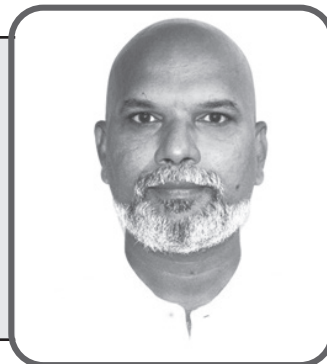


DRAVIDIAN MODEL OF GOVERNANCE: A DEMOCRATIC APPROACH TO ENSURE SOCIAL JUSTICE IN TAMIL NADU'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

Sathis Kumar G

*Professor of Economics, School of Social
Sciences and Languages, Vellore Institute
of Technology, Chennai. INDIA. Email:
sathiskumar.g@vit.ac.in.*



Abstract :

This paper explores the Dravidian model of governance in Tamil Nadu as a distinctive democratic framework aimed at advancing social justice and inclusive development. Emerging from the rationalist and egalitarian ideals of the Dravidian movement, this model has shaped the state's political economy through policies rooted in secularism, social equity, and empowerment of marginalized communities. By examining the historical trajectory and ideological foundations of key Dravidian political parties—primarily the DMK and AIADMK—the paper analyses how their governance strategies translated into progressive outcomes in education, healthcare, poverty alleviation, and gender equity. The paper also considers the evolving challenges to the model in a changing political and economic context, questioning its adaptability and long-term sustainability. Eventually, the Dravidian model is presented not only as a regional success story but also as a potential template for equitable governance in other pluralistic societies confronting structural inequalities.

Introduction:

Democracy, as a concept, has a rich historical evolution. It is derived from the Greek words "demos" (the people) and "kratos" (rule), essentially translating to "rule by the people." The essence of democracy lies in the idea of political power resting with the citizens. Over time, various forms of democracy have emerged, and scholars have sought to define it. One commonly cited definition

is Abraham Lincoln's: "government of the people, by the people, for the people." However, democracy is multifaceted and encompasses both direct and representative forms, and the definition varies across cultures and historical contexts. One of the foundational texts on democracy is "Democracy in America" by Alexis de Tocqueville, where he discusses the merits and challenges of democracy in the United States during the 19th century.

This work highlights the tension between individualism and collective action within democratic systems.

Liberal Democracy: Liberal democracy, also known as representative democracy, combines the principles of democracy with individual liberties and the rule of law. It is characterized by regular, free, and fair elections, protection of minority rights, and a separation of powers. Prominent philosophers like John Locke and John Stuart Mill have contributed to the development of liberal democratic thought.

Participatory Democracy: Participatory democracy emphasizes direct citizen involvement in decision-making processes. It seeks to empower citizens through mechanisms like referendums, citizen assemblies, and community organizations. Literature such as "The Art of Not Being Governed" by James C. Scott examines the dynamics of stateless societies and their implications for participatory democracy.

Deliberative Democracy: Deliberative democracy places a strong emphasis on rational public discourse and debate. Proponents like Jürgen Habermas argue that this form of democracy ensures that decisions are made based on reasoned discussion rather than mere voting. "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" by Habermas is a seminal work in this field, shedding light on the role of public discourse in democracy.

The Role of Elections and Political Institutions: Elections are a cornerstone of democratic systems. They serve as a

mechanism for citizens to express their preferences and choose representatives. However, elections can be both empowering and problematic. On the one hand, they provide a channel for political participation, but on the other, they can sometimes result in the tyranny of the majority, neglecting the interests of minorities.

Political institutions, such as parliaments, executives, and judiciaries, play a vital role in shaping the functioning of democracy. The effectiveness and independence of these institutions are critical for upholding democratic principles. Scholars like Robert Dahl, in "Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition," have explored the functioning of political institutions and their impact on democracy.

Social Justice: Defining the Parameters

Social justice is a concept deeply rooted in ethics and political philosophy. It revolves around the idea of fairness, equality, and the just distribution of resources and opportunities within a society. A succinct definition of social justice comes from John Rawls, who proposed the "difference principle," suggesting that social and economic inequalities should be arranged to benefit the least advantaged.

