

## The Concept of Reservation was not Envisioned to Perpetuate Indefinitely

Jeet Sinha<sup>1,\*</sup>

### Abstract

*The concept of Reservation was only envisioned in the constitution for 10 years. The constituent assembly debates reflect the intention of drafters that the reservation was only to be for 10 years. Their views from the debate reflect that we will be able to make a drastic change in the upcoming 10 years after giving the reservation society's perception will be changed towards the backward class which has been oppressed for many years, their optimistic thoughts related to the constitution was such that "we will not need any reservation after 10 years". However, currently we have not emerged from the provision of reservation. The development policy which reservation aims to provide during the inception of Constitution has completely failed or there was mistake in speculation. This paper has examined the reason of perpetuity of reservation through the Constituent Assembly debates.*

**Keywords:** Reservation, constituent assembly debates, 10 years, and intention of framers

### INTRODUCTION

The concept of Reservation was only envisioned in the constitution for 10 years. The constituent assembly debates reflect the intention of drafters that the reservation was only to be for 10 years or a limited period. Their views from the debate reflect that we will be able to make a drastic change in the upcoming 10 years after giving the reservation society's perception will be changed towards the backward class which has been oppressed for many years, their optimistic thoughts related to the constitution was such that "we will not need any reservation after 10 years". But the concept of reservation has continued till the 21<sup>st</sup> century and at the current time, governments are also allowing reservation on state and central levels. Recently, the government introduced the reservation for the general section of society having economic backwardness in the society.

The classification which is used for giving reservation from the beginning is social and educational backwardness. The constituent assembly debate revolves around that whether caste should be given preference while granting reservation as the lower caste in Indian society determine the backwardness. The caste system in the Indian society which prevailed since ancient times continued to act as a threat

to the society. The reservation is seen as a threat to merit in Society by the Upper class. They contest the reservation on grounds such as less meritorious people are given jobs, preference in public educational institutions, and Political fields.

This research work revolves around the question of whether the reservation was seen as a remedy to cure the backwardness in the society of certain sections for a limited or indefinite period. The research will try to make observations that how long the reservation may continue in India analyzing the

#### \*Author for Correspondence

Jeet Sinha  
E-mail: jeetsinha018@gmail.com

<sup>1</sup>Student of BA LLB Specialisation in Constitutional Law (4<sup>th</sup> year), School of Law, UPES, Dehradun, Uttarakhand, India

Received Date: November 19, 2022  
Accepted Date: December 18, 2022  
Published Date: December 30, 2022

**Citation:** Jeet Sinha. The Concept of Reservation was not envisioned to Perpetuate Indefinitely. Journal of Constitutional Law and Jurisprudence. 2022; 5(2): 32–39p.

---

current context. The methodology of the researcher will be Qualitative, which will be based on the literature presented, research work, and other literature available on the web.

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TOWARDS THE MARGINALISED SECTION OF SOCIETY**

In India, the caste system has a historical origin, the pieces of evidence present show that it is dated back to the Vedas which exists around 1500 BCE. The Bhagwad Gita also emphasizes the importance of caste and In Manu, the rights and duties of four varnas have been defined. The caste system was not absolute during Indian History, it was quite flexible, such as during Gupta Dynasty, was from the Vaishya caste rather than the Kshatriya. During Muslim rule in India, again the caste structure in India changed, and Brahmin domination was greatly impacted. Brahmin was forced to work on farms for their income as temple gifts were not given by Muslim rulers.

When the British Raj took control of India in 1757, they used the caste system to maintain social control. The British formed an alliance with the Brahmin caste, restoring some of the caste's rights that had been taken away by Muslim monarchs. Many Indian rituals involving the lower castes, on the other hand, appeared to the British to be discriminatory, thus they were forbidden. The British government passed regulations in the 1930s and 1940s to safeguard the “Scheduled Castes,” untouchables, and low-caste people. A movement to eradicate untouchability was also launched in Indian society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The first temple, built in 1928, allowed Untouchables (Dalits) to worship alongside upper-caste members. Gandhi also fought for Dalit freedom, coining the phrase Harijan, or “Children of God,” to identify them.

