# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF M.K GANDHI AND DR. B.R AMBEDKAR'S INTELLECTUAL APPROACHES REGARDING UNTOUCHABLES (DALITS) OF BRITISH INDIA

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**Abstract**

*The present research proposal is based on the analysis of the caste system in India during British rule. It has been practiced throughout the centuries in this region. When Britishers took over the administration of India, they banned child marriage and the tradition of "SATTI" (burning of a widow at the funeral of her husband). The essential point was "the right to get Education and jobs for the Untouchables". History provided a chance for deprived classes to raise their voice against the hierarchy of Brahmans, based over thousands of years. When British authorities introduced the modern education system in India, it created intellectuals like Gandhi and Dr. B.R Ambedkar. They fought against the inequality of Hinduism. The caste system was narrated as the worst issue of society by Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar. Both recognized and identified the problem of the Dalits (untouchables) but differed in their methods of solving it. Dr. Ambedkar stressed the role of law and Constitutional safeguards in protecting the interests of the untouchables. Gandhi reacted towards the problem as the moral stigma to be illuminated through reparations. This study is a critical review of the intellectual approaches of both leaders. Moreover, this research will*

*compare the intellectual debate between Gandhi and Ambedkar with a special reference to Untouchability. A deep analysis ahas been done based on an interview given by Ambedkar to BBC. This piece of work will be beneficial for the researchers of Pre and Post-Colonial British history. As well as it will be fruitful for the institutions working for Human Rights in the subcontinent.*

## INTRODUCTION
### Historical Perspective of the Caste System in Indian Subcontinent

"Scholars tend to explain poverty and unequal distribution of wealth mainly through economic theories. To exclude other factors such as religion, culture, mental attitudes, etc. is a rather narrow and antiquated approach to analyzing humanity's situation of "haves" and "have nots." Clearly, it seems there are strong hindrances towards human development and progress, which come directly from the cultural milieu of a nation and a race. Those with some knowledge of the Indian subcontinent culture, In the words of Myron Weiner, "the caste is still very much alive as a lived-in social reality, even as its ideological grip has weakened"[1] (Waughray, A., 2011). The caste system in India is prevalent not only today but also in ancient India. "Like an octopus, caste has its tentacles in every aspect of Indian life. It bedevils carefully drawn plans of economic development. It defeats legislative effort to bring about social reform. It assumes a dominant role in power processes and imparts its distinctive flavor to Indian politics". (Bronger, D., 2001). [2]

Three thousand years ago, a book called Manusmriti is considered to be the founder of the laws of Hinduism. In order to remove these types of social injustices several worthy sons of the Indian subcontinent raised their voice against it. Twenty-five hundred years ago, Buddha made the first effort, and Basava fought to illuminate the caste doctrine. Saints like Kabir, Chaitanya, Eknath and Tukaram spent their lives advising and reforming the various sections of the Hindu population. They were serving in Shivaji's army in the seventeenth century. After Shivaji's death, these people started serving the Peshwa. The worst atrocities took place on the Mahar community during the Peshwa era. The Peshwa ordered them to hang utensils around their necks and tie a broom behind them so that their saliva would not fall on the ground and sweep their sinister footsteps. Fed up with this oppression, Mahar became loyal to the British and in 1818, together with the British, defeated the Peshwa in the field of Kore village. Since then, the British have established the Mahar Regiment, which still exists in Indian ARMY.