Historical Roots: From Rawls to Sen: John Rawls' "A Theory of Justice" is a seminal work that significantly influenced the discourse on social justice. Rawls introduced the concept of the "original position" and the "veil of ignorance," arguing that a just society would be one that individuals would choose when

ignorant of their own place in society. His work laid the foundation for the understanding of distributive justice.

Amartya Sen's work, particularly "The Idea of Justice," expands on the concept of social justice. Sen argues that justice cannot be reduced to merely the distribution of resources but should also consider individual capabilities and freedoms. He emphasizes the importance of addressing disparities in capabilities as a fundamental aspect of justice.

The Intersection of Rights, Equality, and Redistribution: Social justice is a multifaceted concept that encompasses various dimensions. It involves not only the distribution of resources but also the protection of individual rights, equal opportunities, and the eradication of discrimination. These components are interlinked and reinforce each other in the pursuit of a just society.

Literature such as Martha Nussbaum's "Capabilities Approach" argues that social justice should focus on enhancing the capabilities and freedoms of individuals, emphasizing the importance of not only redistributing resources but also empowering people to make choices that lead to a fulfilled life.

The theoretical foundations of democracy and social justice are complex and multifaceted. Democracy has evolved over centuries and comes in various forms, with key theories like liberal democracy, participatory democracy, and deliberative democracy offering distinct perspectives on how democratic governance should function. Social justice, on the other hand,

is deeply rooted in ethical and political philosophy, with scholars like Rawls and Sen providing foundational ideas about justice, fairness, and equality. The intersection of these concepts is crucial in shaping the values and institutions of modern societies, and their complex interplay presents both opportunities and challenges for the realization of a just and democratic world.

Intersection of Democracy and Social Justice

Democracy promises inclusivity by allowing all citizens to have a voice in shaping their society. However, in practice, there are significant barriers to full inclusivity. A critical issue is voter suppression, which disproportionately affects marginalized communities. Research by Keyssar (2000) in "The Right to Vote" demonstrates how historical and contemporary efforts have limited voting rights, particularly for minority and disadvantaged groups. This not only undermines inclusivity but also perpetuates existing social injustices. Furthermore, money in politics often tilts the scales in favour of the wealthy, limiting the inclusivity of democracy. Scholarly works like "Affluence and Influence" by Gilens (2012) reveal how economic elites can exert disproportionate influence over government policies, undermining the democratic principle of equal representation for all.

Representation is another fundamental component of democracy, yet it is marred by inadequacies. The notion that elected officials will represent the diverse interests of their constituents is often unrealistic.

The "iron law of oligarchy," as identified by Michels (1911), highlights that even in democratic systems, an elite group can come to dominate and make decisions that benefit their interests at the expense of others. This challenges the very essence of democratic representation. Moreover, the winner-takes-all electoral systems in many democracies lead to a lack of proportional representation. This is seen in the work of Taagepera and Shugart (1989), who show that first-past-the-post systems can result in majority governments that do not reflect the diversity of political opinions within the society, leaving significant portions of the population underrepresented.

Policy-Making and Welfare Reforms: Democracy's promise of participatory policy-making is frequently undermined by the influence of special interests and partisan politics. The process often favours well-funded interest groups and lobbyists who exert disproportionate influence over the formation of policies. In his work "The Iron Triangle: Inside the Secret World of the Carlyle Group," Dreyfuss (2003) explores how powerful corporations and their political connections can shape policies to serve their own interests, often at the expense of the broader population.

Additionally, the short-term focus of electoral politics often leads to policy decisions that prioritize immediate gains or popularity over long-term social justice. This tendency is discussed in Hacker and Pierson's book, "Winner-Take-All Politics" (2010), which underscores how politicians cater to affluent constituents to secure campaign funding and votes, neglecting

broader welfare concerns.

Welfare reforms in democratic systems are often politicized and subjected to ideological divisions. A critical challenge is that the welfare agenda may be co-opted for political gain, rather than serving the needs of vulnerable populations. Theda Skocpol's research in "Protecting Soldiers and Mothers" (1992) provides insights into how welfare policies have been historically shaped by political considerations, often compromising social justice goals.

