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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Comparative Acceptability of GTM and CLT to the Teachers of Rural Secondary High Schools in Bangladesh

By Md. Mahbubul Alam
Sylhet Cadet College, Bangladesh

Abstract- Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has been innovated in the secondary (and the higher secondary) level of education in Bangladesh by drastically devaluing the principles of the long-practiced traditional Grammar Translation Method (GTM). The present study was carried out on some rural secondary high school teachers in Bangladesh about comparative acceptability of GTM and CLT in respects of achieving four skills, accuracy/ fluency, translating activity, group/pair works, and classroom language. The result of the study reflected their mixed attitude to GTM and CLT, though all of them put emphasis on language learning through translating activity in group/pair works. Their tendency and claims were in favor of the multi-syllabus. On the basis of the data findings this paper also presents some suggestions for appropriate methodology in ELT in Bangladesh.

Keywords: CLT, GTM, translation, group/pair works, learners, teachers, four skills, grammar, classroom- language, multi-syllabus, etc.

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Keywords: CLT, GTM, translation, group/pair works, learners, teachers, four skills, grammar, classroom-language, multi-syllabus, etc.

I. Introduction

In English the performance of students is deplorable now in Bangladesh. It has been because our secondary and higher secondary level students are getting neither direct touch of grammar as proposed by GTM nor the fullest supposed advantages from CLT. As a result of both exiled condition of GTM and impracticality of CLT their situation is in between now. The students of rural areas are in more awful circumstance. So, it is high time we adopted a reasonable ELT method. To do so a comparative practical analysis of GTM and CLT is necessary and rural secondary high school teachers of English can contribute significantly by sharing their experience and opinions. The present study is a mirror on which experiences and opinions of the rural secondary high school teachers of English have been reflected.

English teachers at the rural level of Bangladesh may be less trained and enjoy less opportunity but their teaching experience is vast. In respect of the social, economic and cultural reality of this country they know well about the comparative effectiveness and practicality of the traditional GTM and recently innovated high-ambitious CLT project. In addition to it, rural teachers represent the major part of secondary high school teachers of Bangladesh.

In spite of this fact, their voice in methodological policy making for ELT class has barely been made recognizable. No doubt their position is marginal and thus, they suffer from inferiority complex when they are compared to the teachers of urban educational institutions. This pedagogical discrimination must be settled by throwing light on their beliefs and attitudes to the ELT classroom activities and other necessary sides. This is also the rationale behind conducting this research.

II. Review of Literature

The Grammar-Translation Method is a traditional method. It has had different names, but it has been used by language teachers for many years. Earlier in this century, this method was used for the purpose of helping students read and appreciate foreign language literature. It was also hoped that, through the study of grammar of the target language, students would become more familiar with grammar of the native language. (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 11) Proponents of this method believe that learning a foreign language is achieved through the constant and fast translation of sentences from the target language to the learner's first language and vice versa. The GTM holds that splitting the language into parts determined by the grammatical categories of the language has psycholinguistic validity. That is, the task of learning is made easier if one is exposed to one part of the grammatical system at a time. (Brumfit and Johnson 1979, p. 82)

On the other hand, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is a recent innovation in the pedagogical field. It was the product of educators and linguists who had grown dissatisfied with earlier Grammar Translation and Audio-lingual Methods, where students were not learning enough realistic, socially necessary language. For some time after the rise of CLT, the status of grammar in the curriculum was rather uncertain. Some linguists maintained that it was not necessary to teach grammar, that the ability to use a language (knowing 'how') would develop automatically if the learner were required to focus on meaning in the process of using the language to communicate. (Nunan 1989, p. 13)

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III. Achieving Four Skills through GTM and CLT

Language learning is not only concerned with acquiring knowledge (about grammar and pronunciation systems, for example) - it is not just something we learn *about*. Rather, it is a *skill*, or a set of skills- something we learn to *do*, like riding a bike. So, students need meaningful, interactive practice in the skills in order to learn to use the language. (Gower, Phillips, and Walters 1983, p. 85) Traditionally, we speak of four language skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. In the Grammar-Translation Method the primary skills to be developed are reading and writing. Little attention is given to speaking and listening (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 16). It happens because GTM does not emphasize the ability to communicate in the target language, where speaking and listening is required (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, p. 126).

But the CLT Method is concerned with equal attention to all the four skills. Speaking and listening, along with reading and writing get parallel importance. "…such an approach assumes that language teaching will reflect the particular needs of the target learners. These needs may be in the domains of reading, writing, listening, or speaking, each of which can be approached from a communicative perspective." (Richards and Rodgers 2001, p. 163) The proponents of CLT argue that in the traditional method a learner's speaking and listening ability could not be flourished.

IV. Grammar and Accuracy /Fluency

Although it is true that people learn language in different ways, it seems that many people can learn a language more easily if they can perceive regularities and patterns. Many of the patterns that students learn are particular grammatical items. (Gower, Phillips, and Walters 1983, p. 126) The Grammar-Translation Method deals with learning grammatical patterns of this sort while learner's learning a foreign language. Refinement in learning through immediate error correction is the prime concern in this method, thus, accuracy is emphasized as students are expected to attain high standards in translation. Accuracy refers to the ability to produce grammatically correct sentences but may not include the ability to speak or write fluently (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, p. 108). In this method grammar is taught deductively- that is, by presentation and study of grammar rules, which are then practiced through translation exercises (Richards and Rodgers 2001, p. 06).

On the other side, the proponents of CLT hold the view that "frequent error correction hinders fluency practice since it breaks the continuity of learners in speaking, reading and writing. They consider fluency very important and argue for the intelligibility of a speech, not for the total correctness of the speech." (Huda 2012, p. 38) Fluency includes the ability to speak with a good but not necessarily perfect command of intonation, vocabulary, and grammar (Richards, Platt and Weber 1985, p. 108). The proponents of CLT stress the value of developing the communicative competence of the learner beyond the mastery of language form, though they do not ignore the value of linguistic competence. They also assert that the principles of CLT include concentration on 'use' rather than 'usage' of English with focus on fluency than accuracy. Grammar is taught inductively in this approach.

V. Language Learning through Translating Activity and Group/Pair Works

In the Grammar-Translation Method translating activity occupies the major part. "Students translate a reading passage from the target language into their native language. The reading passage then provides the focus for several classes: vocabulary and grammatical structures in the passage are studied in subsequent lessons. The passage may be excerpted from some work from the target language literature, or a teacher may write a passage carefully designed to include particular grammar rules and vocabulary. The translation may be written or spoken or both." (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 19) According to Richards and Rodgers (1986, p. 06), the sentence is the basic unit of teaching and language practice. Much of the lesson of the GTM is devoted to translating sentences into and out of the target language, and the focus on the sentence is the distinctive feature of the method.

In contrast, group/pair works, dialogues and role-plays are some of the most practiced techniques in CLT classroom. In group/pair works students are divided into several groups and pairs and interact with themselves. Presentation of dialog and several mini-dialogs are also included. Role-plays give students an opportunity to practice communicating in different social contexts and different social roles, so they are very important in CLT. (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 134) Since classroom interaction is solely based on the learners themselves, these activities enable them to become self-confident and self-motivated.

VI. Role of the Teacher and Students

The role of the teacher is a significant determinant of the linguistic environment of classroom learning. Teacher's attitude towards his/her students effects psychological state of the latter. In the Grammar-Translation Method the role of the teacher is very traditional. The teacher is the authority in the classroom. The students do as /s/he says so they can learn what s/he knows. (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 17) Since this method puts emphasis on accuracy, it is very important that students get the correct answer from the teacher.

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On the contrary, CLT is the learner-centered approach. "One of the obvious features about the development of communicative ability is that it occurs through processes *inside the learner*. The teacher can offer the kinds of stimulus and experience that these processes seem to require, but has no direct control over them." (Littlewood 1981, p. 91) The teacher is just a co-communicator or facilitator and he/she establishes situations. To Richards and Rodgers (1986, p. 167), in CLT classroom the teacher is a needs analyst, counselor and group process manager.

VII. Classroom Language

In the Grammar-Translation Method classes are taught in the mother tongue, with little active use of the target language. The meaning of the target language is made clear by translating it into the students' native language (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 18). In GTM "The first language is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language (Stern 1983, p. 455, quot., Richards and Rodgers 2001, p. 05)."

On the other hand, in CLT the target language is a vehicle for classroom communication, not just the object of study. Judicious use of the students' native language is permitted in CLT However, whenever possible, the target language should be used during communicative activities and explaining the activities. (Larsen-Freeman 2004, p. 132) Since CLT gives priority to fluency in the target language, maximum use of the target language is justified.

VIII. Objectives

The aim of the study was to investigate the comparative acceptability of GTM and CLT to the rural secondary high school teachers of Bangladesh, in respect of achieving four skills, grammatical accuracy/fluency, translating activity, group/pair works, role of the teacher and learners, and classroom language. The following were the objectives of this study:

- To focus the distinct places of GTM and CLT in the rural secondary high school teachers of Bangladesh, and
- To make the voices of the rural teachers heard in the field of pedagogy, especially for syllabus and materials designing.

IX. Methodology

a) Respondents

The participant teachers (two females and eight males) were ten in number who were from six rural non-government secondary high schools of Sherpur, Jamalpur and Mymenshingh districts in Bangladesh. They were of different ages having different levels of teaching experiences. Most of them had teaching experiences of both GTM and CLT, and the others were newly joined. The amalgamation of the two types of teachers was intentional, to ensure a combination of opinions of the generations both past and present. All of the teachers were interviewed individually in their respective educational institutions.

b) Materials

A questionnaire to the teachers was followed. Audio recording devices were used, all the teachers allowed recording. After the end of each interview, audio version was converted into the nearest meaningful word version. Necessary notes were taken during the interviews.

c) Data preparation

To accomplish this empirical study qualitative case study was maintained. Interview was semi-structured as it was flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview. Most of the interviews were conducted in Bangla for better communication, and then it was translated into English keeping the best intimacy. This article uses an abbreviation ('T', standing for 'Teacher', e.g., T-1= 'Teacher-1' or the First Teacher).

X. Data Analysis

a) Achieving Four Skills through GTM and CLT

All the participant teachers, except one, spoke in favor of GTM in respect of achieving four skills. They denied CLT's claim that in traditional system a learner was weak in speaking and listening. Their common opinion was that those who had learnt English through GTM could use their reading, writing, speaking and listening skills with equal proficiency. A teacher (T-1), having thirty years of English teaching experience, when he was asked whether learners of GTM could achieve speaking and listening skills, said confidently, "Of course, even I think they did better than now". He also affirmed that in respect of the four skills there was no novelty in CLT.

Another teacher (T-2), having twelve years of teaching experience, opined that meritorious students always performed meritoriously. That is, for a good student to achieve the four skills GTM or CLT matters nothing. There is an implication of going beyond any methodological innovation in language teaching-learning in his opinion. However, his mode is cynical more about CLT. Two other teachers (T-3 and T-5) held similar view and stated that their teachers who had learnt and had taught English through GTM could speak fluently. But, they regretted, learners who were being nurtured in CLT could not speak even normally in English.

T-4 was a bit optimistic about achieving four skills through CLT, but she indicated some impracticalities of CLT especially in the rural context of Bangladesh, and preferred GTM. T-6, a newly appointed

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young teacher who had learnt English through CLT, sided with GTM for four skills, and despised frequent changes in syllabus. T-7, having sixteen years of English teaching experience, stated the same to T-6. He also added that the instructions related to speaking and listening skills in CLT were ambiguous.

However, T-10, having fifteen years of teaching experience, spoke in a different way. She supported the claim of CLT that in GTM learners were weak in speaking and listening. "Even graduate students could not speak in English well", she said, "Rather they did well in reading and writing".

The implication of their opinion is clearly manifested. Except one, nobody is convinced that GTM cannot produce learners having good speaking and listening skills, as claimed by CLT. Rather they have doubt about the same skills achieved through CLT.

b) Grammar and Accuracy /Fluency

Out of the ten teachers nine were critical of CLT's giving priority to fluency. They argued that the reason of the learner's failure in fluency in CLT was its negligence to accuracy. They believed that without grammatical accuracy no learner could produce correct fluent English. T-5 said, "Grammar is the soul of language. Without grammar how can you speak perfectly?"

T-1 put emphasis on the knowledge of grammar. "You have to have complete knowledge of grammar. This accuracy will bring your fluency. The fact is that you have to *know* before everything. The learners of the traditional method could speak fluently because they had grammatical accuracy." He also cited the recent report on GPA-5-holder students' sorrowful performance in English of Dhaka University admission test. He criticized inductive process of grammar in CLT that all learners were not equally enough meritorious to cope with learning grammar indirectly. T-6 maintained the same and said that in fluency "grammar is a must".

A young teacher (T-3) tried to express different view. "We cannot go with tradition for long. We have to embrace globalization. In traditional method students used to memorize rules and sentences. Now they are to be creative." But he also added that grammatical activities should, by no means, be ignored even in fluency practice. Another young teacher (T-4) expressed her neutral observation: "CLT is good, but not by excluding tradition." By 'tradition' she meant grammatical accuracy.