Reservation as said by various well-known social researchers is an affirmative action toward the marginalized section of society. As Wallace Mendelson has said: “*Every Culture provides at least reasonably well for those at the top of its social order. The Crucial test is how it treats those at the bottom* [1].” This statement made by Mendelson is very practical in the Indian Context as the Hindu religion consists of different bifurcations into varnas which result in discrimination in the society. There is less privilege to a member of a lower caste than to a member of the higher caste. Many unwanted practices come into the picture with such kind of bifurcation in society, practices like untouchability which is hazardous to society emerged. There is a great history of discrimination, Dr. Br. Ambedkar, the father of the Indian Constitution criticized the caste in every possible way and he made a statement:

*“You cannot build anything on the foundation of caste. You can’t build up a nation. You can’t build up morality [2]”*

Remarkably, this idea of BR Ambedkar is reflected in the Constitution of India, however, there are other actions taken before the main draft of the Constitution to remove the caste discrimination prevailing in the Indian Society. Reservation was made to help the lower caste to compete hand in hand with the upper caste. It is an impossible task to compete without having any reservations as the upper caste has from the very beginning received the highest possible support from the family. Their social and educational classification is way higher than that of the lower caste. The partial suspension of equality to give a stable environment of fair competition is undoubtedly important.

In past, the Government of India Act, 1935 defined the term Schedule Caste. The ‘depressed classes’ were the only people considered in Schedule Caste; it consists of the untouchable groups. There was a great deal of criticism against such affirmative action, giving the reasoning that there will be a loss of opportunity to the general class [3].

### **The Dominance of Upper Caste in India**

The upper caste was dominant in terms of jobs and other opportunities in India, the lower caste was subject to consistent violence and threat to their Identities. They were not permitted to sit next to members of the upper caste in schools. They are underprivileged to the extent that they were denied

things of basic necessity such as drinking water, not allowed to worship in temples, and not allowed to enter the places where the dominance of the upper caste was established.

In CAD, H.J. Khandekar, a member of the constituent assembly highlighted the cruelty suffered by the members of Scheduled Castes and stated:

*“I would like to submit that the reservation which is being provided for us is no favor to us. The members of the Scheduled Castes have, for thousands of years, suffered cruelties and oppression in various forms at the hands of their brethren belonging to castes other than their own. Now reservation is being provided for us as compensation for the atrocities we have suffered, and therefore I do not deem this provision as any great favor to us [4].”*

There are several instances in which it can be shown that the backward caste has been seemingly misbehaved and mistreated because of their low caste by the upper caste. Violence against the lower caste is one such common thing that has been pointed out by various leaders.

### **RESERVATION IN THREE CATEGORIES**

In the constituent assembly debates, there are three points on which reservation has been considered by the constituent assembly members. The need for each reservation has been categorically debated in CAD. For each type of reservation, there was a huge debate that who should be considered as the category for reservation. Whether only scheduled castes should be granted reservation. The various religious minority has been considered for granting reservation in the CAD such as Muslims, Christian, Parsis, and Anglo-Indians reservations have been debated in the Constituent Assembly.

#### **Political Reservation**

The debate on constituent assembly shows that there is a requirement for scheduled caste to be adequately represented in electorates. Hukam Singh, in debate, stated:

*“The Minorities Committee recommended that lest the minorities might feel apprehensive of the sudden change they must be assured some seats by reservation and a minimum number of seats should be secured to them. It could not be the object of the Minority Committee or this Assembly that the maximum should be limited. If this additional right is not given then the only effect is that the maximum number is being limited and not that the minimum is secured [5].”*

“My second point is that this feeling of separation should go. We are accepting this reservation of seats as an unavoidable evil for the present, though it is only for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I am not directly concerned with it, but I do feel that if we want this feeling of separatism to go then it is necessary that side by side with this reservation there should be a feeling in the minds of these classes as well that they are a part of the whole and that they have some part to play in other seats as well and that they can stand for those seats as anybody else. If after ten years suddenly we were to go to the other side, then this might not be accepted with equanimity and there might be certain bickering [6].”

These two important statements made by Hukam Singh reflected that in complex conditions India has accepted the concept of reservation. There was a situation of doubt in the mind of members, as there was so much chaos in the society. As pointed out by Hukam Singh, there was a sense of separatism in India, there was a belief among the members of the Constituent assembly that with a reservation this thought can be eliminated with the introduction of reservation.