Furthermore, the "tyranny of the majority" can lead to the neglect of minority rights, particularly in democracies where majority preferences dominate. The work of Alexis de Tocqueville in "Democracy in America" (1835) serves as an early example of how democratic systems can inadvertently sideline marginalized groups, undermining the democratic promise of welfare reforms that benefit all.

Civil Liberties and Human Rights: While democracy is designed to protect civil liberties, it does not always guarantee their preservation. A critical issue is the potential for elected governments to curtail civil liberties, particularly in times of crisis. Literature on "democratic backsliding," as discussed by Levitsky and Ziblatt in "How Democracies Die" (2018), highlights how democratically elected leaders can exploit the system to undermine civil liberties and consolidate power.

Moreover, the "tyranny of the majority" can pose a significant threat to the civil liberties of minority groups within democratic societies. John Stuart Mill's classic work, "On Liberty" (1859),

underscores how democratic systems can suppress dissent and diversity when the majority's interests are prioritized over those of minorities.

Democracy's ability to protect human rights is not always foolproof. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, reflects the global commitment to safeguarding human rights. However, even in democratic nations, the principles enshrined in this declaration are not always upheld. Research by Arbour and Goldstone in "Constitutional Reform and International Human Rights" (2007) points out that constitutional reforms in democracies do not always result in the improved protection of human rights.

Furthermore, international relations often challenge the human rights record of democracies. The work of Chomsky in "Rogue States" (2000) highlights how democracies may champion human rights on the global stage while engaging in actions that undermine these values, such as supporting authoritarian regimes that violate human rights.

Social Justice's Influence on Democratic Governance

Social justice is a cornerstone of democratic governance, aiming to ensure that every individual has an equal opportunity to succeed. The concept of equality of opportunity, in particular, holds significant importance within the context of social justice.

Social justice advocates for policies and practices that reduce inequalities and discrimination, thereby creating a level playing field for all citizens within

a democracy. The influence of social justice on democratic governance can be observed in the emphasis on inclusivity, non-discrimination, and the protection of fundamental rights, which together foster the concept of equality of opportunity.

Literature on this subject is extensive. John Rawls, in "A Theory of Justice" (1971), introduced the concept of the "veil of ignorance," which posits that individuals would make fair and just decisions if they were unaware of their own social positions, thus emphasizing the need for equalizing opportunities. Moreover, Amartya Sen's "Development as Freedom" (1999) explores the idea that social justice and equality of opportunity are critical for human development and democratic governance.

Despite the principles and aspirations of social justice, achieving equality of opportunity within democratic governance remains a complex task. Some limitations and challenges include:

Economic disparities: Economic inequality can severely hinder equality of opportunity. Persistent income disparities, as explored by Thomas Piketty in "Capital in the Twenty-First Century" (2013), can create an uneven playing field where access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities is unequal.

Discrimination: Discrimination based on race, gender, sexual orientation, and other factors can undermine equality of opportunity. Legal scholar Martha Minow, in "In Brown's Wake: Legacies of America's Educational Landmark" (2010), examines how discrimination in education

continues to perpetuate inequalities, despite legal remedies.

Political power imbalances: Political power imbalances can hinder the implementation of policies that promote equality of opportunity. Gilens and Page's research, published in "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens" (2014), highlights the influence of economic elites and special interest groups on policy decisions, which can contradict the principles of social justice.

Affirmative Action and Redistributive Policies: Affirmative action policies are a common tool for addressing historical discrimination, with the aim of promoting equal opportunities for marginalized groups. While these policies have contributed to increased representation and access to education and employment, they are not without challenges.

A significant issue is the potential for reverse discrimination, where some argue that these policies unfairly disadvantage majority groups. Research by Thomas Sowell in "Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study" (2004) explores the varying effectiveness of affirmative action in different countries and the complexities of its implementation. The debate over whether affirmative action aligns with the principles of fairness and equality continues to be a divisive issue in democratic governance.

Redistributive policies, which aim to reduce economic inequality through taxation and social welfare programs, are a central component of social justice

within democratic governance. These policies provide essential safety nets and resources to marginalized populations, promoting economic equity.