T-7 was critical of the fact that the emphasis on fluency in CLT was a matter of abrupt innovation, which caused a huge gap between the teachers and the pedagogical requirements. He explained that GTM could surely ensure fluency as it upheld accuracy, which was ignored in CLT. He also believed that frequent methodological changes were not satisfactory to the teachers, and they were making the teachers reluctant to teaching. T-2 tried to speak in favor of fluency in CLT, but soon he held that since rural students felt shy and were *less* meritorious they could not cope with the demands of CLT. About accuracy and fluency T-8 simply said, "I think both of them are necessary."

But, T-9 expressed different view that the learners in GTM could not speak fluently. When he was asked whether CLT could ensure fluency he answered that after learners' complete interaction with CLT it would be possible. T-10 again stood by the side of CLT. She emphasized that while practicing speaking learners would certainly encounter grammar naturally. And so, formal grammatical accuracy prior to fluency was not a must.

So, most of the teachers' claim is that without accuracy no learner can achieve pure fluency. Once grammatical accuracy is achieved, fluency will automatically be achieved- it is their common ground.

c) Language Learning through Translating Activity and Group/Pair Works

The teachers showed their impartial position in this respect. All of them opined that group/pair works as classroom activities are not fruitful alone. Now again they went back to the grammatical side. Their point was that in addition to these classroom activities, learners should be given various translating activities. They argued that through translating activity a learner could learn grammatical rules, vocabulary and other necessary linguistic items. So, translating activity should be mingled with group/pair works.

T-1 said, "You cannot drive away the evil, along with it, the good will also disappear." He wanted to mean that if we avoid translating, group/pair works in present CLT method will also be ineffective. T-2 maintained that translating activity and group/pair works both sides are effective. But, "there must be a close connection between them. Translating activity may be incorporated into group/pair works." T-3 and T-4 maintained the same where they emphasized simultaneous practice of translating and group/pair works. T-5 was more on the side of translation activities and cynical about the possibility of learning language through group/pair works by the rural learners.

T-6 also favored translating, and opined that group/pair works can ensure only partial fulfillment. T-7 held the same, and included that group/pair works were not effective completely. T-8 said, "In group/pair works students have opportunity to practice grammar" and translating might help for this practice a lot. Similarly, to T-10 mastery of English depends upon practice, and translating activity is a fruitful practice. So, she opined, group/pair works might be more effective if translation could be included in it.

The core idea of their claims is that classroom activities should be consisted both of translating and group/pair works. Through these mixed activities

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learners will acquire structural knowledge of language as well as be familiar with its practical use.

d) Role of the Teacher and Students

Among the ten participant teachers nine were in support of the teacher's noninterventionist role in classroom as prescribed by CLT. They supported the view that the teacher is facilitator or co-communicator in a language classroom. T-1 said that there should be the least distance between teacher-students relationships. T-3 opined, "The present prescribed role of teacher has given learners more freedom, so, they do not want to honor their teachers enough. However, I do not like the earlier authoritative role of the teacher, because, there was fear and sense of inferiority in the learners' mind." T-4 said that she liked friendly attitude of the teacher. "It is better, I like it." T-6 and T-7 preferred learner center class but warned that sometimes teacher-student relationship must be restricted. Indicating to the learners T-7 said, "Too much freedom is not good always."

T-8 stated, "To make learners active in the classroom is good, I support it." T-10 maintained the same and said that teacher's role as an instructor was desirable, but s/he must make the lesson smooth and comprehensible, otherwise, learner-oriented classroom environment would be disintegrated. "But, it will be much better if learner center class can be ensured from the root level of our education", she added.

But, T-5 preferred the traditional role of the teacher in the classroom. He argued that students depended upon their teacher for everything. His belief about the role of the teacher in the classroom was less liberal. About the learners he said, "They are like monkey. If you indulge them too much, they will want to be carried on your shoulders."

In this respect, the majority of the teachers held the belief that the teacher's friendly and liberal role in the classroom is better and more welcome.

e) Classroom Language

There was mixed opinion about the classroom language. Some teachers (2) believed that English might be possible as the classroom language. T-1 held the belief that students could cope with English in the classroom, but, "It won't be possible if the innovation is sudden. This should be practiced from the root level, class I or II. I saw many learners using English fluently during their tasks and activities. I believe they will be able to cope with it." He added another condition that teachers should interact with students as much as possible to use English in the classroom. T-3 echoed the same. He maintained that though learners could not use English in the classroom fully, the situation was changing and their position was being developed. "If the teacher shares English with the learners, they can use English better."

However, T-6 opined that English as classroom language might be possible in some urban schools, but it was not so in the rural schools. T-8 maintained that fulltime use of English in the class would make the learning process sometimes incomprehensible, especially, in the rural schools of Bangladesh. He also affirmed that most of the teachers lacked in fulltime use of English in the class, so naturally it would be problematic to the learners too. T-9 also strongly opposed the argument that only English must be the classroom language- "along with English learners need to use Bengali; learning does not mean that it must thoroughly be in English." T-10 stated that according to the class situation we need Bengali. T-5 and T-7 held that students like rural areas were more legged behind in using English, and using English as classroom language was an ambitious project.

The opinions above reflect that classroom language depends upon situational contexts. According to the context of Bangladesh, Bengali must be the classroom language, as most of the teachers opined.

f) Summary of Data Analysis

Sub-topics	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
GTM is less effective for achieving four skills than CLT.	10	90
Perfect fluency is possible without accuracy.	10	90
Without translation group/pair works are not fruitful alone.	100	0
Learner center class can be productive in Bangladesh.	90	10
Only English should be the classroom language.	20	80

XI. Critical Analysis of the Findings

The participant teachers clearly manifested their position in the respective fields of this study. In achieving four skills almost all of them (90%) denied the claim of CLT that GTM method could not produce the learners capable of using good speaking and listening skills in English. Their position was not against CLT, rather against its impractical view that only it can ensure achieving the four skills simultaneously. Their claim is relevant to the context of Bangladesh. Here, though CLT has been being practiced for many years, learners have not been able to perform satisfactorily according to the

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expectation. It seems that CLT is ironical in its theory and practice.

Unlike CLT they (90%) put more emphasis on grammatical accuracy than fluency. Their argument was that accuracy is the key to pure fluency. Fluency is a natural skill that comes automatically if accuracy is achieved. We should note that their point was 'pure' fluency. Without sufficient grammatical knowledge this type of fluency is not possible. In the context of Bangladesh it is very relevant because, accuracy in speaking and writing is connected to our moral accuracy (Huda 39). So, their claim is relevant.

About translating, group/pair works their position is liberal. They never demanded that group/pair works in CLT should be excluded from classroom activities, rather they proposed a kind of classroom activity where translating will be incorporated into group/pair works. Their implied suggestion goes to the innovation of the multi-syllabus.

About the role of the teacher and students most of them manifested their liberal outlook. They (90%) were in favor of friendly and frank role of the teacher in the classroom. Though their belief has no one hundred percent proximity to the real context of Bangladesh, thing is changing now. No one can deny the fact that CLT provides more self-confidence and self-motivation for the learners, and these psychological factors are essential pre-requisites for a successful learner, and learner center class can ensure them.

Majority of the teachers (80%) spoke in favor of using Bangla, along with English, as the classroom language. Their argument was that according to necessity Bangla should be introduced in the class. It is true that in the real situation of our country using English as the only language is very challenging; however the teachers who wanted to accept this challenge suggested that the practice of using English as the classroom language should be started from the very root level of education. This suggestion seems to be logical, because the English medium schools in this country bear the evidences.

XII. Some Suggestions

The present CLT syllabus of the secondary education level of Bangladesh is gradually being updated; still there is insufficient scope for direct practice of grammatical accuracy. Since our social, cultural, economic and psychological realities are important factor for the limited implementation of CLT and since grammatical accuracy is expected, re-innovation of translating and other grammatical activities, by the side of group/pair works, as the classroom activities, is necessary. That means, a multi-syllabus, where an amalgamation of translating and other grammatical activities and group/pair works, is more effective in our context. In this type of syllabus the classroom language may be English, but in that case, from the root level (Class-I) of education English must be practiced as the English- class language. To fulfill this condition the National Curriculum Textbook Board (NCTB) of Bangladesh can take necessary steps.

If such type of multi-syllabus is introduced, the position and role of the teacher in the classroom will simultaneously be altered. The role of the teacher in the classroom will go beyond just a facilitator and classroom manager to the source of error correction. He/she will establish situations as well as help the students obtain correct grammatical and other linguistic knowledge. Certainly, the teacher's role of this sort will not be unwelcome to the learners, since the teacher then will neither be the authority-figure nor mere facilitator, rather a figure mixed with the both.

Hopefully, the pressure on teachers' training will be lessened in the above proposed multi-syllabus, since most of the teachers in our context are already familiar with the traditional method of teaching.

XIII. Conclusion

This study shows that comparative acceptability of CLT and traditional GT Method to the teachers of rural secondary high schools in Bangladesh goes to both of them. They want re-innovation of traditional grammar practice and are doubtful about CLT's claim of achieving fluency, as well as prefer teacher's friendly role and simultaneous practice of translating and group/pair works in the classroom. However, the most significant outcome of this study is their putting emphasis on going back to direct practice of grammar. In this respect, their position goes to the proverb: "Old is gold".

This study also shows that the participant teachers have correctly identified the lack of practicality of CLT in the context of Bangladesh. They were of different ages and teaching experiences. So, their opinions about and suggestions for English teaching-learning processes bear authenticity and acceptability, though their identification and description of the state of the present ELT classrooms at the secondary level may not be representative of the whole scenario. But, it is notable here that they belong to the rural secondary high schools of Bangladesh. They represent the whole scenario of the rural secondary high schools, and this scenario is the major part of the secondary education of Bangladesh. Hence, education policy makers of Bangladesh can by no means ignore their opinions and suggestions related to ELT class. In this way, this study can help the rural teachers raise their voices in the area of methodological innovation in language pedagogy.

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Appendix

Topic:

Comparative Acceptability of GTM and CLT to the Teachers of Rural Secondary High Schools in Bangladesh

Questionnaires to Teachers:

- Can you observe differences between traditional English teaching-learning system and present communicative approach?
- CLT is more appropriate for achieving reading, writing, speaking and listening skills equally than GTM, do you agree?
- Do you support that perfect fluency is possible without grammatical accuracy?
- Are group/pair works alone more beneficial for language learning than translating activity?
- Learner center class is realistic and successful in Bangladesh, do you support?
- Do you think that only English should be the classroom language?

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Corruption and National Development in Nigeria: An Appraisal

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Introduction- One of the problems facing most third world, developing and or underdeveloped countries including Nigeria today is corruption. This to a large extent affects development. In Nigeria for example, this problem has become endemic such that the entire fabric of the society is affected. Past administrations be it civilian or military had in the time past, put in place machineries to curb and or curtail this menace. Presently, there are institutions established with the sole aim of eradicating corruption. Yet, the disease has refused to go away or die. This is due to the fact that the apostles of this crusade against (corruption) are in most instances affected by it.

Corruption is an ethical and moral problem not subject to a consistent theoretical construct, because it varies from place to place, time to time, culture to culture and with the level of development in given country. While one can say that corruption is a global phenomenon, the degree of corruption varies. For example, the incidence of corruption is less in developed countries with good welfare system; it is high in countries and or less developed economies with poor welfare system and income. It is less in socialist countries than in capitalist countries.

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Corruption and National Development in Nigeria: An Appraisal

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I. Introduction

One of the problems facing most third world, developing and or underdeveloped countries including Nigeria today is corruption. This to a large extent affects development. In Nigeria for example, this problem has become endemic such that the entire fabric of the society is affected. Past administrations be it civilian or military had in the time past, put in place machineries to curb and or curtail this menace. Presently, there are institutions established with the sole aim of eradicating corruption. Yet, the disease has refused to go away or die. This is due to the fact that the apostles of this crusade against (corruption) are in most instances affected by it.

Corruption is an ethical and moral problem not subject to a consistent theoretical construct, because it varies from place to place, time to time, culture to culture and with the level of development in given country. While one can say that corruption is a global phenomenon, the degree of corruption varies. For example, the incidence of corruption is less in developed countries with good welfare system; it is high in countries and or less developed economies with poor welfare system and income. It is less in socialist countries than in capitalist countries. The machineries or structures put in place in the fight against corruption are either faulty and or defective thereby making the whole exercise a mere jamboree at the start.

In this paper, conceptualization of the two main components would be made and the impact it has on development examined. This paper will focus on key areas like, politics, economics, bureaucratic and judicial corruption respectively.

Also in this paper, issues raised herein would be narrowed to Nigeria. However, reference would be made to some countries as the need arises. In this paper too, histology of corruption in Nigeria would be treated and the roles of those involved will be assessed.

II. Conceptual Issues

The word 'corruption' has become a common denominator in Nigeria and it is hindering meaningful development. As pointed out, its prevalence in less developed economies including Nigeria has become so pronounced that no day passes without a case of corruption against highly placed Nigerian reported. Corruption is a class problem. Corruption simply means the reversion of integrity, or state of affairs through official bribery, favour or made depravity.