The caste system was forcibly implemented in Hindu society. These four classes " Brahman, Shatri, Vaish and Shudra" represents Hinduism. "Untouchability was practiced by upper caste Hindus through the varna or caste system which was established in ancient India. According to Rig Veda, the oldest of the four Vedas, the distinction of the four varna dates back to the origin of the human race. That is to say, at the time of creation, the brahmin was born from the mouth of *purush* (the primeval man), the kshatriya from the arms, the vaishya from his thighs and the sudra from his feet. However, the four varnas were actually established during the middle of the later Vedic era (1000-600 BC) which marked the formation of aryan agrarian society. It was during this time that the above myth was created and inserted in to the Rig Veda, the most important scripture of brahmanism in order to legitimize the four varna systems".[3] (Kotani, H. (ed.), 1997). These four castes have been further divided into more than 3,000 smaller castes and classes. In Hindu society, rural settlements are organized according to same caste system. Each class has a specific place and function. Upper caste Hindus enjoy numerous privileges. Whatever they do, they are forgiven. The lower caste Hindus, on the other hand, receive only abuses, reprimands and restrictions. Lower caste Hindus are forced to live a completely isolated life. Their water wells, food pots, everything was separate. Brahmins can neither live with Shudras nor eat or drink. Their marriages also take place only in their caste and community. From the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonial state spent a large part of its intellectual energy to understand the caste and tribes of Indian subcontinent. British administrators and ethnographers have left behind abundant literature on these subjects. This literature represents the ideas that dominated the then India. The census in

the country started from the 1880s, this was also part of this intellectual activity. In the census of 1920, caste, tribe and religion were divided into several sub-categories and this division is still affecting the politics of subcontinent. The formation of Dalit identity, including colonial administrators and ethnographers. It started with the ideas presented by Dalit organizations and nationalist leaders. The Ambedkarism that emerged in the 1920s was based on earlier ideas, but in many aspects was very different from them. Dalit politics is often seen as a linear development from Jotiba Phule to Ambedkar. It is said that Ambedkar and Phule are two opposite poles of Dalit thinking. They were against Brahmanism but they differed on how to fight it and one of the reasons was that the politics of their time was completely different.

Gandhi's relationship with other epoch makers of his time-whether allies like Jawaharlal Nehru friends like Rabindranath Tagore or antagonistic rivals like Muhammad Ali Jinnah was never straightforward, uncomplicated or free of turbulence. one of the most controversial relationships was that between Gandhi and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.[4] (Rathore, A. S., (2016). Both Gandhi and Ambedkar belonged to two different classes. Gandhi was born to a diwan in Rajkot, where his family was highly respected. His family belonged to the upper echelons of Rajkot. Ambedkar was born in Madhya Pradesh into a family that was considered untouchable.

### M.K Gandhi's Perspective of Caste System

India is known for its general image, spirituality, non-violence, tolerance, religious tolerance, democratic values, vegetarianism, non-expansionism and peace. The great credit for India's shaping goes to Gandhi. In pre-independence India, as Sen and Wagner mention, "Gandhi's sharp understanding of the Indian psyche helped him to make a powerful symbolic representation associated with non-violence, as a sociopolitical movement. According to Varma, Gandhi gradually symbolized prophetic leadership so that his simple dress, his vegetarianism, the staff in his hand and the seating posture that he took up, like Buddha, at the time of making speeches, served to turn conservative religious opinion in his favor. His admirers compared him to Christ and Krishna not to famous politicians."[5] (Mofidi, Sabah, 2015, p-150).