There was a suggestion given by V.I. Muniswamy Pillai that for giving reservation a fresh consensus should be taken, he pointed out that as of the census of 1931, there were 50 million Scheduled Caste in India, but according to the 1941 census, it is nearly 44 million. He also stated that there is no possibility that the condition of scheduled caste would improve in a little span of 10 years. In the words of Pillai *“I do not know how a community like the Scheduled Castes can dwindle in ten years [7].”*

---

He also added that *“reservation which is envisaged in this article it should not be taken to perpetuate the seclusion of this community for all time. I know the real Gandhian spirit has been applied in this article, so that other communities may rise to the occasion; and whether it be for the more years the other communities must exhibit a very brotherly love towards this unfortunate community known as the Scheduled Castes, so that after this period they may come forward and say that they require no reservation.”*

We can witness the intention of Mr. Pillai that he does not have the intention that the reservation would succeed for a long period. He wanted that we should accept the scheduled caste and there must be a feeling of brotherhood among all of them. It is unexpected, the amount of societal development the members were thinking of was unpractical. They were rather too optimistic in their thoughts; the opinion of Jaipal Singh reflects that all members did not think that reservation would only last for 10 years.

In the words of Jaipal Singh: *“I am not at all optimistic that in the short space of ten years, which means two general elections, Adivasis will have come to the level of the rest of India, and therefore at the end of ten years reservation of seats should be done away with [8].”*

We can see that the reservation was for the upliftment of backward classes but they cannot predict the consequences that may occur in the future. Society was in such a grave situation that it was hard to end the reservation at the end of 10 years. The limited time is given just to check the consequences of reservation and in case, if it does not improve within the next ten years, then they can implement it for another decade or as per necessity.

H.J. Khandekar clearly stated that the reservation is being provided to Harijan only for 10 years, but from his experience that he has of the scheduled castes and other communities of the country, he was of opinion that the condition of the Harijan cannot improve within the next ten years. Because continuously from 1927 to the time of his death Mahatma Gandhi made every effort physically, mentally, and financially, for the uplift of the Harijans, but even within a period of twenty or thirty years no appreciable improvement as was expected, could be brought about in their conditions [9].

### **Educational Reservation**

The thoughts of members of the constituent assembly were clear that giving political reservations only will not improve the condition of the scheduled caste. They need to change fundamentally that could only happen with the help of reservation. There were many voices in the constituent assembly which was in favor of giving reservation in an educational institution. The argument put forward by H.J. Khandekar in constituent assembly:

*“If anyone thinks that the provision of reservation would cause an all-round improvement among the Harijans, I would say, he is sadly mistaken. There are many avenues in which Harijans will have to improve. They have to make much progress and require much help to be able to come on a part with other communities of the country [10].”*

There was fear in the mind of the members that reservation may adversely affect the members of scheduled caste only as it will create a feeling of hatred among the members of society and a sense of separation who have not received any reservation. The fear of the member was real and it reflected that reservation would only help if the overall development of the caste is done by giving equal opportunity to each caste. It can only be done if all the caste is on equal footing in terms of education. The scheduled caste was extremely backward in terms of education, there is no chance that they can compete with the upper caste who have had the privilege of education throughout history. Therefore, it was essential to grant reservations to make them on equal footing. Equality is not about treating the unequal as equal. A sense of brotherhood that the members want to create in minds of Indians is that we all should remain equal and there shall not be any discrimination per se by caste.

Giving the reservation in education is one such big step that will help to achieve the goal of brotherhood and a sense of equality. Human psychology cannot be changed without taking these affirmative actions, especially in Indian society, it was hard for the upper caste to accept the members of Scheduled Caste as officers or get education simultaneously with them. The sense of separation cannot be removed except by changing social structure and providing opportunities by giving an upper hand to the unfortunate 'scheduled caste'.

### **Reservation in Jobs**

The members of the constituent assembly suggested that apart from the reservation of seats in the Legislature there is a need for reservations in all-India and provincial services. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad suggested that: *"There should be no reservation but the claims of all minorities shall be kept in view in making appointments to the services consistently with the considerations of efficiency and administration [11]."*

Mr. Ahmad pointed out that while giving reservations about services efficiency and administration should be considered. It was his thought the reservation would cause inefficiency in the jobs and therefore, it must be taken into consideration after taking these precautions that the efficiency of jobs would be preserved and remains unaffected. Hukam Singh in the assembly also stated that our draft should contain reservations of all such classes who are not adequately represented in the state. He proposed the amendment, which is No. 256:

*"That regarding amendment No. 23 of List II (Second Week), the following clauses added to article 296: (2) Nothing in this article or article 10 of the Constitution shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in, favor of any minority community which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State [12]"*.