Corruption is asking, giving or taking a free gift or favour in exchange for the performance of a legitimate task; the pervasion or obstruction of the performance of such a task or the performance of an illegal and illegitimate task hoarding, collusion, price fixing, election rigging, abuse and or misuse of office.

Corruption in public life in Nigeria was said to be in the 50s when the first panel of inquiry headed by justice Strafford Forster Sutttory was set up to look into the affairs of Africa Continental Bank (Ltd) (ACB). This was on July 1956. The chairman was then the Chief Justice of Nigeria. The petitioner was Mr. Eya. The panel report was released on January 16, 1957 and Dr. Zik was indicted for allowing public funds to be invested in bank which he (Zik) had interest.

In the same vein, three leading members of Action Group Party (AGP) namely: Ayo Rosiji, Abiodun Akerele and Chief E.O. Okunowo used the floor of the Federal Parliament in Lagos to call for commission of inquiry to investigate the various corporations in Western Region where Chief Awolowo was the premier of the region; the Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa set up a commission of inquiry which was headed by Justice Coker. The commission turned in the report December 31, 1963 and Chief Awolowo was fingered in the mismanagement of public funds.

Like corruption, development is a value word. It is always normative because it is directed towards the objectives that people desired. Biddle and Biddle in their own words defined development as: "social and personal change that moves towards consciously chosen goals. The chosen is done by the people who are in the process of change" (4).

Walter Rodney (1972) on his part, defines development as: at the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, self discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Taking a cue from the above definitions, national development can be defined as the capacity of nation state to pull all its resources both human and material to achieve set objectives for the good of the state and the citizenry. This requires total commitment on the part of the rulers and the ruled. Rulers are to create enabling environment

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for the citizens to actualize their dreams without any hindrance.

Having treated the two key issues of this essay, attention would now be turned to how corruption affects development. On this score, the focal point would essentially be political and or leadership, bureaucratic, economic and judicial corruption respectively.

When Nigeria attained political independence, there were high expectations from the people that the political class who were trusted leadership positions could deliver. There were high hopes because the crop of politicians in the first republic displayed seriousness to the task ahead. However, within few years in office, cases of corruption against key political actors became rife as captured by Achebe:

We listened to whisper of scandalous deals in high places sometimes involving some amount that I for one don't believe existed in the country.

He went further to state that satirically, how Chief Nanga wanted a certain road tarred before the next election at the cost of £210,000 tow times higher than the original cost of the contract at that time (46).

Another leadership/political corruption in Nigeria was exercised in July 1956 when the panel of inquiry headed by Chief Justice of Nigeria, Strafford Forster Sutton was set up to investigate allegations leveled against Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe by Mr. Eya, a member of NCNC. He submitted the findings on January 16, 1957. In that report, Dr. Zik was indicted.

Furthermore, three members of the Action Group (AC) – Ayo Rosiji, Abiodun Akerele and Chief E.O. Okunowo had used the floor of the Federal Parliament in Lagos to call for commission of inquiry to investigate activities of various corporations in Western Nigeria. Chief Awolowo was the Premier of Western Nigeria. Against this backdrop, the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa set up a commission of inquiry headed by Justice G.B. Coker, christened Coker Commission. It report was released on December 31, 1962 and its findings were astonishing.

We came across evidence of reckless and indeed atrocious and criminal mismanagement of public funds. We are satisfied about the diversion of large sums of money into the coffers of Action Group (AG).

The two instances above clearly showed how our political leaders lacked leadership qualities. It further confirmed the early statements credited to the two elder statesmen. Zik had this to say:

That henceforth I shall utilize my earned income to secure my enjoyment of a high standard of living and also to give a helping hand to the needy.

Chief Awolowo was more forceful and direct.

I was going to make myself formidable intellectually, morally invulnerable to make all the money that is possible for a man with my brains and brawn to make in Nigeria.

Thoughts such as these are more likely to produce aggressive millionaires than selfless leaders of their people. Such thoughts can be said to be product of demented brain and complete absence of intellectual vigor on issues of leadership and state craft at the formation stage of the country (11).

The developments in the Western Nigeria involving the two political figures, Awolowo and Chief Samuel Akintola which resulted to what was known as the "wild-wild west, the revolts in Tiv Division when the ruling party NCP attempted to force the opposition UMBC to join its ranks resulted into a serious political crisis.

Thus, the minimal structures laid by the departing colonialists could not be sustained owing to political squabbles, self aggrandizement, corruption and seminal absence of political driven on the part of the Prime Minister who was elected from the parliament, and thus found it impossible to establish any kind of permanent working majority (7).

The first National Development Plan (1962-1967) was to be financed by foreign facilities. But this could not be actualized because of lack of domestic savings. The effort at the import-substitution industrialization failed. This was because of the crises in Western Region and Tiv Division, the mismanagement of the national resources involving highly placed political leaders. The Nigerian army had no option than to take over government. Because the key planners and the executioners of the coup were from the same ethnic group (Ibo), some people, particularly the North, felt that it was sectional. This gave rise to a counter coup. This degenerated into thirty months Civil War which ended in 1970.

Poor leadership by politicians in the First Republic retarded development. The resources which could have been used for meaningful development was diverted to crush crises in Western Region and in Tiv Division and the Civil War.

The military messiahs who thought they would arrest the country from these malaises were caught in the web of corruption, from General Gowon to General Abdusalami. The only exception of these military regimes was that of General Buhari/Idiagbon. General Obasanjo in 1976 promulgated decree No. 11 (Public Officer's Protection Against False Accusation). This law gave the military leaders at various levels the opportunity to loot public funds at will.

III. Bureaucratic Corruption

In the time past, civil servants were contended with pay, and this encouraged them to work hard. When they retired, their entitlements were paid on time. Life in retirement was a thing of joy (Ayinde, 36). However, when thousands of them were compulsorily retired from the civil service without attaining the mandatory thirty-

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five years, there was dissatisfaction within the ranks and file of the civil service. In order to prepare for the raining days and against this unwholesome development, some civil servants started to engage in sharp corrupt practices.

For example, it was alleged that the Trade Fair Complex at 6 Badagry Road, Lagos was built at a cost three times its original estimates. The contract cost for the complex signed in 1975 between the Federal Government and Energy Project of Yugoslavia was originally fixed at ₦45, 261 million. But in March 1976, barely a year after, the cost rose to ₦95, 82million following a shoddy revision. Again in September 1977, the cost of the project was further increased to ₦132,34 million.

Another case of this type of corruption is that, on Monday 16th May 1983, National Concord and Daily Times Newspapers reported that there was fraud at the Post and Telecommunication Department (P &T) where the Federal government was losing N50million monthly as salaries to non-existent workers (Achebe 43).

In the course of one year the, Nigeria loses ₦600million in this particular racket. With ₦600million then, the government could build three refineries or pay the salaries of 1,000 workers on grade level 01 for forty years. This fraud was carried out in one of the parastatals in the ministry (Achebe 43).

Sometimes people seeking employment have to bribe before getting the job they are seeking for. Corruption of this kind is traceable in all the three tiers of government and the private sector. Recently the former Comptroller General of Customs and Excise and his Deputy and few staff in the Ministry of Finance were docked by EFCC for granting waivers worth ₦5billion to Vaswanis brothers under shoddy circumstances. This led to the expulsion of the brothers from Nigeria.

Furthermore, in 1980 a commission of inquiry was set up to investigate how ₦2.8billion naira disappeared from the coffers of Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The commission was set up by President Shehu Shagari and was headed by Justice Ayo Irikefe. The money was traced, found and lodged into a private account with Midland Bank Ltd in London. While the inquiry was going on, the chief accountant of the corporation and the internal auditor sneaked out of the country.

No foreigner would steal from his country and transfer the money to Nigeria as Nigerians do. For example in 1962, a governor of one state in USA was accused by his political opponent of taking bribe of $8million USA dollars from underground garage contract. The state was preparing for election. The governor, in state-wide radio broadcast told his people that the said money was not a bribe but a gift. That the money would have been taken to another state and invested there. Besides, he has invested the money in the state and provided jobs and or employment for upward of 5000 workers. The governor won the election. According to Aluko, this type of corruption is known in economic parlance as productive corruption.

Again, the Nigeria Army was voted N7billion in 2000 budget estimate. Up to March 2001, the money was never released to the army as approved by the National Assembly. The situation is the same in the Police, Navy and other para-military institutions. When people thrust with serious issues of governance turn around to steal public funds what then becomes of the ordinary citizen? This is why in 2002, the police went on strike for the first time in the history of this country. A visit to barracks will convince you.

IV. Economic Corruption

The economic system of any country is the wheels that drive its development. Nigeria economic system was laid on faulty foundation. The colonial orientated socialization process had made the life-style and consumption pattern of the industrialized countries look the civilized form of living and consumption. This made third world countries (including Nigeria) to start to import production technology from advanced countries with the aim of producing these items themselves instead of importing them.

After the Nigerian Civil War in 1970, the amount of money Nigeria realized from export of Crude Oil and non-oil products stood thus, oil export was ₦885.6million while non-oil exports was ₦376.0million. The average exchange rate between the US dollar and the naira for the period was about N1 for $1.60. The value of Nigeria's total foreign exchange earnings for the period of 1970-1980 was $999.238billion (Ayagi, 19).

However, the two military governments and Shagari's administration started to import substandard goods at a very high cost: obsolete vehicle assembly plants were set up at a very high cost. Two ministers in Shagari's government were removed for bribe-for-import scandal (Ayagi, 19).

Steel industry worldwide is a major key for industry and technological take-off of any country. It holds the key for national development. Countries like Russia, China, Britain, USA, India etc presently are world leading nations in various areas of development. This is as a result of steel industry.

When the steel plants, in-land Rolling Mills and machines tools in Oshogbo were set up, they were high hopes that at last the movement for Nigeria's industrial and technological take-off was here. But alas, it turned up to be another conduit pipe on the national purse. Those who were saddled with the responsibility of its daily affairs ran them aground. Money meant for the running of the plants was diverted into private pockets.

For example, one Alhaji Dalhhatu, the then administer in-charge of steel was involved in $28million dollars bribery scandal. Over $8billion US dollars have

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been spent on the Steel Industry without producing one bar of steel (Ayagi, 19). This has in no small measure contributed to our present state of underdevelopment.

Another area is agriculture. Agriculture is another component for national development. A nation that cannot feed its people is at the mercy of other countries that export agricultural products to her.

Before the discovery of oil, agriculture accounted for 75% of Nigeria's export earnings. It was and still the highest employer of labour. With the discovery of oil, agriculture was neglected at the expense of oil. Nigeria is importing rice and other agricultural products from overseas. This had a serious and or negative impact on national development. During Shagari's administration, Alhaji Umaru Dikko who was saddled with the responsibility for the importation of rice was removed for corruption. He and another minister were removed on bribery scandals.

The Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC), River Basins, Operation Feed the Nation and Green Revolution became a conduit pipe on the national purse. These programmes were launched with fanfare. After funds were allocated to them, those who were placed at the helms of these corporations looted the funds. Nigeria had no option than to start importing some food items to support her population. For the first time, Nigeria started sharing essential amenities like sugar, salt, mil, etc to her citizens.

This was as a result of the collapse in agricultural sector which led to rural urban migration. The introduction of Belt fighting under General Obasanjo government, Austerity Measures under President Shehu Shagari and Structural Adjustment Programme under General Babangida could not arrest the economic drift. Rather, it worsened the already bad situation.

The government instead of encouraging local government production of fertilizer and rice preferred to import. This included other agricultural machineries and inputs. Dubious importers of no description connived with foreigners to dupe the country. For example, foreigners were issuing invoices locally to ensure inflation of price and over-invoicing.

This development killed local industries and agriculture. There was rural-urban drift. Rural dwellers who were and are still the main stay of agriculture abandoned their farms and left for the township in search of jobs and new life. This had caused serious social problems for policy formulators. The assembly plants are now idle except the one located at Bauchi State which has been turned into factory fabricating military hard wares.

During general Babangida administration, 12billion US dollars disappeared from the Escrow Account of the Central Bank of Nigeria. If that money was injected into the economy and properly monitored, the story of Nigeria would have been different today.

In 1995, a contract worth about 200million US dollars was awarded to Total Plc for Turn Around Maintenance (TAM) of Kaduna Refinery. Nothing was done about the refinery and the said money was not returned to the government coffers.

Power generation is another sector that is very essential to national development. The multi-dimension impact of power generation on national economy is enormous. It creates more jobs, reduces poverty, provides clean water, drives the industries, etc. Nigeria power sector is in a very poor shape. A steady and uninterrupted power supply can pull the economy out of the woods. Ghana is a classical example in this direction.

Nigeria cannot achieve that feat despite her enormous natural resources. The recent Halliburton bribe scandal involving Elumelu of House of Representatives shows how people thrusted with high responsibility used their position to enrich themselves at the expense of the country. This is why development would continue to elude the country. This poor power generation has forced some companies who want to stay in business to source for alternative power supply. This in turn increases the cost of production. Those that could not afford and or lack the financial clout to run their plants on standby generators have closed shops, while some rendering skeletal services.

The introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) by General Ibrahim Babangida worsened the situation. The national currency (the naira) was devalued thereby making the procurement of industrial inputs expensive. Some government owned enterprises had to close down because of the running cost. It was on this score that when Olusegun Obasanjo came in, he privatized government owned enterprises with the hope of creating more jobs and making these enterprises functional again.

However, when the process commenced, the Nigeria factor (corruption and bribery) took the front burner in the exercise, money started exchanging hands. Due process which was put in place for the exercise was put aside. Some co-investors were picked up purely on sectional and religious background. Even when the co-investors actually stepped in, and commenced production, its impact is not felt within the immediate community. In some instances, expatriates particularly Indians have been brought into the country and given employments while competent Nigerians are shoved aside. Benue Cement Company Plc (BCC PLC) Gboko is a case in point. These expatriates are paid in hard currency for doing virtually nothing. Drivers, welders, fitters etc are brought from India.

The haul aging of the product (Cement) is done by the company. Local transporters are finding it difficult to do business with the company. The company is in the hands of Indians. This has retarded development around the host communities, and by extension Benue

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State. The private sector which is the engine room of private-sector driven economy is worst for it. The recent developments in the banking sector attests to this fact. Funds which could have been used to oil the economy through projects financing was siphoned to overseas banks by some bank chiefs executives. Some of the stolen funds were injected in non-productive sector of the economy thereby frustrating our dream to national development.

The transport sector had it own share of the malaises. About ₦345billion was voted for the sector in 2002 budget specifically for roads. Information had it that the money was diverted into the coffers of the ruling PDP for second term project. It was the same in Port Authority and Aviation sectors respectively. Bode George is serving a jail term for his role in the shoddy contracts awarded under his leadership. Fani Kayode is standing trial for corruption.

The amount voted for roads in that budget alone if it was properly utilized, the state of roads in the country would have been different. The poor state of our roads is the major cause of road accidents which sometimes are fatal. Farmers find it difficult to transport food stuff to urban centres during raining season. This has attributed to the high cost of food stuff in many bigger cities in Nigeria. This scenario is experienced in other sectors like education and health.

In the education and health sector respectively, funds meant for the procurement of instructional materials and drugs were diverted to private pockets by those who are saddled with such responsibilities. Sometimes fake drugs are procured and distributed to government owned hospitals and clinics. In the case of educational sector, substandard projects are executed by school authorities. This is why there are many cases of collapse school buildings in most states of the federation. Recently, a primary school block collapsed and killed three primary school pupils because of the faulty structure.

On 4th May 1980, a newspaper reported that a commissioner in Oyo State had diverted over millions of naira given to him for the procurement and distribution of drugs to state hospitals and clinics to his own use, the question is how could a commissioner of a ministry have done this? Once can say that, it is agreed that many Nigerians in high positions of authority practice on daily basis. It beats one's imagination how people with such responsibility abuse their positions.

V. Judicial Corruption

Like economic corruption which affects Nigeria's effort towards national development, judiciary corruption too has serious implication on our match towards national development. As expected, the judiciary is the last hope of an average Nigerian. The judiciary acts as final arbiter between the government and the citizens, and or between one citizen and another, and or between a citizen and a corporation and or between corporation and corporations. It is expected that the judiciary should give judgments based on argument adduced before it the parties concerned where money and other inducements are used to pervert justice, there is bound to be trouble. In the treason trial which the NPC controlled government famed against Chief Awolowo and in which the presiding judge Justice Sowememo said that the evidence before him was not sufficient to jail Awolowo, but had no option than to jail Awolowo, because according to him, his hands were tied. This gave rise to the crisis in the Western Region, lives were lost and properties worth hundreds of million dollars were destroyed. This caused a setback in that entire region. This was one of the reasons why the first military coup plotters advanced as one of the reasons why they overthrew the first civilian government.

Another example is the June 12, 1993 Presidential Election which was annulled by General Babangida. It was on account of a suit filed by Chief Aurther Ezeribe under the auspices of Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) calling the election fraud. The judgment, it was alleged was written by Professor Nwabueze the then Attorney General of the Federation, and delivered by Justice Ikpene in her chambers. This set in the tune of political crises that engulfed the entire country. This development nearly tore the country apart.

Recently in Ekiti State Election Tribunal, the presiding judges were accused of receiving bribe from the ruling party, People's Democracy Party (PDP) and accordingly, the judgment was delivered in favour of the party and its governor.

VI. Impact of Corruption and National Development

The study in 1996 by Transparency International and Gottingen University ranked Nigeria as the most corrupt nation among the 54 nations on the study. Two years later, perception (index), survey of 85 countries also ranked Nigeria No.81. In 2009, Corruption Perception Index (CPI) survey of 85 countries, Nigeria's image did not improve of the 91 countries surveyed in 201, Nigeria ranked 90 of the countries studied.

Corruption leads to slow flow of traffic, manholes on the roads and poor waste management. It leads to killing of political opponents. It could upturn ethnic balance and cause serious problems in the areas of national integration and the legitimacy of that government. Above all, it makes governance ineffective and causes brain drain.

Furthermore, some countries with low level of corruption, risk can be insured and this attracts investment flow consequently, countries with high level of corruption have serious problems in attracting foreign

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direct investment. Governance issues in the modern globalize economy includes issues of foreign direct investment and the transfer of new technology.

Corruption leads to abandonment of projects that could have accelerated national development in all facets. Examples are; Ajeokuta and Aladja Steel project, Itakpe iron ore, the inland rolling mills and machine tools in Oshogbo; the paper mill in Akwa Iboku in Cross River State, Aluminum Flat Sheet also in Cross River State and so many abandoned projects of Federal, State and Local Governments. There is also re-cycling of projects, 10% kicks back syndrome at the three tiers of government.

Education, health and indeed the entire economic sector is at its lowest ebb because of corruption. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) reported that Nigerians have about $189billion in overseas banks. This is the money stolen from Nigeria and starched overseas. It is this money that is oiling the economy of Europe. If that money was invested in Nigeria, Nigeria could have been a better place. No foreign will steal his country's money and take it to Nigeria or any third world country and bank.

VII. What the Government is Doing

Government on its part over the years has put in place mechanism to combat corruption and attract national development. In the first republic, judiciary commission of inquiry was set up to probe allegations of corruption and mismanagement against Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. They were indicted and asked to transfer their interests to their regional governments.

In 1975, military government enacted Decree No. 38 of 1975 christened Corrupt Practices Decree. This was to try corrupt politicians, civil servants and military officers who were found wanting in their discharge of their official functions. The 1979 constitution Sections 5-20 of part 1 of the fifth schedule created Code of Conduct Bureau. This sections are to compel political office holders on assumption of office declare their assets. Ditto when they are leaving. All these measures were taken to combat the menace of corruption.

One of the political objectives enshrined in the 1999 constitution is that the states shall abolish all forms of corruption practices and abuse of power. In pursuant of the objectives, the constitution, in the third schedule provides for the Code of Conduct Bureau, to ensure that public officers conform to ethics of incorruptible behaviour, through the declaration of their assets before and after holding public offices. It also provides for Code of Conduct Tribunal to try public servants. The Public Servant covered by the Bureau and Tribunal include: the President, The Vice President, Governors, Deputy Governors of States, Justice of Courts, Attorney general and Minister of Justice, Army Chiefs, Police Chiefs, top civil servants, diplomats in Nigeria and abroad, chairmen members and staff of Federal, States and Local Government, Chairmen Boards and corporations and similarly placed public officers. The constitution also provides for the establishment of Electoral Tribunal at all levels of elections in order to ensure a corrupt-free electoral process.

Furthermore, the National Assembly passed into law the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000, the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (Establishment Act) 2000, the Anti-money Laundering Act 2002, the Anti-Drug Enforcement Act 2003, and the Fiscal and Responsibility Act 2005, to strengthen the previous legislations on bribery and corruption. Prior to the 1999 constitution, the Federal Government has also put in place the Due Process Mechanism to reduce fraud in the award of government contracts and unnecessary spending of public funds. The establishment of Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and EFCC to handle cases of financial crimes both in the public and private sectors respectively is a welcome development. The arrest and trial of former bank chief executives and politicians are efforts of the government to fight the scourge.

The result so far achieved is insignificant when compared with the quantum of corruption that is being perpetrated in the three tiers of government parastatals and in the private sector respectively. General Murtala Mohammed recorded huge success in his fight against corruption. Ditto general Buhari, General Babangida institutionalized corruption in Nigeria. President Obasanjo on his part instead of fighting corruption other social vices used the anti-graft body (EFCC) under Ribadu to fight his political opponents. If not for the judiciary, Yar'Adua/Goodluck would have recorded huge success in their fight against corruption and financial crimes in their first tenure. Corruption in the fourth republic has surpassed and or is the highest since Nigerian attained political independence.

VIII. Conclusion

Corruption is a global problem which requires a global solution. The recent regime in Thailand were democratically elected government was overthrown for corrupt practices in a case in point. There is a heavy pressure on the Taiwanese president to resign over corruption charges. The former Italian Prime Minister was voted out of office for his inability to deal with the daunting economic and social issues as well as corruption. In China, a cabinet minister was executed for corruption. Bode George, former chairman of the ruling party in South West Nigeria was sent to jail for corruption. Three ministers under Obasanjo are facing trail in various courts, while other five including a Senator are undergoing interrogation for corrupt charges. Too,

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Chief Ogbulafor the former chairman of the ruling party (PDP) was forced to resign on account of corruption. He is standing trial.

Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon dating back to the Old and New Testaments. As globalization becomes an interesting reality, internationally, corruption becomes our problem too, more than ever before. It is instructive to note that corruption cannot be eliminated while humans live, but can and must be effectively curbed and restrained if nations are going to prosper and poverty reduced.

To enhance national development, and change, the president of this country Goodluck Jonathan must take and be seen to take, a decisive first step of ridding his administration of all persons son whom a slight wind of corruption and scandal has blown. When he summons up courage to do that, he will find himself grown overnight to such a status and authority that he will become Nigeria leader and not just it president.

Secondly, the nature of corruption now is beyond the scope of conventional measure and mechanism such as the police, judiciary and administrative tribunal of inquiry. All of which are inherently prejudicial and operationally corrupted. Therefore, the only fundamental solution from existing capitalist type of development strategy is genuine economic political and social democracy (Newbreed 18).

Corruption being the most formidable obstacle to development in Nigeria, and whch has permeated the polity, a total overhauling of the system would be carried out by progressive elements within the government in order to lay solid foundation for socialist democracy. Alternatively, a people's revolution should be carried out in order to instill a socialist system. It is the only surest way to curb corruption and pave way for genuine national development.

In this paper, theoretical issues of corruption and national development were brought to fore. In this paper too, some cases of corruption dating back to the first, second, third and fourth republics were treated and the reaction of government equally analyzed. We also looked at the impact of corruption on national development with particular reference to Nigeria and measures taken by various countries in the world to curb it. It is observed that the mechanism put in place in Nigeria to arrest this trend is worthless unless positive steps are taken to totally overhaul the present system and install social democracy or genuine national development will remain a mileage.

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A Test of Five-Factor Model on Different Roles of Government and Private Public Relations Practitioners in Indonesia

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Abstract- Research attempts to explore the information about the role of Public Relations (PR) played by governmental and private practitioners it based on five factors suggested by Moss and De Santo. Research uses quantitative approach and examines 300 PR practitioners of government and private who are arranged within the association of Indonesian Public Relations (BPP PERHUMAS). Data collection method is survey. T-test is conducted to compare of Public Relations role between government and private. Result of data analysis shows a significant difference between both on several factors such as Issues Management Expert, Troubleshooting/Problem Solver and Communication Technician. Not quite significant difference is found in some factors such as monitoring and evaluation, and also key policy and strategy advisor.

Keywords: *public relations, five-factor model, indonesia.*

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A Test of Five-Factor Model on Different Roles of Government and Private Public Relations Practitioners in Indonesia

Putu Budhi Parthawa [α], Rachmat Kriyantono [σ] & Darsono Wisadirana [ρ]

Abstract- **Research attempts to explore the information about the role of Public Relations (PR) played by governmental and private practitioners it based on five factors suggested by Moss and De Santo. Research uses quantitative approach and examines 300 PR practitioners of government and private who are arranged within the association of Indonesian Public Relations (BPP PERHUMAS). Data collection method is survey. T-test is conducted to compare of Public Relations role between government and private. Result of data analysis shows a significant difference between both on several factors such as Issues Management Expert, Troubleshooting/Problem Solver and Communication Technician. Not quite significant difference is found in some factors such as monitoring and evaluation, and also key policy and strategy advisor.**

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I. Introduction

Five-factor model of Public Relations Role is developed from four characteristics of European Public Relation suggested by Steyn (2003). As said by Steyn (quoted in Moss and De Santo, 2011), one of these four characteristics is Reflective. European PR characteristics have changed standards, values and viewpoints used by general communities to develop mission and standard of organization. Two general roles in PR are estimated: PR as technician, which undergoes work activity related to tactical communication and PR as manager, with work activity related to strategic communication (Lattimore, Baskin, Heiman, Toth and Leuven 2007). The role of technician as assumed by PR practitioners may include tactical assignments such as writing, editing, taking photograph, producing communication, making coordination for specific event, and providing communication to media (Lattimore et al, 2007). Media relations is important to keep positive image or good reputation (Syahri, Kriyantono, Nasution, 2015).