"The removal of untouchability was one of Gandhi's central concerns. In both words and actions, Gandhi attacked untouchability in ways that were radical for a 'caste Hindu'. Despite being a 'caste Hindu' himself, Gandhi identified himself with the 'Untouchables'. He said on 2nd February 1934, 'as a savarna Hindu, when I see that there are some Hindus called avarnas, it offends my sense of justice and truth (…)' and 'if I discover that Hindu shastras really countenance untouchability as it is seen today, I will renounce and denounce Hinduism." [6] (Biswas Sujay, October 2018). Ramnarayan S. Rawat and K. Satyanarayana qoutes Mata Prasad in the introduction of (Dalit *Studies: New Perspectives on Indian History and Society*) "These privileged young Indians [studying in England] during English rule [gulami, or slavery] in India had to suffer humiliation [apaman] at every step of their stay in England, unable, for example, to travel by first class even though they had a first-class railway ticket. They could not enter some hotels. They had to listen to the humiliating [apaman-janak] English term "Indian dog." Such humiliation [apaman] enraged them. These elite Indians didn't know that Dalits in India had to suffer the worst kind of humiliation. . . . Among the foreign returned [Indians] were Gandhi-ji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Lala Lajpat Rai and others. When these people experienced humiliation and loss of dignity [in England] they then became conscious [7] (RAMNARAYAN S. RAWAT & K. SATYANARAYANA, 2016). Gandhi writes in his auto biography about the terminology of untouchables that how it was practiced globally "Some of the classes which render us the greatest social service, but which we Hindus have chosen to regard as 'untouchables,' are relegated to remote quarters of a town or a village, called in Gujarati dhedvado, and the name has acquired a bad odour.[8] (Desai, M. H., 1962). Mahatma Gandhi used to say that on this earth there is everything, which is needed to meet the needs of mankind, but there is not everything, which is needed to meet the greed of mankind."[9]. (Paggi fr. Luigi s.x., 2005, p-8).

### Dr. B.R Ambedkar's Perspective of Caste System:

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar the untouchable genius who Rose a rapidly to prominence through India and abroad and came to represent his community. The Dalits and to serve India in several capacities

most famously perhaps as the chair of the constitutional drafting committee.[10] (Rathore, A. S., 2016). Ambedkar was one of the top leaders who opposed the colonial rule. Ambedkar, because of his firm belief in modernity, said that social reform must precede political reform. He believed that modern rules could not be applied to any traditional society. Although the colonial state was a critic of the caste system, it also discriminated against social groups. "He considered that India needed deep political and social change; getting rid of British rule was not enough. He was particularly uncomfortable with notions of nationalism that associated it with 'worship of the ancient past the discarding of everything that is not local in origin and colour". [11] (Cháirez-Garza, J. F., 2019). Professor Ram Punyani expresses in the preface of Ambedkar's Appropriation by Hindutva Ideology Center for Study of Society and Secularism & All India Secular Forum "This is very surprising as RSS is for Hindu nation while Ambedkar has pointed out that Hindu Raj will be the biggest calamity for Dalits."[12] (Punyani Ram, 2015).

India was undergoing major political changes at that time. Soon it was going to be a nation state and the government in that state had to be decided by numbers. Hindu revivalists felt that in the new state they would be liberated from the tyranny of the Muslims, but Ambedkar's announcement upset them. The word Hindu came to be used to refer to the Dalits. Earlier, the word was used by Muslims and British and Hindus were identified by different castes. Hindu revivalists Shardha Nand, Dayanand Saraswati, Vivekananda, etc. started using this word. Ambedkar's efforts against the caste system continued unabated and he soon realized that it was not possible to get rid of the caste system while living in Hindu Dharma (Religion). In 1936, Ambedkar declared, "We are unfortunate that we are called Hindus, so we are treated like this. We have to correct our mistakes." I am unfortunate that I was born untouchable but it is not my fault. But I will not die a Hindu because it is in my power."[13] (Ambedkar, B. R.,1971). Ambedkar expresses his views regarding the upper-class Hindus "I do not care for the credit which every progressive society must give to its rebels. I shall be satisfied if I make the Hindus realize that they are the sick men of India and that their sickness is causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians."[14] Ranjithkumar, A., 2011). The upper caste Hindus now had no choice but to keep the Dalits with them by talking of abolishing the caste system. Otherwise, if the Dalits had converted to Islam, Christianity or Sikhism, the dream of a Hindu government would have remained unfulfilled. It distanced itself completely from the efforts of the Hindu revivalists. He was well aware of the motives behind these efforts. But there was another person besides the Hindu revivalists who wanted to keep the Dalits in the Hindu fold and perhaps Ambedkar could not stop it because his status in India Not of the political leader but of the Mahatma. About the Hindu religion he says in "*ANNIHILATION OF CASTE*" I had said that the real method of breaking up the Caste System was not to bring about inter-caste dinners and inter-caste marriages but to destroy the religious notions on which Caste was founded". "The path of social reform like the path to heaven at any rate in India, is strewn with many difficulties. Social reform in India has few friends and many critics. The critics fall into two distinct classes. One class consists of political reformers and the other of the socialists." [15] (Ambedkar, B. R., 2014). "Ambedkar realized that without a strong Muslim political presence in India, Dalits would be left at the mercy of the Hindu majority. More importantly, if the demand for Pakistan materialized, the political space provided for Dalits by the colonial government, in which Ambedkar had been quite active since the 1920s, would disappear. Ambedkar attempted to internationalise the problem of untouchability in the years prior to Partition. The move towards the international was an attempt to secure a political space for Dalits as a consequence of the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan."[16] (Cháirez-Garza, J. F., 2019).