However, redistributive policies can also face opposition, with claims of discouraging economic growth and disincentivizing individual effort. Literature on this subject, including "The Consequences of Inequality" by Stiglitz (2012) and "Capital in the Twenty-First Century" by Piketty (2013), highlights the complexities of wealth redistribution and the potential drawbacks of aggressive wealth redistribution, including reduced incentives for innovation and entrepreneurship.

Advocacy, Activism, and Civil Society: Advocacy and activism are essential mechanisms for promoting social justice within democratic governance. These movements serve as a catalyst for change by raising awareness, pressuring policymakers, and mobilizing citizens. A prime example is the civil rights movement in the United States, where activists like Martin Luther King Jr. and organizations such as the NAACP played a pivotal role in ending racial segregation.

However, activism can also face resistance and backlash from those who oppose change. Foss and Foss (2014) in their book, "We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation," highlight the challenges and complexities of activist movements, including fragmentation, co-optation, and public perception issues.

Civil society, which includes non-governmental organizations, community

groups, and grassroots movements, forms a vital part of the social justice landscape within democratic governance. These organizations often serve as intermediaries between citizens and the government, advocating for policies that promote equity and social justice.

Nevertheless, the influence of civil society can be undermined by regulatory restrictions, a lack of resources, or political repression. Keane (1998) in "Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions" discusses the various dynamics within civil society and the need for a strong, vibrant civil society to bolster democratic governance.

Democracy and Social Justice – A Case of Tamil Nadu

The historical roots of the democracy and social justice movements in Tamil Nadu are deeply intertwined with the region's socio-political and cultural history. These movements have evolved over time and have been shaped by various factors, including colonialism, the influence of leaders and thinkers, and the socio-economic context. The British colonial rule in India had a profound impact on the social and political consciousness of the people of Tamil Nadu. Exposure to Western ideas of democracy, liberty, and equality played a significant role in shaping the early seeds of the democratic movement in the region. The presence of missionary schools and colleges also facilitated the spread of education and the awakening of political consciousness.

Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin Movement: The early 20th century saw the dominance of Brahmins in

various spheres of life, including politics, administration, and education in Tamil Nadu. The Non-Brahmin Movement emerged as a response to this perceived Brahmin dominance and was formalized through the establishment of the Justice Party in 1916. The Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin Movement played a pivotal role in challenging Brahminical dominance and advocating for social justice in Tamil Nadu. Their demands for affirmative action and political representation had a lasting impact on the state's political landscape, setting the stage for broader social and political movements in the region.

Periyar and the Self-Respect Movement: E.V. Ramasamy, popularly known as Periyar, and his Self-Respect Movement were instrumental in challenging traditional social hierarchies and advocating for rationalism, social justice, and the abolition of oppressive customs in Tamil Nadu. Periyar emerged as a prominent social reformer in the early 20th century, a time when Tamil society was deeply entrenched in caste-based discrimination, superstitions, and oppressive religious practices. The Self-Respect Movement was a direct response to these social injustices.

Periyar was a staunch advocate of rationalism and atheism. He encouraged people to question and reject traditional religious beliefs and practices that perpetuated social inequalities. His rationalist approach was a significant departure from the prevailing orthodoxy. Periyar vehemently campaigned against the caste system. He believed that the eradication of caste distinctions was

essential for achieving social justice. The Self-Respect Movement actively worked to dismantle caste hierarchies and promote inter-caste marriages. Periyar was also a champion of gender equality and women's rights. He actively worked to promote women's education and economic independence, advocating for equal rights within marriages and society. The legacy of Periyar and his movement continues to influence Tamil Nadu's social and political discourse, highlighting the enduring impact of his ideas.

Omandur Ramasamy and K. Kamaraj: Even before the rise of Dravidian political parties, leaders within the Congress like Omandur Ramasamy contributed significantly to the social justice framework. As Chief Minister from 1947 to 1949, he was the first to officially introduce the category of "Backward Classes" into policy discourse. This crucial step paved the way for targeted affirmative action and equitable resource distribution, and it laid the administrative groundwork for future reservation policies in the state.

