the qualities like domination, power, control, intellect, riches or success. But from Dalit perspectives, leadership has to be constructed through one's contribution for the protection and welfare of the society at large. This is possible only by placing oneself with the people suffering humiliation and asserting themselves for achieving the human dignity. It enables the leader to genuinely to journey with his people with a sense of belonging. What matters here is not the power to dominate but to have the credible solidarity with the people whom s/he seeks to accompany in their journey towards emancipation for all.

4.10 QUOTES OF KANCHA ILAIAH

- 1. Hinduism is a religion of violence. All Hindu gods killed their enemies and became heroic images. This is the only religion in the world where the killer becomes god. Whom did they kill? From Brahma to Krishna, those who were killed were Dalitbahujans. Now these images and the stories and narratives and everything is out there in the civil society. Now, because of this, the consciousness of worshipping the killer or worshipping violence did not give any space for human rights. So my question is the human rights discourse must start with an anti-warrior position.
- 2. I am bound to take up critical writing because, unless there is critical writing, social science does not mean anything.
- 3. If you go on saying that India is getting Dalitised, Brahmanism will die a natural death.
- 4. Dalitisation is historically a productive, creative and constructive process because it is rooted in the dignity of labour.
- 5. Among the Dalit-Bahujans, women have an important role within the family and the caste. They set the moral norms themselves, through interaction with the productive process and in the process of struggle with nature.
- 6. Dalit literature has the power to change the Indian social structure, but Indian society is yet to recognize that power.
- 7. Once violence crosses the boundary of self-defence and is used to "punish" others for perceived crimes, it becomes terrorism.

4.11 LET US SUM UP

The Dalit discourse on oppression, dehumanization and discrimination from the Hindu socio-religious-political powers has not only exposed the ugly face of Indian society, it has also made the contemporary Dalit thinkers like Ambedkar, Periyar and Kancha Ilaiah and many others, to construct an ideologue for people's emancipation. Their contribution is valuable in working towards the vision of equality, liberty and fraternity.

4.12 KEY WORDS

Dalitization : An emancipatory project proposed by

Kancha Ilaiah towards equal society where the high ideals of Dalit civil society ensure

all peace and prosperity.

Pakutarivu : Rationalism of Periyar where intellectual

discernment takes place, rejecting blind superstitious beliefs propagated by cunning

Brahmins.

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Student Satisfaction Survey



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Regional Centre							
States Study Center Code							
Stua	y Center Code						
Please indicate how much you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the following statements Sl. Questions Very Satisfied Average Dissati- Very							
No.			Satisfied	Sutisfied	Tiverage	sfied	Dissati- sfied
1.	Concepts are clearly explained in the printed learning material						
2.	The learning materials were received in time						
3.	Supplementary study materials (like video/audio) available						
4.	Academic counselors explain the concepts clearly						
5.	The counseling sessions were interactive						
6.	Changes in the counseling schedule were communicated to you on time						
7.	Examination procedures were clearly given to you						
8.	Personnel in the study centers are helpful						
9.	Academic counseling sessions are well organized						
10.	Studying the programme/course provide the knowledge of the subject						
11.	Assignments are returned in time						
12.	Feedbacks on the assignments helped in clarifying the concepts						
13.	Project proposals are clearly marked and discussed						
14.	Results and grade card of the examination were provided on time						
15.	Overall, I am satisfied with the programme						
16.	Guidance from the programme coord from the school						
After filling this questionnaires send it to: Programme Coordinator, 115, G Block, IGNOU, Maidan Garhi, New Delhi-110068							
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