According to Moss and De Santo (2011:107), *Five-Factor Model* can help improving the performance of PR senior practitioner in several ways. First is that the model can improve the ability to work with other senior management to identify and to clarify organizational values, operational principles, policies and strategies which guarantee the organization to empower the legitimacy. Second is that the model helps improving the skill and knowledge of reading, interrogating and interpreting the characteristics of internal and external stakeholder, and also helps to identify problems and opportunities and to explain them to senior managers, thus making PR practitioners being as the key of organizational decision making. Third is that the model may increase the understanding of business goal and the ability to contribute to business by involving stakeholders, enlisting their support, representing their interest, and promoting organization through their image. Fourth is related to the skill and knowledge to make strategic plan and to build PR Plan which supports organizational goal and provides proper resource for evaluation. Fifth is concerned with the ability to set the plan in effective and efficient ways. Sixth is that the model can help PR practitioners to work with others in organization, including senior manager and other employees, to understand the complexity of communication inside organization.

In relative with the progress of organizational goals, PR manager who acts as technician may not be quite involved into organizational issues, especially on strategic decision making, because they are not invited into managerial session or even seniority-based discussion (Cutlip, Scoot, 2006). In other hand, PR practitioners usually assume managerial role when they are the part of organizational management and can use strategic skills to determine end result or final impact of PR activity. Developing the environment, building the relation, managing the problems or programs of organization, and serving the higher-level advisors in certain policy-making or decision making are main focuses of their work assignment (Cutlip, Scott, 2006).

In previous research by Rosalynne Whitaker-Heck, it is asserted that PR senior practitioners in college do not have plenty engagements with their managerial role. Their technical role seems dominating managerial role. It is also found that PR senior practitioners in college level do not have direct access to director president or high-level manager positions. In other words, PR senior practitioners do not have quite important standing (do not have *seat at table*), although some exceptions remain such as during promotion or when the college experiences crisis. In the case of crisis,

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PR senior practitioners are proposed to be the executive part of the college. It is consistent to David Malbert as quoted in Jefkins (1987) who find that many people assume that PR is the part of marketing but its function is almost similar to marketing. Therefore, it is not surprising if marketers underestimate PR. Some business peoples declare that PR represents a managerial function which serves organizations throughout the company, and the most internal part of PR is marketing. However, PR is not yet considered as important to several companies or agencies.

De Santo, Barbara, Moss, Danny, Newman and Andrew (2007) have identified and explained main elements of managerial works of PR Managers in a certain context and culture of organization. Five-Factor Model continues to evolve. It is expected that the Model will have wider application which covers the role of PR Managers in the organization at various nations and cultures. Five-Factor Model of Public Relations has been widely used in Western researches. Indonesia is belonged to Eastern part and shall be different in perspective.

Based on this background, the author is interested to follow-up the research by Moss and De Santo and therefore, the author decides to use Five-Factor Model to explain PR practitioners in Indonesia. Five-Factor Model is tested against PR Managers in the government (state-owned enterprises) and private in Indonesia. The test over Five-Factor Model of Indonesian PR will be a new review that is becoming important step to produce better Indonesian PR. The author also insists on understanding how important is PR position in Indonesia. Public Relations practitioners in Government (State-Owned Enterprises) and Private are selected by considering their different PR orientation. The orientation Governmental PR is given to policies and services, while Private PR is oriented toward business issue and profit. Therefore, the author will examine BPP PERHUMAS as the structure to collect the data because this Agency comprises of Public Relations practitioners from government and private who work at central sectors of an organization.

II. Researh Method

Research uses quantitative approach. Method of research is survey while data collection instrument is questionnaire. Survey type is explanatory. The population of research includes Public Relations senior practitioners from the government and private who was the membership of BPP PERHUMAS in Jakarta. The active population is 300 senior practitioners. Sampling is referring to Slovin Equation and the result is 36 persons of sample.

The role of Public Relations is made to operational with indicators of Five-Factor Model adopted by Whitcacker (9-14, 2014) as shown in table

Table 1 : Indicators of Five-Factor Model

Variables	Indicators	Descriptors	Remarks
Five-Factor Model	Monitor and Evaluator	Public Relations practitioners have managerial responsibilities of organizing, controlling and monitoring.	1. I prepare periodic report about communication operation for senior management. 2. I am responsible to determine target for PR Functions. 3. I cooperate with superior to determine the target based on PR Functions. 4. I must ensure that communication function of PR is operated favorably based on the budget. 5. I am responsible to supervise externals especially in evaluating PR Strategies. 6. I am responsible to monitor the performance of communication function of PR to achieve the expected target. 7. My primary work is negotiating with other managers about work resources and work loads. 8. I negotiate with senior management about target and function of PR.
	Key Policy and Strategy Advisor	Public Relations practitioners have strong relation with senior management of the organization and are actively engaged within policy making process.	1. I give regular inputs to top management about relevant/business problems and challenges. 2. I give regular contributions during meetings for administrative/high-level managerial policy-makings. 3. I have a stake in determining policy-making.

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			4. I suggest to management about how to take strategic decisions and how to make them appeal to media. 5. I give inputs to the management about important issues of stockholders. 6. My primary work is to set plan of PR Strategies for internal and external stakeholders. 7. I cooperate with top management in formulating PR Strategies. 8. I am directly involved within organizational decision at board level. 9. I am responsible to apply communication strategies inside the organization. 10. I cooperate with President (Principal) to ensure that PR Strategies are understandable.
	Issues Management Expert	Related to the ability of Public Relations role in diagnosing and anticipating external threats from big or small problems.	1. I monitor external trends that influence organization. 2. I collect and analyze external intelligences that are relevant to organization. 3. I give suggestions to organization in responding the threats. 4. I am responsible to manage the programs to solve the identified problems. 5. I help the organization to solve problems caused by conflict against stakeholder. 6. I am responsible to deal with the internal and external occurrences in company that are unexpected and possibly threatening organizational wellbeing. 7. I am considered as expert when my company experiences crisis. 8. My primary work is maintaining contact and negotiation with external stakeholders.
	Troubleshooting/ Problem-Solver	In relative with the reaction of Public Relations practitioners in dealing with internal and external threats or crises faced by organization.	1. Helping to resolve problems caused by others in organization is one of my main responsibilities. 2. My work involves exchanging information with others and controlling certain information. 3. I represent the PR/ Communication function at meeting policy that might affect the communication function's role or resources is discussed.
	Communication Technician	Concerning with activities of supervising and in many cases, it also connects to implementation case, communication technique, and relation with media.	1. My work is always making connection with staffs in my section to ensure that staffs are working effectively. 2. I ensure that information and system of organizational communication report are effectively functional. 3. My work is also processing emails and correspondences. 4. I often handle technical aspect of the production of communication/materials for PR. 5. I supervise visual/design materials for my organization.

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III. Result and Discussion

The comparative test that compares journalist perceptions about governmental PR and Private PR, and media relations is conducted using independent t-test. The criterion of test is explained as follows. If t-test statistic value is equal or more than significant level (alpha), there is significant difference between two groups of PR. Result of comparative test between journalist perception about Governmental PR and Private PR, and media relations, is exposed in the following explanation.

Table 2 : The Comparison of Public Relations Role between Governmental and Private Organizations in Monitoring and Evaluation

Indicator	Public Relations	Average	t-test	Probability
Monitor and Evaluator	Private PR	2.798	-3.393	0.001
	Governmental PR	3.337		

Result of test in above table indicates that statistic t-test is -3.393 at probability of 0.001. It means that probability is bigger than level of significance ($\alpha = 5$ %). it can be said that the is significant difference of Public Relations role between governmental and private organizations in Monitoring and Evaluation.

In average perspective, Public Relations role in government organization in the monitoring and evaluation has bigger average than that of private organization. It means that Public Relations role in Monitoring and Evaluation is more significantly bigger in governmental organization than private organization

Table 3 : The Comparison of Public Relations Role between Governmental and Private Organizations in Key Policy and Strategy Advisor

Indicator	Public Relations	Average	t-test	Probability
Key Policy and Strategy Advisor	Private PR	2.271	-1.732	0.087

Result of test in above table shows that statistic t-test is -1.732 at probability of 0.087. It means that probability is bigger than level of significance ($\alpha = 5$ %). It can be declared that there is no significant difference of Public Relations role between governmental and private organizations in Key Policy and Strategy Advisor.

Based on average perspective, Public Relations role in government organization in Key Policy and Strategy Advisor has bigger average than that of private organization, but the difference is not quite big (not significant). It means that Public Relations role in Key Policy and Strategy Advisor is different not-significantly between governmental organization and private organization.

Table 4 : The Comparison of Public Relations Role between Governmental and Private Organizations in Issues Management Expert

Indicator	Public Relations	Average	t-test	Probability
Issues Management Expert	Private PR	2.923	-2.554	0.013
	Governmental PR	3.288		

Result of test in above table reveals that statistic t-test is -2.554 at probability of 0.013. It means that probability is smaller than level of significance ($\alpha = 5$ %). It can be estimated that there is significant difference of Public Relations role between governmental and private organizations in Issues Management Expert.

By considering the perspective of average, Public Relations role in government organization Issues Management Expert has bigger average than that of private organization. It means that Public Relations role in Issues Management Expert is bigger in governmental organization than in private organization.

Table 5 : The Comparison of Public Relations Role between Governmental and Private Organizations in Troubleshooting/Problem-Solving

Indicator	Public Relations	Average	t-test	Probability
Troubleshooting/ Problem-Solving	Private PR	2.981	-3.393	0.001
	Governmental PR	3.565		

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Result of test in above table explains that statistic t-test is -3.393 at probability of 0.001. It means that probability is smaller than level of significance (α = 5 %). It can be estimated that there is significant difference of Public Relations role between governmental and private organizations in Troubleshooting/Problem-Solving.

Taking count the perspective of average, Public Relations role in government organization Troubleshooting/Problem-Solving has bigger average than that of private organization. It means that Public Relations role in Troubleshooting/Problem-Solving is bigger in governmental organization than in private organization.

Table 6 : The Comparison of Public Relations Role between Governmental and Private Organizations in Communication Technician

Indicator	Public Relations	Average	t-test	Probability
Communication Technician	Private PR	3.731	-2.832	0.006
	Governmental PR	4.235		

Result of test in above table indicates that statistic t-test is -2.832 at probability of 0.001. It means that probability is smaller than level of significance (α = 5 %). It can be estimated that there is significant difference of Public Relations role between governmental and private organizations in Communication Technician.

If average perspective is considered, Public Relations role in government organization Communication Technician has bigger average than that of private organization. It means that Public Relations role in Communication Technician is bigger in governmental organization than in private organization.

IV. Conclusion

Five-Factor Model is a new review over Public Relations role. Five-Factor Model is also important to understand how far managerial and technical roles played by Public Relations senior practitioners in a company or an organization, especially when they must develop good relationship with other management or top management. It is expected that PR practitioners can give the best solution in dealing with problems or in making decisions. Public Relations practitioners are functionally very important part of the organization. During the review of Five-Factor Model, Public Relations practitioners are required to undergo communication management favorably inside the organization and to have good relationship with internal and external stakeholders. Therefore, PR is quite important component in an organization.

The objective of research is to understand how far managerial and technical roles played by Public Relations senior practitioners in a company or an organization. In this matter, research concerns with the relationship between Public Relations senior practitioners with other sections or with top management. Every section or department in organization shall have good cooperation with counterparts.

Result of data analysis concludes that Monitor and Evaluator Category and Key Policy and Strategy Advisor Category are not significantly different in the Public Relations role played by governmental and private organizations. The Categories of Issues Management Expert, Troubleshooting/Problem Solver, and Communication Technician, are significantly different between governmental and private organizations. Comprehensively at Jakarta Govermental PR has better PR than Private PR.

V. Suggestion

This current research is a follow-up from previous researches about Five-Factor Model. By this research, the author attempts to understand Public Relations role using Five-Factor Model which describes the practitioners of Governmental PR and Private PR in Indonesia. However, the finding is not universal because the research only uses Indonesia perspective, and therefore, it is hardly representing Asia continent with various different demographics. It is suggested that the results of this research will give good insight for Public Relations practitioners such that they can improve performance quality of PR role in an organization because PR role is very important to develop organizational performance. For academicians, results of research may contribute to the literatures of next researches. Various findings shall strengthen the interest in developing and exploring the review of Public Relations.

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Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism: An Analytical Discourse for Dalit Liberation and Emancipation

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Abstract- The extent of social transformation of any socially discriminated people may be better judged from the social philosophies propounded by their great leaders like Gandhi and Ambedkar in modern India. Gandhi is dead, so are Ambedkar and Marx. However, neither their philosophies- Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism are dead nor could they posthumously suppress to one another. Their philosophical axis- may be different and dialectical such as for example absolutism versus relativism, positivism versus phenomenalism and theological versus metaphysical but remain the far sighted discourse for the liberation and emancipation of dalit in India. Our study also reveals that the protagonists of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism are either eating their humble pie in the circumstances of their failures or feeling like fishes out of water in the company of other outdated philosophies for the cause of dalit at present. Further, the change agents like heart, mind, conscience, science, violence, non-violence, constitutionalism, religion, state and village perceived in Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism could not break loose the thread of casteism.