Annihilation of Caste is a speech of Dr. Ambedkar which was written but India never gave him a chance to narrate it. The Hindu Todak Mandal, a Hindu reformist organization, had invited Ambedkar to address the upper caste Hindus, but the program was canceled after analyzing the content of the speech before the program. Mandal (Organization) felt that the speech was a direct attack on Hinduism. Ambedkar decided to publish the speech but no publisher was ready. The book has been published by a small publisher.

**Differences between M. K Gandhi's and Dr. B.R Ambedkar's intellectual Approaches**

When Dr. Ambedkar's book was first published, Gandhi objected to it. Since then, there has always been an intellectual war between him and Ambedkar over the issue of caste system. Gandhi felt humiliated in Africa when he was thrown out of a first-class train which was reserved only for white people, but Ambedkar experienced humiliation on the first day of school. Ambedkar was born into a Mahar family. Mahars were among the untouchables. Ambedkar was allowed to go to an ordinary Hindu school but he had to carry a Pittson sack to sit with him so that the school floor would not be defiled by his impure existence. He had to stay thirsty all day at school because he was not allowed to fetch water from the school tap[17] (Gokhale, B. G., 1976).  Satara's barber did not cut his hair, even the barber who cut the hair of goats and buffaloes forbade him. This is how Ambedkar was treated at every stage. Ambedkar continued his education under difficult conditions. He traveled to Mumbai and then abroad for higher studies. Ambedkar returned after completing his higher education from the University of Columbia, New York[18] (Krishnamurty, J., 2019).

**Dr. Ambedkars interview with BBC 1953**

In an interview given to BBC in 1953, Dr. Ambedkar expressed his views regarding the inequality of the caste system in the Indian sub-continent.

Q. BBC – What do you mean by formal sense, in the fundamental sense that democracy wouldn't work?

Answer. Dr. Ambedkar – We have a social structure which is totally incompatible with the parliamentary system.

Q. BBC – Do you mean it is based on inequality?

Answer. Dr. Ambedkar – Yes, it is based on the inequality. Unless you get rid of the caste system, you can't fix. It is a question of social structure and it should be outcaste (or did he say 'outlawed'). I am quite prepared to say that it would take some time to fix the social structure if you want to fix in a peaceful way. But then somebody must be making the efforts to change the social structure.