The provision was made to include all the castes which have not been adequately represented in the State. The state government has been given the power to determine the backward and make adequate provisions so that they can be uplifted. The majority of thoughts which has been debated was that it is needed at that point in society. The reservation was to be given on the terms of backwardness; therefore, they need to decide who is backward in the society then. R.K. Sidhva debated that there is no such class as a backward class. He stated that it was merely propaganda of Britishers to use the term to represent or show the world that in India only backward classes reside and they do not deserve freedom. In the words of R.K. Sidhva:

*"I do not want this term "backward classes" perpetuated in our Constitution. The sooner we do away with this, the better for our country, the better for our position in the world. Beyond the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, I do not want any kind of reservation for anybody [13]."*

He stated that there is no need for reservation for caste except that of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe. He was of the thought that the most unprivileged community must be given the reservation only as the Indian Government will be a welfare government and their interest will be adequately represented under the Welfare laws.

Further, the debates in the assembly concluded that the reservation under Article 16 (4) will include reservation for an appointment in favor of any backward class. P.S. Deshmukh quoted the text speech made by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar when the house was considering the reservation for Article 16:

*"It includes not only Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but also other educationally and economically backward communities [14]."*

This view of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has been taken into account for considering the backward class in society. The term backward class has been a topic of debate in various cases in the Supreme Court and

---

many of them, the intent of Ambedkar has been taken into account which is that backwardness in terms of society and education.

### **CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEBATES FOR DURATION**

There was a huge debate about the duration of reservation in the Constitution and we have seen multiple instances where it was said the reservation is only for 10 years and not indefinitely. Brajeshwar Prasad made the following observations:

*"Recently the House agreed to reservation of seats for aboriginals in the Federal and State Lower Houses for ten years. With that decision few will quarrel; but its value will depend on the mode of choosing these representatives, whether as trusted spokesmen of their tribes or because of party allegiance. The evils of political strife among peoples ill-fitted for it by temperament and intellect have perhaps been too little appreciated in the provinces [15]."*

It is clear from the statement that the reservation was only for 10 years. But the members were not sure whether the period is sufficient to eliminate the cruel practice of discrimination based on caste. Muniswamy Pillai argued that reservation for the Schedule tribes also must be for ten years. He believed that the condition is so bad that it will be impossible for any Government or people to uplift them in ten years. This statement clearly states that under no circumstance the reservation can provide such change in the mind of people that there will be no reservation after ten years.

The statement which has been stated the researcher quoting Khandekar's statement that the member of the Scheduled Castes has for thousands of years, suffered cruelties and oppression in various forms at the hands of their brethren belonging to castes other than their own. Now reservation is being provided for us as compensation for the atrocities we have suffered, and therefore I do not deem this provision as any great favor to us.

Khandekar's statement was really important and it reflects those 10 years were never enough to remove the atrocities of Scheduled Caste. Therefore, the provision which has been inserted in the constitution is a never-ending provision unless a magnificent social change happens in the country. No one can even predict when the social order will change and what policy government needs to bring apart from the reservation to change the minds of people.

### **DEBATES AGAINST RESERVATION**

Apart from the debates on giving reservations, there were debates against reservations that it should not be given, while some debated that reservation would not be an adequate remedy. While some stated that reservations except scheduled caste should not be given. Sardar Hukam Singh Stated that:

"Sir, I have with me the reports of the Minorities Advisory Committee as well as the sub-committee, and it is nowhere even suggested that all safeguards will go or that the minorities are not to be treated as minorities. The only decision that was agreed to was:

*"That the system of reservation for minorities other than Scheduled Castes in legislatures is abolished [16]."*

The other view presented by Brajeshwar Prasad is that if we do not take a bold stand at this moment that only reservation should be given to Scheduled caste then we will be corrupting the idea of any secular state. He reflected the thought that:

*"I hold the opinion that those persons who are clamoring for these seats, for reservation, for consideration, represent a handful of people, constituting the cream of the Harijan society. They constitute the politically powerful group among the Tribals and the Scheduled Castes. I do not think that these claims and demands touch the broad classes of people within the Scheduled Castes and Tribals. Job-hunting does not affect*

*the problems that confront us as far as the question of Scheduled Castes and Tribes is concerned. It is by simulating ourselves and by integrating all the communities in one nation that there can be any peace and progress in this country [17].”*

The view was that even if we give reservations the top section of the Harijan Society will only receive the benefit. The politically powerful group among the backward will ultimately get the benefit who does not need any benefit and giving benefits in job is of no use and the situation of the backward class is not going to improve with that. The only condition in which the condition can be improved is by integrating the communities.