Another towering Congress leader who embodied the spirit of the Dravidian model was K. Kamaraj. Serving as Chief Minister from 1954 to 1963, he revolutionized access to education by bringing primary schools to nearly every village in Tamil Nadu. He also introduced the Midday Meal Scheme to combat child hunger and school dropouts. Though not part of a Dravidian party, Kamaraj's governance deeply aligned with Dravidian model principles by empowering the underprivileged through education and social upliftment.

Contributions of the Dravidian Movement: Leaders such as Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, Arignar C.N. Annadurai, and Kalaighnar M. Karunanidhi championed the cause of Dravidian identity, linguistic pride, and socio-political reform.

The movement aimed to assert the unique cultural and linguistic identity of the Dravidian people, distinct from the Northern, Aryan-influenced culture. This emphasis on linguistic identity contributed to the rise of Tamil as the primary language of administration and education in the state.

The Dravidian Movement actively worked to challenge oppressive caste systems and promote social justice. It was instrumental in advocating for reservations and affirmative action policies for marginalized communities. The movement championed rationalism, atheism, and secularism, challenging traditional religious beliefs and practices that were seen as perpetuating superstitions and social inequalities.

The Dravidian parties, particularly the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), have dominated Tamil Nadu's political landscape, providing a platform for Dravidian political ideologies and principles.

Perarignar Anna: Among Anna's notable accomplishments, he enacted legislation that officially recognized and sanctioned self-respect marriages, a concept championed by Periyar. These marriages were distinctive in that they eschewed the involvement of priests and

traditional rituals. Anna's legislation not only gave legal standing to prospective self-respect marriages but also extended its validity to those that had occurred in the past, effectively normalizing this progressive approach to matrimony. Furthermore, Anna made significant contributions to the sociopolitical landscape of the region by making two key changes. First, he officially changed the name of Madras State to Tamil Nadu, a move that resonated with the Tamil identity and cultural heritage of the state's population. Second, he initiated a groundbreaking two-language educational policy within the state, aiming to provide students with a more inclusive and diverse linguistic education experience.

Kalaignar Karunanidhi: Anna's legacy in promoting social justice paved the way for further advancements under the leadership of Kalaignar. Following Anna's untimely passing in 1969, Kalaignar assumed the role of Chief Minister and continued to champion the cause of social justice, particularly in the realm of reservation policies for education and employment in Tamil Nadu. Karunanidhi was a leader known for his commitment to rectifying historical injustices in Tamil Nadu. At the time Kalaignar took office, the reservation system was already in place, with 25% reserved for Backward Classes (BCs) and 16% for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), a framework that had been established during K. Kamaraj's tenure as Chief Minister. However, Kalaignar didn't rest on these laurels. He appointed the first Backward Class Commission in 1969,

which submitted recommendations to ensure adequate representation for marginalized sections of society. In light of a significant Supreme Court ruling (referred to as the Balaji case), which stipulated that the total reservation should not exceed 50%, Kalaignar made substantial adjustments to the reservation percentages. Specifically, he increased the reservation for BCs from 25% to 31% and for SCs and STs from 16% to 18% in 1971. During his tenure as Chief Minister from 1971 to 1976, he established a dedicated ministry, the first of its kind in India, focused on the welfare of Backward Classes, highlighting his commitment to their upliftment. In a further effort to fine-tune the reservation system, during his Chief Ministership from 1989 to 1991, Kalaignar subdivided the total 50% reservation meant for the backward classes into two categories: Backward Classes (BCs) and Most Backward Classes (MBCs), with respective allotments of 30% and 20% reservation. These measures were aimed at ensuring a more targeted and equitable distribution of opportunities among different marginalized groups within the BC category. Continuing his dedication to inclusivity, Kalaignar introduced a new reservation policy in his regime from 2006 to 2011. This policy provided a 3.5% reservation for BC Muslims within the existing 30% reservation earmarked for BCs, ensuring that the rest of the BCs received 26.5. During the same period, he also introduced internal quota among scheduled castes. He allocated 3% reservation for Arundhathiyars, a

historically disadvantaged subgroup within the Scheduled Castes, from the overall 18% reservation meant for the SCs.