Q. BBC – But Prime Minister is giving many statements against the caste system in his speeches?

Answer. Dr. Ambedkar – These are endless speeches. [Inaudiable but sounds like he said here – When Carlyle was presented with volumes by Spencer, he said oh these English speaking are acting like Christians now.] We are fed up with the speeches now some concrete actions should be taken, such as some programs and schemes should be started so that some real work is done [to eradicate caste system][19] (https://strategicfront.org/).

| Differences between M.K. Gandhi and DR. B.R Ambedkar | | | |
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| | **M. K Gandhi** | | **Dr. B.R Ambedkar** |
| **1.** | He believed that caste divisions were based on work rather than birth. | **1.** | He perceived it as an impediment to social unity, liberty, and fraternity. |
| **2.** | Gandhi viewed it as a perversion of Hindu scriptures, not an outcome of them. | **2.** | Ambedkar, after comprehensive studies, concluded that untouchability and caste discrimination had their roots in Hindu scriptures, leading to his eventual renunciation of Hinduism. |
| **3.** | Gandhi adopted a moral and spiritual approach, launching movements to socially integrate the 'Harijans' (God's people, as he referred to the untouchables) into society. | **3.** | Ambedkar sought a legal and political route, aiming at the structural dismantling of the caste hierarchy through constitutional provisions and rights for the Dalits. |
| **4.** | Gandhi emphasized the inherent unity of India, ascertaining that diverse castes formed an organic whole. | **4.** | Ambedkar, while recognizing the cultural and social heterogeneity of Indian society, pushed for the socio-political unity of Dalits to rally against oppression.[20] (https://pwonlyias.com) |
| **5.** | "Gandhi's ways were not Brahminic, | **5.** | For Ambedkar, social reform meant the |

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| | but struck a chord within the ordinary person and were immediately accepted by the masses since they were tuned to the 'philosophia plebia' [21] (Sen, R., & Wagner, W., 2009). | | liberation of the untouchables from the daily struggles of the upper castes, their equal status in the workplace and society, and the complete elimination of the caste.[22] (https://ras.org.in). |
| 6. | Gandhi emphasized on moral and ethics. | 6. | Ambedkar believed in modernity, and used to say that there should be social reforms before political reforms. |
| 7. | Gandhi believed untouchables are part of us. | 7. | Ambedkar abolished it in one line, I will not die as a Hindu. |
| 8. | Gandhi had a word of Harijins for Dalits. | 8. | Ambedkar was insisting on equality in each and every phase of life. |
| 9. | Upper castes should erase their sins through reperations. | 9. | Ha said there is no need to live in the fold of discriminative Hinduism. |
| 10. | Gandhi was of the opinion to develop villages. | | While Dr. Ambedkar had a strong belief in industrialization. |

| | Similarities between Gandhi and Ambedkar's Views on the Caste System |
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| 1. | **Recognition of the Problem:** Both leaders unequivocally recognized the societal evil of untouchability and sought its eradication, albeit via different methods. |
| 2. | **Role of Education:** Gandhi and Ambedkar believed in the transformative power of education as a tool to change orthodox mindsets and uplift the marginalized. |
| 3. | **Non-violence:** While their approaches varied, both leaders adhered to non-violent methods for social transformation. Gandhi's non-violence was absolute, while Ambedkar's was more nuanced, permitting self-defense. |
| 4. | **End Goal:** Both envisioned an egalitarian society where individuals, irrespective of their caste, enjoyed equal rights, opportunities, and dignity.[23] (https://pwonlyias.com) |

## CONCLUSION.

"The Theosophical Society, the prathan society samaj, satyshodhak samaj servents of India society represented the vigorous movements of great reformers like Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar stand in the line of such great reformers of the Indian society. Mahatma Gandhi's efforts were mainly spiritual and religious in character, whereas Dr. Ambedkar's efforts were insisting political and legal in character. While Gandhi and Ambedkar hold similar standpoints on the relation between religious orderings of the world and shapes of social existence, they sharply diverge, on certain occasions, regarding the question of what the crucial terms 'caste' and *varṇa* refer to, so that they often seem to be talking past each other.[24] (Barua, A. (2019). The Gandhi bumming foreign clothes and B.R.Ambedkar buming Manusmrithi. [25] (Sampathkumar, M., 2015). Gandhi-Ambedkar debates could be interpreted as debates between two Hindu individuals, speaking from different positions of the Hindu caste.[26] (Naskar, I., 2011). Gandhi wanted to keep the caste system in indian society, While Ambedkar wanted to end it. Gandhi's personality is a historical figure in India and the West.