Keywords: dalit, humanism, ambedkarism, gandhism, marxism, liberation, emancipation.

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Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism: An Analytical Discourse for Dalit Liberation and Emancipation

Dr. Rabindra Garada

Abstract- The extent of social transformation of any socially discriminated people may be better judged from the social philosophies propounded by their great leaders like Gandhi and Ambedkar in modern India. Gandhi is dead, so are Ambedkar and Marx. However, neither their philosophies- Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism are dead nor could they posthumously suppress to one another. Their philosophical axis- may be different and dialectical such as for example absolutism versus relativism, positivism versus phenomenalism and theological versus metaphysical but remain the far sighted discourse for the liberation and emancipation of dalit in India. Our study also reveals that the protagonists of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism are either eating their humble pie in the circumstances of their failures or feeling like fishes out of water in the company of other outdated philosophies for the cause of dalit at present. Further, the change agents like heart, mind, conscience, science, violence, non-violence, constitutionalism, religion, state and village perceived in Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism could not break loose the thread of casteism. Irony is that the destitution and deprivation of dalits, tribals and women, instead of loosening their grips after gone through these isms over the time, have greatly been aggravated. On the one hand Gandhi being defender of caste-based hierarchism, caste-based incarnations and patriarchy could not be the true fighter against casteism and the Marxists though became true fighters for class equality and fraternity but could not promote individual liberty. On the other hand, the original axis of Ambedkarism based on liberty, equality and fraternity and Buddhism shows to the dalit their real paths of emancipation and liberation. However, for the cause of dalit in this paper we have not simply examined the quintessence of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism but in addition analysed their convergence and reconciliation judiciously through different creative Figure formats. Further, dialoguing Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx one another the dalit will certainly situate them somewhere emancipating and empowering from their age old sufferings from casteism.

Keywords: dalit, humanism, ambedkarism, gandhism, marxism, liberation, emancipation.

I. Introduction

Every nation-state has some unfortunate human stock who has been suffering for centuries, for example, Slavs (Poles and Serbs) in Europe, Slave in Roman, Helots in Spartans, Villeins in Britain, Negroes in America, Gypsies and Jews in Germany and Tanka in China but not like "untouchables" who are destined to suffer forever in India. The slavery, serfdom and villeinage have been vanished and racism and religious atrocity on Jews have also been reduced to a large extent but the plight of untouchables revolves around their castes but "being outcastes". The untouchables known as Harijan, scheduled caste and dalit as used by caste Hindu- found to be the manual scavengers, street sweepers, cobblers and leather workers whose mere touch was believed to be "polluting" to a higher caste Hindu. It also relates to a situation of forced labour or slavery (see, Manual Scavenging, International Dalit Solidarity, 2013 & 2015; dsn.org/key-issues/manual-scavenging). In December, 2006, the then Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh described untouchability as a "blot on humanity" and India's "Hidden Apartheid (www.hrw.org/news/.../india-hidden-apartheid-discrimination-against-dali.www.chrgj.org). He publicly acknowledged the parallel situation as existing between untouchability and the crime of apartheid. The plight of untouchables was so severe that everything in him- appearance, speech, words, shadow, etc, as if polluting, and even they were treated as un-approachable, un-speakable, un-hearable and un-seeable in the past. So far, the scheduled caste has been physically tortured, mentally abused, socially humiliated, culturally accused and socially excluded (see, Deliege, 1997; Ilaiah, 1996; Tripathy, 1994; Rajshekar, 1987; http://drambedkarbooks.wordpress.com/dr-b-r-ambedkar-books). The legal protective acts like Civil Rights Act of 1955, Scheduled Caste and Tribe Act of 1989, the article 17, etc, are there to protect these unfortunate communities. This is also not untrue that the scheduled castes communities have been undergoing rapid changes in India. However, the changing status of this human stock is intense speculation throughout India. In this context, the philosophical queries and concerns raised through Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism can be critically analyzed for the promising prospect of dalit in India. In fact, whether it is class or caste oppression; the history witnesses that the contemporary Indian society cannot bypass the view points of Ambedkar, Gandhi and Marx (see, Roy, 2014;Habib, Weil, 1958). However, dealing with the caste or class oppression of either society's lowest rung or highest rung there has been no communality. In the

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lowest rung along with tribal the so called scheduled caste are still remaining underprivileged, downtrodden and marginalized as compared to their counterparts in Indian society (see, Mishra, 2010; Kathrine, 2007;Thorat, 2007; Gandhi, 2006; Hardiman, 2003; Roy, 2002; Zelliot, 2001; Omvedt,1995; Dhanwan, 1991; Keer, 1990). Even if the lower rung of the Indian society gets elevated to the status of higher rung the latter one may not drop into the status of the former one. In this context, the so called dalit stay dalit even if they achieve better political and economic status than their counter parts. In fact, it refers to anybody who is socially oppressed and depressed regardless of their gender, caste and ethnicity. However, the conception of "dalit" no longer remains a broad term in real sense of its comprehension and application since it identifies anyone who is called scheduled caste (constitutional term), Harijan (Gandhian term) and untouchable (Hindu term) in actual social practice. In this context, this article highlights the potentiality of Ambedkarism, Gandhism and Marxism for Dalit emancipation and liberation in Indian society. But what Gandhi experiments this truth by rectifying from within Hindu structure- without detaching dalit from the wrong doers- the so called higher castes, Ambedkar experiences it by getting rid of Hindu social structure (see, Ram.2009; Thorat, 2007; Alter,1996;Zelliot, 2001; Omvedt, 1995 and 2004; Dhanwan, 1991; Keer, 1990). The Marxism preaches it differently that the economic equality will destroy social inequality whereas Gandhism does not concern whether social inequality will destroy or stand on economic inequality. And Ambedkar visualizes that the economic inequality perpetuates social inequality but the economic equality also supports social inequality (Weil, 2010; Thorat, 2007). However, the critical overviews of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism reveal the problems and prospects for dalit's emancipation and liberation. In this backdrop, we have modestly tried to project an analytical discourse comparing the divergence thesis of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism in detail.

II. Philosophical Moorings Of Gandhism, Ambedkarism And Marxism

The Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism- the promising philosophies in Indian scenario have been grounded thoroughly out of the retrospective lives, ideas and works of Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx respectively. Question is not what their philosophies are but how much pragmatic, humanistic, liberative and emancipative these are. In order to authenticate our imaginative roots about them the philosophical backgrounds of each"ism"has been comprehended in this paper. In this regard, the personal backgrounds of Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx have been found to be unique to one another. For instance, the humanitarian background of Ambedkar was influenced by the American pragmatism of John Dewey, Buddhism, social philosophy of Jyoti Ba Fulley and the writing of famous poet Kabir (see, Ram 2009; Omvedt, 2004; Zelliot, 2001; Gautam, 2000; Jatava, 1997; Gore,1993; Keer,1990). The ethical and moral background of Gandhi was influenced by Hinduism, Jainism and some historic books namely Henry David Thoreau's on the Duty of Civil Disobedience (1849); Plato's Apology(1862), John Ruskin's Unto this Last (1862), William Salter's Ethical Religion (1889) and Leo Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is within You (1894) (see, McLellan, 2006; Hardiman, 2003; Mehring, 2003; Jack, 1994; Rubel,1973; Gandhi,1940). Marx was influenced by the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, G. W. F. Hegel, Ludwig Feuerbach, Adam Smith, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, David Ricardo, Saint-Simon and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (see, Johnson, 2006; Mehring, 2003; Fischer, 2002). In fact, the German philosophy, French socialism and English and Scottish political economy greatly nurtured and socialised the mind of Marxism (ibid). The economic determinism, historical materialism, dialectical materialism, class consciousness, class struggles, communism, etc, are some of the communist ideology of Marxism (see, Abraham and Morgan,2010; Haralambos and Heald,2008; Calhoun, 2002; Russell, 1999). The ideological structures of Gandhism include truth, ahimsa, satyagraha, khadi, charkas, swadeshi, trusteeship, Ramrajya, etc (see,McLellan, 2006; Hardiman, 2003; Mehring, 2003; Parekh, 2001; Green,1986; McClellan, 1973; Rubel,1973; Gandhi, 1940). The ideological structures of Ambedkarism include the dalitism, constitutionalism, Buddhism, etc (see, Omvedt, 2004; Zelliot, 2001; Zelliot, 1992; Keer, 1990; Jaffrelot, 2005). Through these ideological structures the course of dalit emancipation and liberation has been tested and verified more often throughout the Indian history (see, Kuber, 1 973). However, the existing philosophical divergence and convergence between these "isms" have not been adequately analysed in Indian society. Thus, a critical reflection on Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism promote an appropriate discourse for the future prospect of dalit.

III. Critical Reflection

a) *Dimensions of Philosophical Divergence and Convergence for Dalit Liberation and Emancipation*

It is not easy to find out the appropriate discourse for the future prospect of dalit in India. Further, to what extent dalit liberation and emancipation possible following the philosophical discourses is another significant question. However, on the basis of philosophical dimensions like absolutism, relativism, phenomenalism and positivism the discourses developed in Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism can be analysed for the same. The different tenets of

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these philosophical dimensions preach a unique dialogue for dalit in India at present. The tenet of absolutism preaches and promotes conservatism, fundamentalism, communalism and reductionism whereas the tenet of relativism promotes pluralism and liberalism. Thus, for dalit liberation and emancipation the latter tenet is functional and desirable than the former one. The tenet of phenomenalism emphasizes subjective knowledge whereas the tenet of positivism emphasizes objective knowledge. Thus, for dalit liberation and emancipation the latter tenet is scientific and practical than the former one. In the Figure-1 we have modestly deconstructed a relative substantive base for our analysis.

Figure 1: Relative Importance of Absolutism, Relativism, Phenomenalism and Positivism

Sl.No	Relative Importance in Gandhism		Relative Importance in Ambedkarism		Relative Importance in Marxism	
	More	Less	More	Less	More	Less
1	Absolutism	Relativism	Relativism	Absolutism	Absolutism	Relativism
2	Phenomenalism	Positivism	Positivism	Phenomenalism	Positivism	Phenomenalism

Source: Our Own

The Gandhism based on fundamental religious doctrine (Karma, Varnashrama Dharma, and gospel of Gita) reflects its tendency of having absolutism and phenomenalism more than relativism and positivism. For instance, the Gandhian practices- religious tolerance, non-violence, etc, were rooted in the great traditions of Hinduism. On the other hand the Ambedkarism seemed to have reflected more relativism and positivism than absolutism and phenomenalism. It is because Ambedkarism beliefs in scientific research and resolution but not in dogmatic fundamentalism (see, Roy,2014;Garada,2013; Coward, 2003; Roy, 2002; Puri, 2001; Alter, 1996; Gandhi, 1940 (www.gandhifoundation.net,www.mkgandhi.org/articles/gambedkaruntchbls.htm). The Marxism though reflects more on economic reductionism largely relies on positivism. It does not belief in absolute monarchism. But its vision of proletariat dictatorship through class struggle and its experience passing through the authoritarianism of Lenin and Stalin in former Soviet Union are proved to be as an absolutist strategy. Thus, to some extent the Gandhism and Marxism are structured largely on the principles of absolutism since the former utilizes religious fundamentalism and the latter utilizes economic reductionism as stated earlier. The latter is situated more on positivism and less on phenomenalism whereas the former is situated more on phenomenalism and less on positivism. The Ambedkarism is found to have the stand of less absolutism but more relativism and more positivism. His reductionist tendency of having the tenet of Buddhism is not dogmatic and conservative. Thus, it is clear that for dalit liberation and emancipation the positivistic and relativistic tendency in Ambedkarism and Marxism are more appropriate and functional than that of Gandhism. In this context, the discursive conception of truth explained in Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism has well comprehended the course of liberation and emancipation for dalit differently.