The other important criticism of reservation was given by Shri Guptanath Singh, he stated that the distinction between man and man should not be allowed to flourish further in free India. He further stated that we are forced to accept the reservation in no happy mood [18]. There was a desire by the members that the concept of the reservation should be abolished with the discrimination in caste. It was the belief that if reservation would bring them to the same level, then only reservation can serve the purpose but in either way, it is of no use.

It was the contention of some of the members of the constituent assembly that there may be a misuse of the reservation provision, they cited an example that some Brahmins applied to the Harijan fund for scholarship claiming themselves to be Harijans. Their argument by citing this example is that reservation brings corruption and should not be encouraged, however, at the same time, the stance remained in the favor of reservation because of the poor condition of society, it was their thought that it must reap consequences.

Moreover, Guptanath Singh was of the view that even every citizen is assured of Fundamental Rights and general directive principles, they are persisting in demanding reservation.

## **CONCLUSION**

Even though in the constituent assembly the debate favors that the reservation was only for a limited period of ten years. It was discussed multiple times that in 10 years we would be able to make such development that there will be no need for reservation, but 10 years period was never the intention of constituent assembly members, it was mere optimism towards the new government, new India and towards new change. In reality, the reservation was created for socially and educationally backward classes, but the Scheduled caste has been unanimously considered as socially and educationally backward. The loop of the reservation is such that it cannot end shortly in the next 50 years. Reservation is played as a political weapon to get votes by the government, no government to date has affirmatively worked towards the betterment of the backward class.

The vision which the drafter has sought that, the reservation will end only in 10 years is bogus without any effort put forward by the Government, it was not made for an indefinite period but we are hard and stuck in the web of reservation. The backwardness in the society is not something that reservation can improve; we can analyze the results in 72 years of reservation and answer ourselves whether we still need reservations or not. Is there any alternative solution other than reservation? many prominent jurists suggested that social integration is one such solution. From there, how will we achieve this solution, the answer again is by uplifting through reservation.

## **REFERENCES**

1. Mendelson Wallace, Discrimination, based on the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1962, p.1.
2. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Annihilation of caste, 1968.
3. K.C. Suri, Caste Reservations in India: Policy and Politics, 55 IJPS 37, 39 (1994).

4. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949 *speech by* H.J. Khandekar, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24#9.123.171](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24#9.123.171) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
5. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949, *speech by* H.J. Khandekar, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
6. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949 *speech by* Hukam Singh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
7. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949 *speech by* Muniswamy Pillai, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
8. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949 *speech by* Jaipal Singh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
9. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949, *speech by* H.J. Khandekar, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
10. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 24, 1949, *speech by* H.J. Khandekar, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-08-24) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
11. Constituent Assembly Debates, October 14, 1949 *speech by* Naziruddin Ahmad, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
12. Constituent Assembly Debates, October 14, 1949 *speech by* Hukam Singh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
13. Constituent Assembly Debates, October 14, 1949 *speech by* R.K. Sidhva, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14.aspx) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
14. Constituent Assembly Debates, November 15, 1949 *speech by* P.S. Deshmukh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/11/1949-11-15](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/11/1949-11-15) (Last visited on April 10, 2022).
15. Constituent Assembly Debates, September 5, 1949 *speech by* Brajeshwar Prasad, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-09-05](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-09-05) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
16. Constituent Assembly Debates, August 26, 1949 *speech by* Sardar Hukam Singh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/9/1949-09-05](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/9/1949-09-05) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
17. Constituent Assembly Debates, October 14, 1949 *speech by* Shri Brajeshwar Prasad, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
18. Constituent Assembly Debates, October 14, 1949 *speech by* Shri Guptanath Singh, available at [https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution\\_assembly\\_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14](https://www.constitutionofindia.net/constitution_assembly_debates/volume/10/1949-10-14) (last visited on April 10, 2022).
19. J. Laxmi Narshima Rao, Affirmative action in India: Emerging contours, 69 IJPS (2008).
20. C Basaraju, Reservation under the Constitution of India: Issues and perspective, 51 JILI (2009).
21. S. Waseem Anand & M. Ashraf Ali, Social Justice and Constitution of India, 67 IJPS (2006).