Gandhi ended Ambedkar's struggle for the rights of the Dalits with great cunning. The Dalits could not get out of the Hindu fold and their humiliating life could not end. "Gandhi's ideas on caste and untouchability have created much misunderstanding in scholarly circles. Gandhi has been attacked

for ambiguity and inconsistency on this issue and accused of excessive deference to Hindu orthodoxy. Critics have focused on Gandhi's alleged 'specious' distinction between varnashram dharma and the caste system. Others, sympathetic interpreters, see Gandhi undergoing a rational evolution, ranging from an all-out orthodox stance in the early years to a liberal one by the 1930s." [27] (Biswas, S., 2018). Gandhi first experimented with Satyagraha in Africa. But this satyagraha was for rich Indian traders rather than poor Indian laborers. All of Gandhi's efforts were to provide Indian traders with the same trade facilities that were available to British traders. Although this satyagraha was not as successful, it was to Gandhi's personal advantage. Gandhi's business friend gave him a gift of a 1,100-acre fruit farm with more than a thousand different fruit trees. In the same farm, he had experienced spirituality and purity. Gandhi's satyagraha in Africa was not against the British. He did not want any quarrel with the British government but he desired friendly relations with them so that maximum facilities were available to Indian traders.

Gandhi had excellent relations with corporates in both Africa and India. On the contrary, it was Gandhi who started the culture of running NGOs in India with money from big corporates. Gandhi came to India via London in 1915 where he was awarded the Kaiser Hind Gold Medal for his services to the British.[28] (Sharma, J. S., 1954). He came to India as a Mahatma (Great Spirit) who fought against British imperialism and its secrets in Africa. Who stood with the Indian workers. GD Birla, an Indian businessman, gave a grand party in Calcutta to honor the returning hero. There were also big businesses in Berla's British era. He became Gandhi's biggest sponsor. In addition to all the expenses of Gandhi's ashram, Birla also donated to the Congress. Apart from Berla, there were other sponsors but Berla was the most prominent among them. Gandhi's son worked as the managing director of the Hindustan Times, a Berla newspaper. The homemade khadi and charkha that Mahatma was promoting was sponsored by a mill owner. The man who was against the machine was running his mission with the money of the industrialist. This was the beginning of corporate-funded NGOs.

The story of Gandhi becoming a Mahatma is also interesting. Roy captured the whole situation in the best possible way, how Gandhi created his Mahatma image. Gandhi called himself a Sanatani Hindu and preferred to call himself the incarnation of Christ in the Christian world. [29] (Roy, A., 2017). People soon came to know him by the name of Mahatma. Wherever they traveled, people would come to the railway station to see them. D.G Tendulkar traveled with Mahatma Gandhi during this period, writes: "This simple religion has settled in the hearts of millions of Indians. Wherever he went, Mahatma Gandhi's JK slogans were chanted. Sex workers from Brazil, Marwari traders from Calcutta, Qullee's of Arya, railway workers all wanted to offer them khadi and chador. "Everywhere he goes, there is a shower of love." Leaving India, Gandhi's fame began to travel abroad. The New York Community Church called Gandhi the greatest man in the world today. King Martin Luther Jr. went so far as to say, "Christ gave spirit and passion, Gandhi gave method." The fame grew to the point that the Nobel Prize-winning French playwright wrote a book in praise of Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi: "The man who becomes one with the universal being". The book was published and sold in thousands in Europe.[30] (Tendulkar, D. G., 1951). Another writer Sujy Biswas expresses his views, "Gandhi was 'eager to live and commit untouchability to the flames.' To live with untouchability was 'like a cup of poison' to him."[31] (Biswas, S., 2018).