Figure 2 : Relative Conception of God and Truth

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Truth	God	Belief	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Truth is God	God is Truth	Belief in God and Religious Ethics	Monism/Dualism
2	Marxism	Truth is not God	God is not Truth	Neither belief in God nor in religious ethics	Atheism/Realism
3	Ambedkarism	Truth is Truth	God is God	Does not belief in God but belief in religious ethics	Realism/ Pluralism

Source: Our Own

b) *Discursive Conception of God and Truth for Dalit Emancipation*

It is clear in the Figure- 2 that each philosophy at the least focuses on what is truth although that could be of monism, dualism and pluralism differently. Metaphysically the truth is ultimate reality but theologically it is God. To Gandhi it is the same thing. Gandhi

In fact, what the Ambedkarism disapproves or approves comfortably that help resolving that God is God and truth is truth. And to reducing truth into God meaning destroying and confusing the truth of truth according to Ambedkarism and Marxism. To Gandhi ultimate truth is God as without God nothing is possible (see, Johnson, 2006; Parekh, 2001;*Gandhi, 1940*). As for instance, Gandhi can live without air and water but cannot live without God. To Marx and Ambedkar we can live without God but cannot live without air and water. Gandhi argues that truth is God because without truth you cannot get God. God is there in everybody's heart and his sole (*atman*) is nothing but one with paramatma-that is God. To Biblical saying Jesus Christ is not only the truth but also the way to truth. The Bible also asserts that that even human being is the way, the truth and the

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life of God in a inclusive sense. In higher level of Hindu religious discourses, the Lord Krishna reveals the same thing through *Bhagat Gita* for which Gandhi claims God is Truth and Truth is God (see, Johnson, 2006; Parekh, 2001; Jack, 1956; Gandhi, 1940). This equation nurtures his fundamentalism as true to his practical life of religious absolutism. It does not mean that his truth is independent of human knowledge and belief because he individually experimented the truth of humanity during his life time (ibid). But still he is known more an absolutist than a relativist to dalit. To Ambedkar the truth is relative. There is no absolute truth and it is a self-defeating for him. For instance, if it is true, it is not true for everybody, its opposite is also either true or false to anybody who claims it differently. Every version of truth therefore, is equally legitimate or illegitimate. Thus, the monism (God is Truth), dualism (God is Truth and Truth is God) and pluralism (neither exclusively logical or spiritual or scientific or human) of truth are its inclusive realms as stated earlier. The truth is God and God is truth statement thus, assimilates metaphysics with theology to which Gandhi approves and Ambedkar and Marx disapprove. To a theist like Gandhi the true knowledge is the knowledge of God and nothing beyond. But to Marx one's statement is true if it corresponds to reality or to that extend if it is the fact itself (Gould, 1978; Marx, 1976 and 1975). According to Marxism there is nothing called as truth beyond its material existence and otherwise it is illusion. Thus, the truth is nothing more than a material life itself- a historical reflection. What the truth is perhaps the ensoulment of body to Gandhi, embodiment of soul to Marx and emancipation of body and soul from an eternal bondage to Buddhism. Further, the human desire and ignorance as the causes of the truth-sufferings the dalit should know for their emancipation and liberation as per the Ambedkarian Buddhism (see, Omvedt, 2004; Zelliot, 2001; Gautam, 2000; Grover 1992; Keer, 1990). The conception of truth on the basis of realism found in Ambedkarism and Marxism seems to be more practical for dalit emancipation and liberation than the conception of truth based on monism and dualism in Gandhism. The ambedkarian conception of truth is more relevant for dalit because it pleads the realism like Marxism and religious ethics like Gandhism. But unlike the materialistic atheism of Marxism and the theological conservatism of Gandhism it has been progressive for emancipation and liberation.

Figure 3 : Type of Knowledge for Dalit liberation and Emancipation

Sl.No	Philosophy	Knowledge	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Theological/metaphysical	Theological/metaphysical knowledge assumed to be impractical for dalit liberation
2	Marxism	Epistemological	Epistemological knowledge is required for dalit cause
3.	Ambedkarism	Epistemology/ religious ethics	Epistemological knowledge with religious ethics seems to be practical for dalit liberation

Source: Our Own

The Figure- 3 clears the type of knowledge each ism having justifies how they are different in this regard. The intellectual bases in Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism can be deconstructed as theological/ metaphysical epistemology, objective epistemology and objective epistemology/religious ethical respectively. The theological/ metaphysical knowledge base in Gandhism assumed to be impractical for dalit liberation whereas positive epistemology with religious ethics in Ambedkarism seems to be more practical. It is clear in the Figure that the role of religion is significant for Gandhism but insignificant for Marxism whereas it is significant for Ambedkarism but unlike that of Gandhi's theism and Marx's atheism. In the Figure 3, the perception of Gandhi, Marx and Ambedkar on the role of religious-conversion & proselytization has been deconstructed for dalit liberation and emancipation. As stated earlier unlike theism and atheism Ambedkarism promote a religion of humanism that is desirable for dalit emancipation and liberation.

Figure 4 : Role of Religion for Dalit Liberation and Emancipation

Sl.No	Philosophy	Religious-Conversion & Proselytization	Critical Reflection
1.	Gandhism	Gandhism neither approves religious proselytization and conversion nor disapproves missionaries' charity and services to humanity	Religion is significant for Gandhism but his religious orthodoxy is problems for Dalit
2.	Marxism	Marxism rejects religion but cannot denies the effect of religion in the society	Religion is not significant for Marxism but without religion the dalit cannot live in Indian society
3.	Ambedkarism	Ambedkarism neither pleads conversion into foreign religion like Christianity nor for proselytization although it promotes Buddhism for Dalit emancipation	It is significant for Ambedkarism but unlike that of Gandhi's theism and Marx's atheism. It seems to be a religion of humanity for dalit.

Source: Our Own

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The Gandhism neither supported proselytizing nor conversion. But he also did not underestimate the role of missionaries for charity and human services in India. This dualism goes with his perception of anti-Indianisation agenda of western world. Ambedkar pleads for conversion but not for proselytization. Ambedkar also realised the importance of Indianness and therefore refused to convert into Christianity. Since Marx does not believe in religion the question of proselytization and conversion is not raised in Marxism. It is because the dalit requires the religion of humanism. But which religion is believed to be the most appropriate for this is an important question for dalit. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism seems to be appropriate for the Dalit but not yet realized by many dalit even after several decades of Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism. In order to resolve the problems of dalit the Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism provide the spiritual, secular and material spectrum of thought respectively. However, each spectrum of the thought is not univocal but cross-sectoral as mentioned in the Figure-5. While Gandhi's mode of spiritualism is his theism and Hinduism Ambedkar's spiritualism is his belief in Buddhism against Hinduism and fundamental of theism. The Marx's mode of atheism spread humanism against religious spiritualism. The Gandhian mode of secularism is his religious tolerance whereas Marxian secularism is his atheism. The Ambedkarian secularism reflects constitutionalism- all are treated equal before law irrespective of their gender, caste and colour.

Figure 5 : Nature of Spiritualism, Secularism and Materialism for Dalit's Liberation

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Spiritualism	Secularism	Materialism	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Theism, Hinduism	Religious tolerance	Nai Talim- Constructive programmes	It prioritizes ritualism over secularism but the Dalit want secularism against rigid ritualism for their emancipation
2	Marxism	Atheism & Humanism against religious spiritualism	Atheism his secularism	Optimism for capitalistic contradiction and coming of communism	The role of capitalism for achieving communism seems to be not fruitful for dalit in India.
3	Amedkarism	Buddhism against Hinduism	Constitutional safeguards	Nationalization of lands and properties	Religion without supernatural belief seems to be impractical in real life situation for dalit in India

Source: Our Own

The nature of materialism is Gandhi's NaiTalim as constructive programmes whereas Marxism itself a materialistic philosophy that generates optimism for communism. Marxism also runs through inclusive perspectives such as his sense of humanism is his spiritualism, his practice of atheism his secularism and his optimism of communism is his economic perspective. However, responding to Dalit' plight Ambedkar and Marx are ideologically more committed to the secular perspective than Gandhi because both of them express their predicament for dalit's cause through modernity and go for radical transformation of economy and society with the help of technology (Tejani, 2008). Whereas Gandhi opposes it with tooth and nail upholding Hindu tradition (see,Gandhi, 1940). However, main ends of all isms are to liberate man from his suffering, promote equality between man and man and let them to live in their company and brotherhoodness. The spectrum of thought ways of Marxism, Gandhism and Ambedkarism for the dalit emancipation and liberation has been reflected through communism, Hinduism and Buddhism respectively. Thus,the Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism, are not different in their goals. However, to Hinduism there is no equality and liberty because its karma and varnashrama dharma do not uphold these equaliser concepts, and therefore, Gandhism heavily based on the ideals of Hinduism get destined to the principles of caste hierarchism, patriarchy and caste-based incarnations. On the other hand, though equality and fraternity as expected result of communism the Marxism remains far from the individual liberty. Since the democracy is the antithesis of Marxism the liberty, equality and fraternity cannot be incorporated in it.

On the other hand, the original axis of Ambedkarism is based on the egalitarian principles of liberty, equality and fraternity (Garada, 2013). Once Ambedkar argued that unless the dalits enter into a life of liberty, equality and fraternity based on Buddhism they cannot be free from social degradation, humiliation, and exploitation sustained in Hindu social order (Garada, 2013, Omvedt, 2004). Thus, how Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism perceive the role of change agents for dalit is important in this regards.

IV. Discursive Perception of Change Agents for Dalit Liberation and Emancipation

It is very difficult task to have a critical reflection on philosophical dialogue of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism for dalit liberation and emancipation. We have modestly tried to analyse the different dimensions

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of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism for dalit's emancipation. The role of village and state as assumed through Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism reveals a different picture in this regards.

Figure 6 : Village and State for Dalit Emancipation

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Role of Village Life	Role of State	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Optimistic about the role of Village as self sustaining republic	Pessimistic about the role of state for dalit emancipation	Optimism and pessimism on the roles of village and state respectively comprehend a conservative strategy for dalit
2	Ambedkarism	Village as den of ignorance and casteism	Optimistic about the role of state for dalit liberation	Role of state against village based oppression is significant for dalit
3	Marxism	Village as geographical unit consisting of castes for economic activity	Optimistic about the role of state for economic development	Political economy of village and state is not free from caste hegemony

Source: Our Own

It is clear in the Figure-6 that the philosophy of Gandhism romanticizes the village and village life as self sustaining republic. It proposes a better life for Indians irrespective of their castes safeguarding their self respects. But the Ambedkarism developed a polar anti-thesis to the village republic heralded by orientalists (Garada, 2013, Omvedt, 2004; Coward, 2003; Omvedt, 1995). On the contrary the Ambedkarism proposes a civilized life in the urban world in order to save the dalits from exploitation in the villages. In Marxian understanding the concept of village life is supposed to be changed from its traditional connotation to the modern connotation after development of capitalism. But the caste village cannot be fully class village in India although the agrarian class structures are there in the rural Indian societies. As a result, the caste village perpetuates an unequal society. In fact, neither village life nor industrial centre could fully empower the dalit from their destitution. The caste is accommodated in the urban way of life. Thus, it is assumed that for the dalit's emancipation and liberation the vision of village life emphasized in Gandhism is perceived to be impractical while the vision of city life promoted in Ambedkarism is practical but yet to be realised in larger context. Since the village in Indian social life cannot be detached from the caste life the untouchability cannot be wiped out from the village. Further, since the caste cannot be turned into class the problem related to casteism cannot be resolved following the path of Marxism. Thus, the vision against the village life promoted by Ambedkar is increasingly followed by the dalit. In case of role of the state for the welfare of weaker section the Gandhi was quite pessimistic whereas Ambedkar and Indian Marxists are optimistic. Since the dalit requires a welfare state the role of state for dalit liberation is indispensable. However, with the help of the state neither Gandhi nor Ambedkar and Marxists could completely eradicate the evils of untouchability in India so far. A critical reflection on the perception of Gandhism, Indian Marxism and Ambedkarism related to the role of constitutional provisions against untouchability is crucial in this regard (see, Figure 7). The role of constitutional provision which has been the modern catalyst of democracy and the watch dog of human right violation is indispensable for dalit liberation and emancipation in Indian society.

Figure 7 : Perception of Constitutional Provision against Untouchability

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Perception on Constitutional Provision	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Constitutional Provision Protect Hindu community from world's criticism on untouchability	Task of saving Hinduism and untouchables simultaneously invite dalit's suspicion and pessimism
2	Ambedkarism	It saves untouchables from caste based oppression and promote their human rights	Constitutionalism for human rights is inevitable for the civic and democratic life of dalit
3	Marxism	Constitutional mechanism for labour's right	Promotes fair &equal pay, labour rights and trade unionism for workers' welfare

Source: Our Own

Though the Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism are seemed to be indifferent to the significance of constitutional provisions against untouchability they are found to have different stands on it. For instance, the first one supports it in order to protect Hindu community against world criticism of casteism whereas the second one approves it in order to save the untouchables from the caste-based oppression in Hinduism. Further, the Marxism is assumed to turning the caste into class for the annihilation of caste exploitation in India. Thus, it is

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assumed that unlike Ambedkarism the Gandhism hardly inspires the dalit for demanding the constitutional rights against casteism. Thus, the goal of Gandhian activism against the practice of untouchables was far different from that of Ambedkarian ones. The *Dalit* rights perceived in Ambedkarism is quite different than *Harijan* rights and worker rights perceived in Gandhism and Marxism respectively. Thus, the discursive paths of emancipation for dalit have also been perceived differently in the Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism.

V. Discursive Paths of Emancipation and Liberation for Dalit

The paths suggested by Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism for dalit's emancipation and liberation have been critically comprehended in the Figure-8. In the philosophy of Gandhism though the forces of revolution and constitutionalism not undermined the vitality of religious and altruistic non-violence means is largely emphasized for dalit emancipation and liberation (see, Johnson, 2006; Roy, 2002; Alter, 1996, Gandhi, 1940). In the philosophy of Gandhism the path of achieving humanism has been non-violence (peaceful means), altruistic non-violence (suffering for the cause of larger interest) and religious non-violence (peaceful means generated on religious principles). In case of Marxism, it has been violence means. But in case of Ambedkarism, it has been non-violence, religious non-violence (peaceful means generated on Buddhist principles) and humanistic non-violence (humanism unlike religious one). The non-violence means always expose dalit to violation in the modern Indian history so far. Altruistic non-violence also led to human rights violation in the history. Thus, Ambedkarism neither promotes Gandhian means of non-violence which is based on religious ethics nor Marxian violence which led to human rights violation instead it promotes humanistic non-violence and religious non-violence unlike that of Gandhism.