In 1974, Kalaignar negotiated with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, becoming the first Chief Minister of India to hoist the national flag on Independence Day. This historic moment paved the way for future leaders to represent their people equally. Karunanidhi's influence extended beyond symbolism. He abolished dehumanizing practices like hand-pulled carts, introducing cycle rickshaws to provide dignity and better livelihoods for marginalized communities. His ban on sewage cleaning by hand improved working conditions, highlighting his commitment to human rights. His administration introduced progressive policies, including free electricity for farmers and advocacy for women's property rights. His focus on social welfare included the Beggars Rehabilitation Scheme. He provided free housing for scheduled castes and tribes, implemented the Kudiyiruppu Act, and ensured fair wages for farm laborers. He established the Police Commission, initiated separate ministries for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. His administration offered free education up to P.U.C. and free power supply to farmers.

Role of Other Leaders and Legal Protection for Reservations: AIADMK founder and leader M.G. Ramachandran (MGR) briefly introduced an economic criterion for reservations, which caused some confusion. However, he later increased the overall reservation to 68% by granting an additional 18% to BCs. When the legality of the 69%

quota was challenged, Chief Minister Jayalalithaa ensured its protection by placing it under the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution using Article 31C. The efforts of Dravidar Kazhagam leader K. Veeramani were instrumental in this legislative achievement.

The efforts and contributions of leaders like Periyar Anna, Kalaignar Karunanidhi, MGR, and J. Jayalalithaa have profoundly transformed Tamil Nadu into a model of social justice and democratic governance. Their policies and ideologies have empowered marginalized communities, reshaped social attitudes, and created a more inclusive and equitable society. The Tamil Nadu model stands as a testament to the power of sustained, visionary social reform in shaping a just democracy.

The Way Forward - Ensuring Social Justice through a Democratic Approach

The efforts of Dravidian leaders have significantly contributed to Tamil Nadu's standing as one of the top-performing states in India across various socio-economic indicators. For instance, Tamil Nadu ranks among the three best states in terms of girls' school attendance, boasts a low infant mortality rate, a minimal percentage of stunted children, and leads the nation in food safety. Moreover, it excels in higher education with the highest gross enrolment ratio and secures the second spot in the Sustainable Development Goals Index. The state government has adeptly balanced development and growth, delivering impressive results both in the social and economic sectors. However, despite these significant achievements and strides towards social justice, recent years have witnessed a troubling increase in incidents that run

counter to the principles of social equity and justice. These occurrences serve as a stark reminder that the underlying causes of social inequalities and discrimination persist, demanding renewed efforts to address them comprehensively. It is crucial to recognize that the Dravidian Model of Governance, along with the Dravidian political movement, has primarily employed supply-side strategies and approaches to ensure social justice. These approaches have undeniably yielded positive results, but the evolving landscape of society presents new challenges and complexities that require fresh perspectives. One notable concern is the lack of historical awareness among the younger generation, who may not fully grasp the historical context that has led to their current privileges. Additionally, there is an urgent need to understand and address the unique interests and aspirations of this new-age generation, which may differ significantly from those of previous generations. This knowledge gap encompasses historical understanding, awareness of contemporary social justice issues, and foresight into potential future complications. What is urgently needed is a social movement for Social Justice 2.0, similar to the earlier Social Justice 1.0 led by Periyar, which brings together political parties endorsing Dravidian ideologies, the principles of Dravidian Governance, and the youth of the new generation. To commence this initiative, brainstorming sessions and focus group discussions involving a diverse range of stakeholders from the younger generation will be instrumental in comprehending the current issues and problems associated with social inequalities and discriminations.

References:

- Arasu, Vee (2022). History of Social Justice in Tamil Nadu, Dravidapozhil, October – December 2022.
- Arbour, L., & Goldstone, R. J. (2007). Constitutional Reform and International Human Rights. Intersentia.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs, South End Press.
- Dang HH, Lanjouw P. (2018). Inequality in India on the rise, WIDER Policy Brief 2018/6. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.
- de Tocqueville, A. (1835). Democracy in America, Saunders and Otley.
- Dreyfuss, R. (2003). The Iron Triangle: Inside the Secret World of the Carlyle Group, PublicAffairs.
- Eugene F Irschick (1986). Tamil Revivalism in the 1930s, Cre-A, Madras.
- Foss, C., & Foss, S. (2014). We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation, AK Press.
- Geetha V. (2018). Karunanidhi and Social Justice, Forward Press. (<https://www.forwardpress.in/2018/08/karunanidhi-and-social-justice/>).
- Gilens, M. (2012). Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America, Princeton University Press.
- Gilens, M., & Page, B. I. (2014). Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average