On the other hand some Indian researchers have views in against of Gandhi. A prominent indian writer Arundhati Roy writes about Gandhi that "Gandhi's sympathy for the poor was a drama or a sham. She further writes "Gandhi always said that I want to live in poverty more than the poor. Is it something to show or adopt poverty? Poverty is not the name of not having money or property, but poverty is the name of not having power over anything.  As a politician, Gandhi wanted power and he got it in the best way. If you are strong, you can live simply, but you cannot be poor. In Africa, Gandhi needed farms and thousands of flowering trees to become poor. he was not speaking out on the unfair distribution of wealth. He was not fighting for the rights of the poor workers, nor for the oppressed people whose lands had been usurped, but he was fighting for the rich Indian merchants to get permission for them to do business in Transvaal.[32] (Roy, A., 2017).

"The remarkable thing is that 50 years after independence, the only politician, dead or alive, who has a truly pan Indian appeal is B. R. Ambedkar. Where Gandhi is forgotten in his native Gujarat,

and Nehru vilified in his native Kashmir, Ambedkar is worshipped in hamlets all across the land. For Dalits everywhere he is the symbol of their struggle, the scholar, theoretician and activist whose own life represented a stirring triumph over the barriers of caste." [33] (Aakash Singh, Silika Mohapatra, 2010). "From his childhood, Ambedkar was opposed to the Hindu Code based on caste-system, which has segregated individuals into compartments and units on the basis of birth and parental vocation or occupation. According to him the caste system is unique in the world; it contributed to economic imperialism, political tyranny and social fascism of the Brahmins in Indian society."[34] (Jaffrelot, C., 2010).

Ambedkar's words "I was born a Hindu, but will not die a Hindu", have gained popularity. He said, "Some people think that religion is not essential to society. I do not hold this view. I consider the foundation of religion to be essential to the life and practices of society. At the root of the Hindu social system lies Dharma as prescribed in Manusmriti. Such being the case, I do not think it possible to abolish inequality in the Hindu society unless the existing foundation of the Smriti religion is removed and a better one laid in its place. I, however, despair of the Hindu society being able to reconstruct on such a better foundation." [35] (Knott, K., 2016). Impacts can be seen on psyche of upper class in British India "as setting in motion parallel horizontal mobilities both at the top and bottom of the social ladder, thus widening and deepening the already existing cleavages within society."[36] (Aloysius, G., 1997). He believed that modern rules could not be applied to any society controlled by tradition.

Although the colonial state was a critic of the caste system, at the same time it discriminated against social groups. He disagreed with the thinking of the Congress regarding tackling social exclusion. Addressing the party convention held at Allahabad in 1892, Congress President W.C Banerjee said, "I do not agree with those who say that we cannot make political reforms unless we change our social order. I don't see any connection between the two".

The above award gave the Dalits the right to elect their representatives to the Legislative Assemblies and the Central Assembly as a separate election along with other Muslims, Sikhs, Anglo Indians etc. Gandhi was opposing this award. He started a fast-unto-death from September 20, 1932 in protest. He believed that this would separate the Dalits from the Hindu society which would split the Hindu society in two. In the end, everyone had to bow before Gandhi's fast. The model of development of both was also different. Where Gandhi had a clear opinion that India cannot be happy without developing the villages of the country. Dr. Ambedkar believed that the path of development was possible only through industrialization. Today's Indian Constitution prohibits caste division and segregation. In 1950, a modern caste quota system was introduced for admission to government jobs, schools and colleges. But at that time only upper caste Hindus were included in the quota system. In 1989, other lower castes were also included in the quota system so that their backwardness could be somehow removed. In today's modern India, secular education has reduced the influence of caste as far as cities are concerned. In the cities, Hindus of almost all castes are forced to live together, and intermarriage is becoming commonplace. At last we can say Gandhi and Ambedkar were among the top leaders who opposed the colonial rule. Both of them had liberal views and tried their best to eradicate the untouchablity from indian society.

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