Figure 8 : Paths of Emancipation and Liberation

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Path of Emancipation	Path of Liberation	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	Religious Non-Violence/ Altruistic Non-Violence	Reformative& Transformative movement	Transformative movement fails for the cause of dalit liberation
2	Marxism	Revolutionary Violence, class struggle	Radical movement	Extremism and violation means fail for classless/casteless society
3	Amedkarism	Constitutionalism-Humanistic-Non-Violence	Reformative& Alternative movement- educate, agitate and organise	Role of humanism, rationalism, pragmatism, socialism and democracy and strategy of educate, agitate and organise seem to be liberating for dalit

Source: Our Own

For Marx, the revolutionary strategy is more functional and desirable than that of non-revolutionary and constitutional strategy of Gandhi and Ambedkar respectively. In the philosophy of Marxism, communism is the only way out for dalit liberation and emancipation but it cannot be achieved unless they go for revolution. On the other hand Ambedkar's constitutionalism has been the practical strategy of dalit emancipation. The force of constitutionalism envisaged in Ambedkarism is greatly help liberating the dalit from their social humiliation, suppression and oppression in Hindu society (see, Garada, 2013; Ram, 2009; Omvedt, 2004; Ambedkar, 1943). But, the dalit today require all means-non-violence, violence and constitutionalism. But the revolutionary violence strategy and religious non-violence strategy are unconstitutional in practice. Thus, the dalit has to follow constitutional paths for their emancipation. The dalits are also optimistic with the alternative political organization envisaged in the Ambedkarism than that of Gandhism and Marxism (see, the Figure-9). As for instance, the Gandhism promotes national level political organization for the development of the people. Gandhi believed National Congress as a national party represent all people including dalit. But Ambedkar did not accept that the congress party would do the best for the cause of dalit (see, Roy, 2002; Puri, 2001). On the contrary, he argued Gandhi's authoritarianism would be reflected through congress party. The Ambedkarism promotes separate political organization for the empowerment of Dalit. The Indian Marxists neither tolerated congress bossism nor liked Ambedkar's Dalit politics. In fact, the Communist Party of India based on a principle of Marxism developed the communitarian pressure group that not only pressure the government for policy change but also argued for grassroot movement for a classless society in India.

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Figure 9 : Political Organization and Dalit Liberation

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Political Organization	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhism	National level political organization- Congress party	Transformative movements and congress party fail
2	Marxism	Communitarian pressure group and communist party	In the name of classless or casteless society extremism and violation promoted
3	Amedkarism	Separate political organization- All India depressed class	Organization in term of the principles-educate, agitate and organise is inviteable

Source: Our Own

The Gandhian inclusion of political freedom with power and human service through political organization like All India Congress could not be realized so far. Indeed the connection between freedom and powers is better reflected through Ambedkarism. The role of political party for Ambedkarism is an active action that helps promoting the dalit empowerment in real life situation. Of course not in similar perception as the political strategy of Marxism envisaged the practical action for Dalit empowerment. For instance, the extreme wings of the Indian communist party have been activising the Marxian radicalism in Indian situation. But each of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism though promoted the role of political organization as indispensable for the cause of Dalit empowerment but has been grappling with many loopholes in real life situation. The difference between Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx was not only their different approach to political discourse but their participation and non-participation in politics. The former two were active politicians while the later one was not. Except Ambedkarian political participation the Dalit does not have exclusive platform which authenticates their political involvement. The reformative and transformative movements against social evils as promoted in Gandhism and Ambedkarism is acceptable for the dalit. And even the radical movement of Marxism is also inevitable for their liberation. But Ambedkar's subaltern perspective is indispensable for the annihilation of casteism and dalit humanism in the Indian society (see, Garada, 2013). However, there have been many change agents promoted by the philosophy of Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism differently over the time. These are being applied for the actualization of dalit humanity in Indian society. However, the limitation and disadvantages involved in the change agents are neither adequately identified nor rectified for dalit empowerment so far. In this regard the relative importance of change agents for dalit humanism has been discussed in the Figure-10. For instance, change agents- the conscience works like science for Gandhi and therefore, he overemphasized it comparison to the role of revolution and constitutionalism. In Ambedkarism, the conscience without rationality is not a science and revolution without humanity perpetuates violence against dalit. Thus, the Gandhian conscience is also impracticable for dalit liberation and emancipation. The heart, religious principle, supernatural belief and ethical principles are assumed to be the main change agents of humanism in Gandhism. In case of Marxism, the mind and materialism are the crucial change agents whereas in Ambedkarism, heart, mind, religious principles, ethical principles and legal provisions are included.

Figure 10 : Relative Importance of Change Agents for Humanism

Sl.No	Relative Importance in Gandhism		Relative Importance in Ambedkarism		Relative Importance in Marxism	
	More	Less	More	Less	More	Less
1	Conscience	Science	Science	Conscience	Science	Conscience
2	Ethics	Law	Law	Ethics	Law	Ethics

Source: Our Own

Thus, the relative change agents in Ambedkarism can serve better for the cause of dalits humanity comparison to the change agents in Marxism and Gandhism respectively. For instance, the approaches, means and goals for humanism have been the mythological, bodily fasting and Ramrajya (Lord Rama's rule in Hinduism) respectively in case of Gandhism. The historical extremism and communism in case of Marxism, the subaltern, non-violent and legal means and progressive socialism in case of Ambedkarism are deconstructed respectively. However, the personality and ideological dualism of Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx make it more complex for dalit emancipation and liberation in the contemporary societies.

VI. A Critical Reflection on Dualistic Personality and Ideological Dualism

The dalit needs a personality who is open, straight forward pleading their rights without any dualism and dilemma. In this regard, they follow more Ambedkar

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than Marx and Gandhi. In order to analyse this fact the facts of dualistic personality and ideological dualism have been deconstructed in the Figure-11. For instance, Gandhi's personality was assumed to be a backward man in English world but hero in South Africa and India in modern history (see, Jain, 1987). In true sense of his personality Gandhi was politician, conservative man and unsuccessful lawyer in his homeland. Ambedkar's personality was assumed to be one of the highly intellectual figures both in India and abroad. Ambedkar was forward looking, smart modernist and a successful lawyer in practice in modern India. However, both of them acclaimed high stature of international repute after Independence of India. Marx's personality epitomizes the stature of free thinking and dynamics academia. The secular thinking, great heart, critical attitude, etc are some of his personal reflection. Thus, Ambedkarian and Marxian radicalism instil dalit for social movements against social oppression whereas the Gandhian gospel of liberalism and conservatism hardly attract Dalit for their course of emancipation whereas.

Figure 11 : Personality and Ideological dualism of Gandhi, Ambedkar and Marx

Sl.No.	Philosophy	Personality Dualism	Ideological Dualism	Critical Reflection
1	Gandhi	Gandhi is perceived as backward man in English world but the hero in South Africa and India	Gandhi is perceived to have liberalism and conservatism on caste query	Gandhi's personality and ideological dualism complicates the discourse for dalit empowerment
2	Amedkar	Ambedkar belongs to backward caste but hero among dalit in India and intellectual figures abroad	Ambedkar responded a politics of compromise on reservation issues	Ambedkar's personality is appreciable for dalits but his ideological compromise invites criticism for dalit empowerment
3	Marx	Marx is assumed to be a stature of free thinking and dynamics academia	The ideology of radicalism and capitalism doubt in converging his theory and practice.	Marx's personality and ideological dualism promotes extremism among dalit

Source: Our Own

Though Gandhism promoting both the liberalism and conservatism such as untouchable's entries in his constructive programme and also his simultaneous cautionary remarks of not allowing inter-dining and inter-marriage between touchable caste and untouchable caste. This dualism invites inherent complicacy in the axis of Gandhism. Ambedkarism is also not free from its dualism on certain ideologies for Dalit empowerment. Initially, it followed humanitarian slogan against the social slavery of dalitism but compromised with Gandhi in Poona Pact for a sympathetic introspection of Dalit plight for reservation. Marx's thesis of Asiatic mode of production going beyond the anti-thesis tendency of western capitalism as for instance, the inherent contradiction of commune in Asian society was not revealed like that of workers' societies in the western world. There is also misconception that the Marxism conceived of convergence between its theory and practice. The dualistic tendency in the philosophy of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism is perceived differently but to what extent they either complicate or resolve the path of Dalit empowerment is not clear. For Dalit, the dualism of this entire "isms" must be rectified in the contemporary society otherwise the dalit will remain dalit forever. Taking all these deconstruction on Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism, we can find out the relevance of each philosophy for Dalit liberation and emancipation in the contemporary India. However, the gospel of humanism promoted by Gandhi, Marx and Ambedkar seems to be at crossroad. Taking the dynamics of subaltern approach such as the dynamics of originality, acceptance, rejection and new departure evolved in Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism it is assumed that Ambedkarism is decisive thesis for Dalit emancipation (see, Garada, 2013). It is because the original thesis of Ambedkarism includes humanistic relativism whereas it has been mythology and economic determinism in Gandhism and Marxism respectively. What these isms accept and reject also reflect a comparative advantage and disadvantage for Dalit liberation and emancipation. For instance, for Dalit emancipation Gandhi accepts Hindutva and rejects eurocentricism and Marxists accept communism and reject theology whereas Ambedkar accepts democracy and Buddhism and reject Hinduism (ibid). Another important question whether there is any new departure in the philosophy of Gandhism, Marxism and Ambedkarism for Dalit emancipation. For instance, there is no scope for new departure in Gandhism whereas there is scope for the new departure from caste to class and from Hinduism to Buddhism in Marxism and Ambedkarism respectively.

VII. Conclusions

The article addresses the philosophical divergence and convergence of Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism for the cause of dalit liberation and emancipation. The relative importance of absolutism, relativism, phenomenalism and positivism in

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each discourse profess and preach unique intellectual acumen for dalit. However, the relative importance of relativism and positivism against absolutism and phenomenalism in Ambedkarism seems to be more practical discourse for the cause of dalit in India. The change agents such as heart, mind, conscience, science, violence, non-violence, constitutionalism, state, village and religion perceived in Gandhism, Ambedkarism and Marxism help evolving a new discursive synthesis for the cause of dalit liberation and emancipation. But there is difference since Gandhi experienced it by rectifying the problems from within Hindu structure- without detaching dalit from their wrong doers- the so called higher castes, Ambedkar experienced it by getting rid of Hindu social structure. The Marxism preaches it differently as the economic equality will destroy social inequality whereas Gandhism does not concern whether social inequality will destroy or stand on economic inequality. Ambedkar visualizes that the economic inequality perpetuates social inequality but the economic equality also supports social inequality. The role of religion is significant for Gandhism but insignificant for Marxism whereas it is significant for Ambedkarism but unlike that of Gandhi's theism and Marx's atheism. Our study reveals that the monistic (God is Truth), dualistic (God is Truth and Truth is God) and pluralistic (neither exclusively logical or spiritual or scientific or human) version of truth are the inclusive realms of dalit emancipation. To substantiate the conception of truth the study also reveals that metaphysically truth is ultimate reality but theologically it is God. For Gandhi this is the two sides of a same coin to which Ambedkar and Marx disagree. What is truth is perhaps ensoulment of body to Gandhian spiritualism, embodiment of soul to Marxian humanism and emancipation of body and soul from an eternal bondage to Ambedkarian Buddhism (see, Jondhale and Beltz, 2004). In fact, Ambedkarism neither want dalit to follow the path of *Kranti* (revolutionary non-violence) envisaged in Marxism nor the path of *Shanti* (peace- religious non-violence) promoted in Gandhism but the Mukti (emancipation and liberation) that is to have a original path but with a new departure apart from that of Gandhism and Marxism fighting against their age old social oppression in Indian society. Unlike violence of Marxism Ambedkar follows the non-violence means of Budhism and unlike religious non-violence of Gandhi he follows the Buddhist humanism and constitutionalism. On the other hand the Gandhism heavily based on the ideals of Hinduism get destined to the principles of caste hierarchism, patriarchy and caste-based incarnations. On the other hand, though equality and fraternity as expected result of communism the Marxism remains far from the individual liberty. Since the democracy is the antithesis of Marxism the liberty, equality and fraternity cannot be comfortively incorporated in it. On the other hand, the original axis of Ambedkarism is based on liberty, equality and fraternity (Garada, 2013). Thus, the question is not what these philosophies are but how much pragmatic, humanistic, liberative and emancipative these are and to that extent such dynamics resolved in Ambedkarism has been much more realistic and optimistic for dalit liberation and emancipation than Gandhism and Marxism in Indian society so far.

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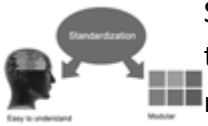


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1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

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Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.



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Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript--must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
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- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
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Introduction:

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
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- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
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- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
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- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

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- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
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- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

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What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
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- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

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The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

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- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
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- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
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Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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