- Citizens. Perspectives on Politics, 12(3), 564-581.
- Hacker, J. S., & Pierson, P. (2010). Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer—and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class, Simon & Schuster.
 - Kalaiyaran, A and M Vijayabaskar (2021). The Dravidian Model: Interpreting the Political Economy of Tamil Nadu, Cambridge University Press.
 - Keane, J. (1998). Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions. Stanford University Press.
 - Keyssar, A. (2000). The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States. Basic Books.
 - Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). How Democracies Die. Crown.
 - Michels, R. (1911). Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. Transaction Publishers.
 - Mill, J. S. (1859). On Liberty. Longman, Roberts & Green.
 - Minow, M. (2010). In Brown's Wake: Legacies of America's Educational Landmark. Oxford University Press.
 - Piketty, T. (2013). Capital in the Twenty-First Century. Harvard University Press.
 - Raghunath Nageswaran and Vignesh Karthik K R (2023). Policy and Practice of Social Justice in Tamil Nadu (Book Review – Rethinking Social Justice).
 - Rajmohan, S (2022). Critical Thinking in Masses and Social Justice, Dravidapozhil, April – June 2022.
 - Rawls, J. (1971). A Theory of Justice. Harvard University Press.
 - Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom. Anchor Books.
 - Skocpol, T. (1992). Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States, Harvard University Press.
 - Social Justice Edited by Anandhi S et al. Economic and Political Weekly, February 11, 2023. Vol. LVIII No-6.
 - Sowell, T. (2004). Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study. Yale University Press.
 - Stiglitz, J. E. (2012). The Consequences of Inequality. W.W. Norton & Company.
 - Taagepera, R., & Shugart, M. S. (1989). Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems, Yale University Press.
 - Veeramani, K (2018). Doyen of Social Justice, Frontline, August. (<https://frontline.thehindu.com/cover-story/article24705057.ece>)
 - Veeramani, K (2023). The Role of Self-Respect Movement in the War for Social Justice and Caste Annihilation in India, Dravidapozhil, January – March 2023.
 - Vivek Srinivasan (2010). Understanding Public Services in Tamil Nadu – An Institutional Perspective, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Maxwell School of Syracuse University.

Author Profile :

Dr. Sathis Kumar G (popularly known as Professor GSK)'s philosophy of life is "Be the Cause of Changes" that transform the generations. Dr Sathis Kumar envisioned to serve the society towards sustainability in terms of social, economic and philosophical ideologies through sharing knowledge by learning, researching, teaching and outreach activities. Professor GSK has more than 15 years of academic understanding and evidence-based research observations in economics, society, public policy, geo-politics, and sustainability. His subject areas of expertise and practice are Macro Economic Analysis, Sustainability, Development Economics, and Evidence-based Public Policy.

At present, Professor GSK serves as a Professor of Economics at School of Social Sciences and Languages, Vellore Institute of Technology, Chennai. Earlier, he served as a Chief Policy Researcher, at Populus Empowerment Network, Chennai; Chief Learning Officer at Dr. GSK's Social Lab, Bangalore; Associate Professor at Presidency

University, Bengaluru, Karnataka; Assistant Professor at Great Lakes Institute of Management, Chennai, The Gandhigram Rural Institute – Deemed University, Dindigul, and Alagappa University, Karaikudi; and Project Associate at Indian Institute of Technology-Madras (IIT-M), Chennai, Tamil Nadu.

As a researcher, he has published two books, eleven research papers in refereed and peer-reviewed national international journals, and twelve chapters in edited books by reputed national and international publishing houses. With respect to his vast research contributions, he has been honoured with membership in editorial boards of international journals including Emerald's International Journal of Social Economics, Journal of Sustainable Development, American Journal of Rural Development and Journal of International Business Research. Professor GSK is also serving as honorary consultant for the non-government organizations working for society and sustainability, specifically new generation early start-ups and Community Based Organizations.

